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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1912



WASHINGTON

1914



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LETTER OF SUBMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., January 31, 1914.

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to submit to Congress the annual report of the association for the year 1912. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

CHARLES D. WALCOTT, *Secretary.*

ACT OF INCORPORATION.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, in the State of New York; George Bancroft, of Washington, in the District of Columbia; Justin Winsor, of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts; William F. Poole, of Chicago, in the State of Illinois; Herbert B. Adams, of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland; Clarence W. Bowen, of Brooklyn, in the State of New York, their associates and successors, are hereby created, in the District of Columbia, a body corporate and politic by the name of the American Historical Association, for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America. Said association is authorized to hold real and personal estate in the District of Columbia so far only as may be necessary to its lawful ends to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars, to adopt a constitution, and make by-laws not inconsistent with law. Said association shall have its principal office at Washington, in the District of Columbia, and may hold its annual meetings in such places as the said incorporators shall determine. Said association shall report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America. Said secretary shall communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he shall see fit. The Regents of the Smithsonian Institution are authorized to permit said association to deposit its collections, manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and other material for history in the Smithsonian Institution or in the National Museum at their discretion, upon such conditions and under such rules as they shall prescribe.

[Approved, January 4, 1889.]

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D. C., January 28, 1914.

SIR: In accordance with the act of incorporation of the American Historical Association, approved January 4, 1889, I have the honor to transmit herewith the annual report of the association for the year 1912. The report contains the proceedings of the association at its twenty-eighth annual meeting held in Boston in December, 1912, and the reports of the public archives commission and the historical manuscripts commission.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, yours,

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

Dr. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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CONSTITUTION.

I.

The name of this society shall be The American Historical Association.

II.

Its object shall be the promotion of historical studies.

III.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member by paying \$3, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of \$3. On payment of \$50 any person may become a life member, exempt from fees. Persons not resident in the United States may be elected as honorary or corresponding members and be exempt from the payment of fees.

IV.

The officers shall be a president, two vice presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, a treasurer, and an executive council consisting of the foregoing officers and six other members elected by the association, with the ex-presidents of the association. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the association.

V.

The executive council shall have charge of the general interests of the association, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

VI.

This constitution may be amended at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the executive council.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Organized at Saratoga, N. Y., September 10, 1884. Incorporated by Congress January 4, 1889.

OFFICERS ELECTED DECEMBER 30, 1912.

PRESIDENT:

WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, PH. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, A. M., LL. B.,
University of Chicago.

H. MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D.,
University of California.

SECRETARY:

WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, PH. D.,
New York.

SECRETARY OF THE COUNCIL:

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

CURATOR:

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M.,
Smithsonian Institution.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

(Ex-Presidents.)

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L.,
Ithaca, N. Y.

JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D.,
University of Michigan.

HENRY ADAMS, LL. D.
Washington, D. C.

JAMES SCHOULER, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt.,
Boston, Mass.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D.,
Boston, Mass.

ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D.,
Quogue, N. Y.

JOHN BACH McMASTER, A. M., PH. D., LITT. D., LL. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D.,
New Haven, Conn.

JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D.,
Carnegie Institution of Washington.

GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., LITT. D.,
Yale University.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., LITT. D.,
Harvard University.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D.,
Columbia University.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., D. C. L.,
Oyster Bay, N. Y.
(Elected Councillors.)

FRED MORROW FLING, PH. D.,
University of Nebraska.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, PH. D.,
Indiana University.

HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, PH. D.,
University of Pennsylvania.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M.,
University of Wisconsin.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, PH. D.,
Harvard University.

JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, PH. D., LL. D.,
Johns Hopkins University.

PACIFIC COAST BRANCH.

OFFICERS ELECTED APRIL 6, 1912.

PRESIDENT:

ARLEY BARTHLOW SHOW, A. M.
Stanford University.

VICE PRESIDENT:

WILLIAM G. ROYLANCE,
University of Utah.

SECRETARY-TREASURER:

HAVEN WILSON EDWARDS, A. M.,
Oakland (Cal.) High School.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above-named officers.)

WILBERFORCE BLISS, B. S., M. L.
State Normal School, San Diego, Cal.

LOUIS J. PAETOW, PH. D.,
University of California.

JOSEPH SCHAFER, PH. D.,
University of Oregon.

JEANNE E. WIER, A. B.,
University of Nevada.

TERMS OF OFFICE.

(Deceased officers are marked thus: †.)

EX-PRESIDENTS:

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, L. H. D., LL. D., D. C. L., 1884-1885.
†GEORGE BANCROFT, LL. D., 1885-1886.
†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1887-1888.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1888-1889.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1889-1890.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1890-1891.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1891-1893.
HENRY ADAMS, LL. D., 1893-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1895.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1896.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL. D., 1897.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1898.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1899.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1903.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1904.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1905.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1906.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1907.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., Litt. D., 1908.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, PH. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1909.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1910.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, PH. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1911.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., 1912.

EX-VICE PRESIDENTS:

†JUSTIN WINSOR, LL. D., 1884-1886.
†CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., 1884-1888.
†WILLIAM FREDERICK POOLE, LL. D., 1886-1887.
†JOHN JAY, LL. D., 1887-1889.
†WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1888-1890.
JAMES BURRILL ANGELL, LL. D., 1889-1891.
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†EDWARD GAY MASON, A. M., 1891-1894.
†GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL. D., 1894.
†RICHARD SALTER STORRS, D. D., LL. D., 1895.
JAMES SCHOUER, LL. D., 1895-1896.
†GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1896, 1897.
JAMES FORD RHODES, LL. D., D. Litt., 1897, 1898.
†EDWARD EGGLESTON, L. H. D., 1898, 1899.
†MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1899, 1900.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D., 1900.
†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, PH. D., LL. D., 1901.
ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., 1901.
†HENRY CHARLES LEA, LL. D., 1902.
†GOLDWIN SMITH, D. C. L., LL. D., 1902, 1903.
†EDWARD McCRADY, LL. D., 1903.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, PH. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1904.
SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL. D., 1904, 1905.
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, PH. D., LL. D., 1905, 1906.
GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, PH. D., Litt. D., 1906, 1907.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1907, 1908.
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D.; Litt. D., 1908, 1909.
 WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph. D., L. H. D., LL. D., 1909, 1910.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D.; 1910, 1911.
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1911, 1912.

SECRETARIES:

†HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1884-1899.
 A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889-1908.
 CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Ph. D., 1900—
 WALDO GIFFORD LELAND, A. M., 1908—

TREASURER:

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph. D., 1884—

CURATOR:

A. HOWARD CLARK, A. M., 1889—

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., 1884-1886.
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 †MOSES COIT TYLER, L. H. D., LL. D., 1884-1885.
 EPHRAIM EMERTON, Ph. D., 1884-1885.
 FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, A. M., Litt. D., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM FRANCIS ALLEN, A. M., 1885-1887.
 †WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, LL. D., 1886-1888.
 †RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES, LL. D., 1887-1888.
 JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1887-1891.
 ARTHUR MARTIN WHEELER, A. M., LL. D., 1887-1889.
 †GEORGE PARK FISHER, D. D., LL. D., 1888-1891.
 †GEORGE BROWN GOODE, LL. D., 1889-1896.
 JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C. M. G., D. C. L., LL. D., 1889-1894.
 JOHN BACH McMASTER, Ph. D., Litt. D., LL. D., 1891-1894.
 GEORGE BURTON ADAMS, Ph. D., Litt. D., 1891-1897; 1898-1901.
 THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL. D., 1894-1895.
 †JABEZ LAMAR MONROE CURRY, LL. D., 1894-1895.
 HENRY MORSE STEPHENS, M. A., Litt. D., 1895-1899.
 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1895-1899; 1901-1904.
 EDWARD MINER GALLAUDET, Ph. D., LL. D., 1896-1897.
 †MELVILLE WESTON FULLER, LL. D., 1897-1900.
 ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph. D., LL. D., Litt. D., 1897-1900.
 ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN, LL. B., 1898-1901; 1903-1906.
 WILLIAM A. DUNNING, Ph. D., LL. D., 1899-1902.
 †PETER WHITE, A. M., 1899-1902.
 J. FRANKLIN JAMESON, Ph. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.
 A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Ph. D., LL. D., 1900-1903.
 HERBERT PUTNAM, Litt. D., LL. D., 1901-1904.
 GEORGE LINCOLN BURR, LL. D., 1902-1905.
 EDWARD POTTS CHEYNEY, LL. D., 1902-1905.
 †EDWARD G. BOURNE, Ph. D., 1903-1906.
 †GEORGE P. GARRISON, Ph. D., 1904-1907.
 †REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL. D., 1904-1907.
 CHARLES MacLEAN ANDREWS, Ph. D., L. H. D., 1905-1908.
 JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Ph. D., 1905-1908.
 WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A. M., 1906-1909.
 WILLIAM MacDONALD, Ph. D., LL. D., 1906-1909.
 MAX FARRAND, Ph. D., 1907-1910.
 FRANK HEYWOOD HODDER, Ph. M., 1907-1910.
 EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Ph. D., 1908-1911.
 CHARLES HENRY HULL, Ph. D., 1908-1911.
 FRANKLIN LAFAYETTE RILEY, A. M., Ph. D., 1909-1912.
 EDWIN ERLE SPARKS, Ph. D., LL. D., 1909-1912.
 JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN, Ph. D., LL. D., 1910—
 FRED MORROW FLING, Ph. D., 1910—
 HERMAN VANDENBURG AMES, Ph. D., 1911—
 DANA CARLETON MUNRO, A. M., 1911—
 ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE, Ph. D., 1912—
 JOHN MARTIN VINCENT, Ph. D., LL. D., 1912—

COMMITTEES—1913.

Committee on program for the twenty-ninth annual meeting.—Prof. St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University, chairman; Waldo G. Leland, Samuel C. Mitchell, Ulrich B. Phillips, James T. Shotwell, Henry A. Sill.

Committees on local arrangements.—For Charleston, Joseph W. Barnwell, Esq., chairman; for Columbia, Benjamin F. Taylor, Esq., chairman.

Committee on nominations.—Prof. William MacDonald, Brown University, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, John S. Bassett, Edward B. Krehbiel, Franklin L. Riley.

Editors of the American Historical Review.—George L. Burr, Edward P. Cheyney, J. Franklin Jameson, Andrew C. McLaughlin, James H. Robinson, Frederick J. Turner.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Esq., Massachusetts Historical Society, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert, Ulrich B. Phillips, Frederick G. Young.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan, chairman; Carl Becker, Carl R. Fish, J. G. deR. Hamilton, William MacDonald.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—Prof. George L. Burr, Cornell University, chairman; Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, Laurence M. Larson, Albert B. White.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, Esq., chairman; Charles M. Andrews, Eugene C. Barker, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Jonas Viles, Henry E. Woods.

Committee on bibliography.—Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University, chairman; Clarence S. Brigham, W. Dawson Johnston, Walter Lichtenstein, Frederick J. Teggart, George Parker Winship.

Committee on publications.—Prof. Max Farrand, Yale University, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George L. Burr, Worthington C. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits, Ernest C. Richardson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

General committee.—Prof. Frederic L. Paxson, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, Pierce Butler, Isaac J. Cox, Frederic Duncalf, Miss Julia A. Flisch, Clarence S. Paine, Morgan P. Robinson, W. Roy Smith, David D. Wallace; and Waldo G. Leland and Haven W. Edwards, *ex officio*.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.—Prof. Dana C. Munro, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Kendrick C. Babcock, Charles E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, Haven W. Edwards, Robert A. Maurer.

Conference of historical societies.—Thomas M. Owen, Esq., Montgomery, Ala., chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

Advisory board of History Teacher's Magazine.—Prof. Henry Johnson, Columbia University, chairman; Fred M. Fling, Miss Blanche Hazard, George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat, James Sullivan.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES.

The American Historical Association was organized at Saratoga, N. Y., on September 10, 1884, with an enrollment of 40 members, and incorporated by act of Congress of January 4, 1889.

Any person approved by the executive council may become a member. Applications for membership and nominations (by persons already members) of new members should be addressed to the secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The annual dues are fixed at \$3, payable on September 1 for the year then beginning. Life membership, with exemption from annual dues, may be secured upon payment of \$50.

The publications regularly distributed to members are the American Historical Review, the Annual Report, and the Handbook. The first of these is published quarterly (October, January, April, July) under the direction of a board of editors elected by the executive council. Each number contains 200 or more pages and is composed of articles, documents, reviews of books, and notes and news. The Annual Report, printed by order of Congress, is in one or two volumes and contains the proceedings of the annual meetings, the report of the public archives commission with its appendices consisting of inventories, catalogues, etc., of materials in State and other archives, and collections of documents edited by the historical manuscripts commission. The Handbook, containing the names, addresses, and professional positions of members, is published at biennial or longer intervals. Back numbers of the American Historical Review may be obtained from the Macmillan Co. of New York. Copies of the annual reports of past years, or of separates of articles or publications appearing therein, may be obtained, so far as available, from the secretary of the association.

The prize essays of the association are published in a separate series, one volume appearing each year, and are supplied to members for \$1 each, to non-members for \$1.50.

The Study of History in Secondary Schools, being the report of the committee of seven (1899), is published by the Macmillan Co., of New York, at 50 cents.

The Study of History in Elementary Schools, being the report of the committee of eight (1909), is published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at 50 cents.

Original Narratives of Early American History is a series of reprints edited for the association by J. F. Jameson and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, of New York, at \$3 a volume.

The annual meetings of the association are held during the period December 27-31, in various cities. At these meetings there are sessions with formal papers, sessions partaking of the nature of round-table conferences, and conferences of archivists and of historical societies. Annual meetings of other associations, the interests of which are allied to those of the American Historical Association, are generally held at the same time and place.

Committees on archives, on historical manuscripts, on bibliography, on various phases of history teaching, as well as other committees appointed from time to time for special purposes, carry on the activities of the association throughout the year.

HISTORICAL PRIZES.

For the encouragement of historical research the American Historical Association offers two prizes, each of \$200; the Justin Winsor prize in American history and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize in European history. Each is awarded biennially (the Winsor prize in the even years and the Adams prize in the odd years) for the best unpublished monograph submitted to the committee of award on or before July 1 of the given year, e. g., by July 1, 1915, for the Adams prize in European history, and by July 1, 1914, for the Winsor prize in American history. The conditions of award are as follows:

I. The prize is intended for writers who have not yet published any considerable work or obtained an established reputation.

II. *A. For the Justin Winsor prize.*—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in American history, by which is meant the history of any of the British colonies in America to 1783, of other territories, continental or insular, which have since been acquired by the United States, of the United States, and of independent Latin America. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

B. For the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—The monograph must be based upon independent and original investigation in European history, by which is meant the history of Europe, continental, insular, or colonial, excluding continental French America and British America before 1783. It may deal with any aspect of that history—social, political, constitutional, religious, economic, ethnological, military, or biographical, though in the last three instances a treatment exclusively ethnological, military, or biographical would be unfavorably received.

III. The monograph must present subject matter of more than personal or local interest, and must, as regards its conclusions, be a distinct contribution to knowledge. Its statements must be accurate and the author in his treatment of the facts collected must show originality and power of interpretation.

IV. The monograph must conform to the accepted canons of historical research and criticism.

It must be presented in scientific form.

It must contain references to all authorities.

It must be accompanied by a critical bibliography. Should the bibliography be omitted or should it consist only of a list of titles without critical comments and valuations, the monograph will not be admitted to the competition.

V. The monograph should not exceed 100,000 words in length. The manuscript should be typewritten, and must be neat, correct, and in form ready for the printer.

[In the typewriting of essays competitors are urged to use a strong, rather heavy paper, to have text and notes alike double spaced, to number the notes consecutively for each chapter, and to insert each note in the text immediately after the line in which its index number occurs, separating the note from the text by lines above and below extending across the page. In abbreviating the titles of works cited care should be taken to make the abbreviations clear and consistent. The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of Prize Essays should be followed.]

VI. In addition to text, footnotes, and bibliography, the monograph must contain nothing except the name and address of the author and a short introduction setting forth the character of the material and the purpose of the work. After the award has been made the successful competitor may add such personal allusions as are customary in a printed work.

VII. In making the award the committee will consider not only research, accuracy, and originality, but also clearness of expression, logical arrangement, and especially literary form. The successful monograph must be written in good English. The prize will not be awarded unless the work submitted shall be of a high degree of excellence.

VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proof will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

XI. The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

Address all correspondence relative to the Justin Winsor prize to Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, Ann Arbor, Mich., and all correspondence relative to the Herbert Baxter Adams prize to Prof. George Lincoln Burr, Ithaca, N. Y. [after January 1, 1914, to Prof. Charles D. Hazen, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.]

The Justin Winsor prize (which until 1906 was offered annually) has been awarded to the following:

1896. Herman V. Ames, "The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States."

1900. William A. Schaper, "Sectionalism and representation in South Carolina," with honorable mention of Mary S. Locke, "Antislavery sentiment before 1808."

1901. Ulrich B. Phillips, "Georgia and State rights," with honorable mention of M. Louise Greene, "The struggle for religious liberty in Connecticut."

1902. Charles McCarthy, "The Anti-Masonic party," with honorable mention of W. Roy Smith, "South Carolina as a Royal Province."

1903. Louise Phelps Kellogg, "The American colonial charter; a study of its relation to English administration, chiefly after 1688."

1904. William R. Manning, "The Nootka Sound controversy," with honorable mention of C. O. Paullin, "The Navy of the American Revolution."

1906. Annie Heloise Abel, "The history of events resulting in Indian consolidation west of the Mississippi River."

1908. Clarence Edwin Carter, "Great Britain and the Illinois country, 1765-1774," with honorable mention of Charles Henry Ambler, "Sectionalism in Virginia, 1776-1861."

1910. Edward Raymond Turner, "The Negro in Pennsylvania—slavery, servitude, and freedom, 1639-1861."

1912. Arthur Charles Cole, "The Whig Party in the South."

From 1897 to 1899 and in 1905 the Justin Winsor prize was not awarded.

The Herbert Baxter Adams prize has been awarded to:

1905. David S. Muzzey, "The spiritual Franciscans," with honorable mention of Eloise Ellery, "Jean Pierre Brissot."

1907. In equal division, Edward B. Krehbiel, "The interdict, its history and its operation, with especial attention to the time of Pope Innocent III," and William S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the revolutionizing of Spanish America."

1909. Wallace Notestein, "A history of witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718."

1911. Louise Fargo Brown, "The political activities of the Baptists and fifth-monarchy men in England during the interregnum."

The essays of Messrs. Muzzey, Krehbiel, Carter, Notestein, Turner, Cole, and Miss Brown have been published by the association in a series of separate volumes. The earlier Winsor prize essays were printed in the Annual Reports.

I. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 27-31, 1912.

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT BOSTON.¹

From the point of view of the general public, the chief characteristic of the association's twenty-eighth annual meeting lay in the presence of Col. Roosevelt and in the power and charm of the address which he delivered as president.² The attractive force of his political and literary fame accounts in great measure for the large attendance, which ran to about 450 members, surpassing the number of those brought together on any previous occasion except the quarter-centennial at New York in 1909. Much attractive power lay also in the conjunction of allied societies. The American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the New England History Teachers' Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and the American Association for Labor Legislation all held their meetings in Boston and Cambridge in these same days, December 27 to 31. The intervention of a Sunday among these days gave welcome relief from a program which was, as is usual, distinctly too congested.

The Massachusetts Historical Society invited the members of the association to luncheon on one of the days of the sessions, and Harvard University exercised similar hospitality upon another. There was also a reception for the members by President and Mrs. Lowell at Cambridge, tea at Simmons College on one of the afternoons, and "smokers" at the City Club and at the University Club. For all these hospitable entertainments the gratitude of the members was publicly and privately expressed. The sessions ended with a subscription luncheon at the Copley Plaza, at which Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart presided, and at which brief addresses were made by Prof. Albion W. Small, president of the American Sociological Society; President Samuel C. Mitchell, of the University of South Carolina; Prof. Talcott Williams, of the School of Journalism of Columbia University; and President Eliot.

A characteristic note of the meeting was the prevalence of conferences for the discussion of practical problems, rather than general sessions for the reading of formal papers. The latter, aside from the evening devoted to Col. Roosevelt's presidential address, were

¹ This account is, in the main, that printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1913.

² Printed in full *ibid.*

confined to the last two sessions—those of Monday evening, December 30, and of Tuesday forenoon—with the addition of a joint session held with the American Political Science Association on the afternoon of Monday, before the meeting for business. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association also had an open session. Practical conferences on the other hand numbered not fewer than nine, devoted respectively to the work of archivists, to ancient history, to historical bibliography, to military history, to the interests of teachers, to those of State and local historical societies, to medieval history, to American history, and to modern history. In nearly all these conferences the committee on program and the respective chairmen had almost entire success in bringing about real and lively discussion. Their process consisted in permitting, at each conference, the reading of only one or two formal papers, the texts of which had usually been circulated among those appointed to discuss them, which they were then expected to do with the freedom of oral if not of extemporaneous discourse.

In the sessions devoted to the reading of formal papers, the long-established rule of the society limiting such papers to 20 minutes was frequently disregarded. The results of such excess of speech on the part of those who read—or of leniency on the part of those who preside—are always in some degree injurious to the success of a session and to the interests of those who come last upon the program.

The fourth annual conference of archivists,¹ presided over by Prof. Herman V. Ames, was held on Saturday morning, December 28, in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In opening the conference the chairman recalled the organization of the Public Archives Commission at Boston in 1900 and briefly reviewed its work, pointing out what had thus far been accomplished in the way of publishing information respecting public archives and of arousing general interest in and securing legislation for their preservation. The first contribution to the program was an informal report by Mr. Gaillard Hunt on the archives of the Federal Government outside the District of Columbia. The most important of these are the archives of the various legations and embassies, which fortunately have never suffered from fire. Thirty-nine field offices in the Indian Service have records prior to 1873. Of the offices under the Treasury Department the customhouses, mints, and assay offices have the most important records. Of the Federal courts the only one that has preserved its records from the beginning is that at Hartford. Mr. Hunt's report showed how little attention has been paid to this class of Federal archives and made it clear that prompt measures are necessary to insure the preservation of valuable material.

¹ Its proceedings are printed in full in the present volume.

The conference was devoted mainly to the consideration of a plan for a manual of archive practice or economy, similar in method to the manual of library economy prepared by the American Library Association. Mr. Victor H. Paltsits presented a tentative outline for the manual and indicated the general nature of its contents, dwelling more at length on such matters as official and public use of the archives, sites and plans of archive buildings and their heating, ventilation, and lighting, classification and cataloguing of archives, and the restoration or repair of manuscripts. The general discussion was opened by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, who emphasized the utility of profiting from European experience, pointed out the distinction between public archives and historical manuscripts, and reiterated the necessity of observing the principle of the *respect des fonds* in the classification of records. Dr. Dunbar Rowland pointed out the desirability of adopting uniform methods of classification throughout the archives of the various States, urged the adoption of the most liberal regulations respecting the use of archives, and dwelt upon the qualifications of the archivist. The problems of local records were dealt with by Mr. Solon J. Buck and Mr. Herbert O. Brigham, who urged the standardization and abbreviation of forms, eliminating much useless legal verbiage. Mr. James J. Tracy told of his experiences as chief of the Massachusetts Division of Archives and asked for the cooperation of historical and hereditary societies in securing suitable legislation. The advantage of publicity in arousing general interest in archives was dwelt upon by Dr. Henry S. Burrage and Mr. Thomas C. Quinn.

The conference on ancient history was held in one of the buildings of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, on the same morning. In the absence of Mr. Fairbanks, of the Boston Museum, Prof. William S. Ferguson, of Harvard, presided and introduced Prof. George F. Moore, of the same university, who opened the conference with a presentation of oriental history as a field for investigation. He pointed out that recent explorations had revolutionized the knowledge held a century ago and had raised innumerable fresh problems—problems of race, of language, of chronology, and of intercourse. The fact that Syria was the connecting link between the three centers of ancient civilization would suggest that there the most important discoveries of the future would be made. This speaker was followed by Prof. Henry A. Sill, of Cornell University, who, with a wealth of illustration, showed what had been done and what remained to do in the Græco-Roman field. Among other things he suggested, as work ready to be entered upon, a new edition of Diodorus, and of the fragments of the Greek historians, and a history of ancient historiography. The great mass of material which has been brought to light, much of which is yet unpublished, gives

opportunity for a study of the economic and social, as well as the political life of the Greeks and Romans. As special fields in which yet unworked material exists in abundance the speaker suggested the origins of Greek and of Italian civilization, the expansion of Hellenism, Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman days, and the Roman Republic. The chairman, in commenting upon the papers, said that he stood appalled at two things, the number of tools necessary for the work, and the immense fertility of the field.

Prof. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, in opening the discussion, laid still further stress upon the first of these thoughts. The historian of the ancient world must master oriental philology and archaeology, yet he must primarily be neither a philologist nor an archaeologist if his work is to be acceptable. At the present time he does not possess so much as a satisfactory handbook. This lack must be supplied and a mass of material must be published, as the primary steps. Prof. Robert W. Rogers, of Drew Theological Seminary, briefly suggested that the great need was for intensive work. Dr. Ralph V. Magoffin, of Johns Hopkins University, pointed out that there are two classes of matters which could profitably be considered, namely: those of a general nature, in which all the historians in this field might interest themselves; and the special undertakings of individuals. Under the first head he advocated the publication of studies on the history of Roman law, especially its bibliography and its treatment by the classical historians. Under the second head he spoke of the opportunities for work on the social, political, and municipal history of Asia Minor, and the colonies of the republic and early empire, and for the preparation of series of monographs on the Roman emperors. Mr. Oric Bates, who closed the discussion,¹ limited his remarks to Libya, a region which he regarded as worthy of far more attention than it had received. The people of ancient Libya were probably of the same race as those north of the Mediterranean, so that problems of ethnology and of philology must be studied here which are closely related to those of Greece and Italy. Materials casting light on problems of trade, of colonization, of culture, are all to be found here. Themes especially in need of investigation are, the connections between Libya and Syria, the relations between the Greek colonists of Cyrene and the natives, and those of the Carthaginians to the races which surrounded them.

The same morning's conference on historical bibliography, presided over by Prof. Ernest C. Richardson, librarian of Princeton University, was entirely occupied with the discussion of an exceedingly clever and suggestive paper by Prof. Carl Becker, of the University of Kansas, on the reviewing of historical books. His main

¹ His paper will be found printed in the present volume, in a section devoted to the briefer papers read in conferences.

suggestion was, as will be seen on reading the paper itself,¹ that there should be a segregation of the bibliographical or noncritical data respecting all books noticed, the undisputed descriptive facts concerning them, on the one hand, and on the other hand, the critical articles in which *some* books, deserving such fuller treatment or lending themselves to it appropriately, should be made the theme of more intellectual discussion and of appreciations more useful toward the improvement of the historical art. Dr. J. F. Jameson, speaking as managing editor of the *American Historical Review*, expressed his appreciation of the value of Mr. Becker's thoughts, and agreed with cordiality that benefit should be derived from them in the conduct of such a journal, but he believed that practical obstacles stood in the way of carrying out in its entirety so drastic a program. He dwelt upon the evils which he had felt to exist in the reviewing of historical books among us—the frequent inadequacy, the insufficient amount of penetrating thought, the rareness with which the higher levels of criticism are reached, and above all, the excess of leniency which, he held, constantly characterized the bulk of the reviews which it is his function to print. He of course disclaimed all desire for slashing reviews, bad manners, or unkindness; and he duly valued the amiability of his profession and the unreserved amenity which can now characterize the meetings of reviewer and reviewed at the sessions of the American Historical Association. But he believed that our book notices could never do what they ought for the improvement of our profession if the writers of signed or unsigned reviews shirked their duty of setting forth deficiencies with an unsparing hand.

Mr. W. Dawson Johnston, librarian of Columbia University, held that, from a bibliographical point of view, the problem is how to organize the record of current historical publications so that all sources of historical learning may be accessible to the inquirer with the least expenditure of time. This involves on the one hand a complete record of the current historical literature, and on the other hand a thorough analysis of it. All literature, he pointed out, which is written from an historical point of view must be recorded whether it represents the work of a well-known author or not, whether it relates to subjects of general interest or not, and whether submitted by the author for review or not. It need not all be recorded in one magazine nor indeed in magazines devoted mainly to the promotion of historical studies. In fact it would be better to provide for the recording of much of this literature in journals devoted to the allied fields of economics, art, etc., and with the spread of the historical method this will undoubtedly be done. But, he maintained, it is

¹ Printed in full on later pages, 127-136.

desirable that there should be a division of the field between the historical journals of one country and those of another, between national journals and local journals, and between historical and other journals. Only in this way will it become possible to cover the entire field and do it without wasteful and tedious duplication. And it is also desirable that the record should be published not only in monthly and quarterly magazines as news notes, but also for reference purposes, in such annual surveys as the "Writings on American History." This record, he said, should be an analytical one; that is, each publication should be briefly but fully described. The historiographers of the Georgian era had time to write, and perhaps time to read, reviews three and four and more pages in length; we have time ordinarily for no more than that number of lines. Our historical reviews should, therefore, it seemed to him, take the form of historical disquisition less and less, and more and more the form of bibliographical notes. The importance of such analysis has been recognized in the description of manuscripts; it is even more important in the case of books, because while the former may be used in only one place and by the few, the latter are accessible in many places and of interest to many people. He disclaimed, however, the wish to make a plea for a less dignified or less eloquent critical literature, but only desired to urge the value of more critical and therefore more useful bibliographical literature.

Others, speaking from the same point of view, made evident the need of criticisms that follow quickly upon publication, and of larger and more systematic information on foreign books, while teachers and investigators desired a greater number of those surveys of recent literature and recent progress in special fields which the Review has occasionally afforded, and which it expects more often to provide in the future.

The session on military history, of Saturday morning, was a conference between representatives of the military and the historical profession for the discussion of a practical problem—how to establish the scientific study of military history, making its results of value to the soldier, the civilian, and the Nation.¹ The conference was presided over in turn by Prof. Hart and Prof. William A. Dunning. Prof. R. M. Johnston, of Harvard, who opened the discussion, spoke of the disrepute into which old-fashioned military history had justly fallen; the growing attention to the subject, especially its technical phases, in Europe; indicated the wealth of material for American military history; and urged the furthering of the study through such methods as the cooperation of military and historical experts, the greater

¹ A stenographic report of the conference is printed in the *Infantry Journal*, January-February, 1913, pp. 545-578, and is reprinted in the present volume, pp. 157-197.

recognition of military history at Army headquarters, the establishment of seminar work in the universities, and the founding of a journal and a national society. Capt. Arthur L. Conger, of the Army service schools at Fort Leavenworth, maintained that any real solution of the problem must include the creation of an historical section of the General Staff. Mr. Oswald G. Villard, who may be said to have represented the civilian pacifist, feared that such a solution would result in the writing of history with a biased point of view, although an historical section of the General Staff might well work for the development of instruction in history in the military schools. He hoped rather for the organization of a national civilian society in which military men should participate. Col. T. L. Livermore, United States Army, retired, stated that he had long urged the creation of an historical section of the General Staff, and asserted his belief in the ability of the soldier to write history unbiased by his profession; he thought also that the time had come for the establishment of a national society for military history. Prof. F. M. Fling, of Nebraska, was of the opinion that military history should be dealt with by military men with historical training and pointed out the necessity of laying a foundation in detailed studies. Maj. J. W. McAndrew, of the Army War College, detailed by the War Department to attend the conference, held that for the successful study of military history the collaboration of military men and historians was indispensable, and advocated the creation of an historical section of the General Staff. Maj. George H. Shelton, editor of the *Infantry Journal*, felt that the start in the right direction lay through the General Staff and asked for the encouragement of the American Historical Association in securing the necessary legislation. The discussion was brought to a close by the president of the association, Col. Roosevelt, who declared that military history could not be treated as something apart from national history. Military history should be written primarily by military men and under the observation of the General Staff, but with the collaboration of civilian historians. He emphasized especially the lessons which our military history should bring home to the Nation, illustrating his point with personal experiences in the war of 1898 and with the mistakes and failures of the war of 1812. The conference closed with the appointment of a committee to consider the best method of furthering the study and presentation of military history, and to make at the next meeting of the American Historical Association a report upon this subject. The committee was constituted by the chair as follows: Prof. R. M. Johnston, chairman; Prof. F. M. Fling, Col. T. L. Livermore, Maj. J. W. McAndrew, and Maj. George H. Shelton. Later the council of the association requested this committee to cooperate with the committee on the program for

the next annual meeting in framing for that occasion a program for a second conference on military history.

The increasing interest in the history teachers' conference was shown by the numbers that assembled in the Museum of Fine Arts on Saturday afternoon. After a short business meeting of the New England History Teachers' Association, which met in joint session with the teachers of the Historical Association, Prof. Ferguson, the chairman, introduced Prof. John O. Sumner, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the chairman of the committee on the equipment for the teaching of history in high schools and colleges, who presented the report of the committee. This report summarized the returns received from 150 preparatory schools and 10 colleges, most of the 150 schools using the four courses recommended by the committee of seven. Some of the general observations that resulted from the survey thus afforded were, that while libraries are most cordial in their cooperation, city museums are not used as they might be, that there is no conspicuous difference between the results obtained by private and by public schools, that the importance of a large number of duplicates in libraries is overlooked, that maps are sadly deficient, that pictures are in very general use, and that a number of schools possess lanterns.

Prof. Henry Johnson, of Teachers' College, opened the discussion with the suggestion that the report, though valuable, had lessened its usefulness by attempting too much, and that the important thing is not the accumulation of material, which is comparatively easy, but the proper using of the material when collected. Dr. Daniel C. Knowlton, of the Central High School, Newark, N. J., in his remarks further emphasized the idea that such a report should supply teachers with specific instructions as to the use of the various forms of material available. He mentioned Weyrich's "*Anschaulicher Geschichtsunterricht*," which shows, in the form of an elaborate catalogue, the possibility of using, for illustrative purposes, common things in the life and various experiences of the child. Too little attention, he held, had been given in the past to equipping class rooms for the teaching of history. He further emphasized the necessity of great care in the preparation of lists of books, and the importance of distinguishing between the books suitable for the use of teachers and those to be used for collateral reading by the students.

Prof. Arthur P. Butler, of Morristown, N. J., added the suggestion that the vital and the difficult thing is to set the pupil himself to work with the material, and to teach him facility in reproducing what he has heard and read. In the general discussion which followed Prof. Sumner stated that the report did not yet reach the matter of utilization of material, but that the committee hoped to be of use in that

respect as well as in the selection of material. Prof. Ernest F. Henderson suggested ways of using the current "History Teacher's Magazine" in illustration of the general subject, and Mr. G. H. Howard, of Springfield, Mass., dwelt further on the necessity of teaching the pupil to give expression to his knowledge. At the close of the session those present were invited to Simmons College to inspect the rooms arranged there illustrating with books, maps, pictures, and other material the recommended high-school courses. The space given to industrial history proved most popular, probably because of the greater opportunity afforded for illustrative work by the pupils.

The ninth annual conference of historical societies was held in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society on Saturday afternoon, with President Henry Lefavour of Simmons College, president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, as chairman.¹ Only two papers were presented, but each was of unusual merit. Mr. Charles K. Bolton, librarian of the Boston Athenæum, dealt with the subject, not frequently discussed at meetings of the association, of "Genealogy and history." He pointed out that "the vicissitudes of families conceal the very sources of political and economic history" and urged that the genealogist should not concern himself merely with the names and vital statistics of those whose relationships he records, but also with their environment, activities, and state of culture, thus making a genuine contribution to history which the historian can not afford to ignore. In discussion of the subject Dr. H. W. Van Loon indicated the close relation between genealogy and the continuance of reigning families and described the careful preservation of genealogical material in the older countries, while Dr. F. A. Woods, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, spoke briefly of genealogy as an aid in the study of heredity, and pointed out the unusual degree of interrelationship among the personages most eminent in American history. Mr. Worthington C. Ford's paper on the Massachusetts Historical Society was exceedingly suggestive. Indicating the conditions in 1790 which brought the society into existence, Mr. Ford sketched the broad lines of the society's development to the present day, showing the part played by such factors as the personality of its membership, the gradual delimitation of the scope of its activities, and its policy in the collection and publication of material. With regard to this latter it was stated that "the wholesome lesson was early learned that the society must support its publications and could not hope to derive any profit from them." In the matter of collection Mr. Ford made a plea for the proper geographical distribution of material, pointing

¹ The proceedings of this conference will be found in full on later pages, 197-223.

out how historical societies may act as clearing houses of archival and other original material that has gone astray. The principal matter of business that came before the conference was the report made by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, for the committee on cooperative activities, on the progress of the catalogue of documents in French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley. The committee was authorized to secure additional funds, and \$500 was pledged at the conference by the Illinois Historical Library, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, and the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

The principal paper in the conference on medieval history, of which Prof. George B. Adams, of Yale University, was chairman, was on "Profitable fields of investigation in medieval history," by Prof. J. W. Thompson of the University of Chicago.¹ He dissented strongly from the opinion that what was essential in the task of investigating medieval history had already been performed. Even in the earlier portion of the medieval field, well as it has been worked, new points of view require new examinations of facts in order to obtain new interpretations. In the early history of the Church there is still much that is merely conventional. Medieval economic history is full of subjects needing investigation. The speaker drew a particularly interesting series of examples from the history of eastern Germany in the Middle Ages, with parallels between the eastward extension of the German frontier in that age and the westward progress of American pioneer life in modern times. Medieval ecclesiastical institutions in France and England, the meager facts as to *minores* and *mediocres*, topics in the history of taxation, in commercial history, in the history of guilds, were touched upon with many suggestive comments tending toward fuller investigation of the economic and social history of the Middle Ages.

In discussing the paper Prof. J. T. Shotwell, of Columbia University, dwelt upon the large possibilities which lie before American students in respect to constructive work in medieval history, European scholars having performed for them the needful toil of getting the materials ready. He likewise, in a similar spirit, adverted to the fact that early medieval church history, the materials of which had largely been already prepared by clerics, affords much work for laymen to do, in examining such topics, for instance, as the government of the *Patrimonium Petri*, papal finance, the extension of Christian morals over the north of Europe, the sacraments considered from the point of view of anthropology, and the archaeology of the Middle Ages, especially the prehistoric archaeology of the North. Prof. A. B. White, of the University of Minnesota, dwelt upon the

¹ Printed in the American Historical Review for April, 1913.

crucial importance of a much larger amount of work in the critical study of the meanings and uses of medieval terms. Especially was this the case, he said, in studying the beginnings of the English Parliament, and he dwelt upon the necessity of a word-for-word study of the sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in order to establish the precise shades of meaning, at various times, of such words as *concilium* and *parliamentum*.

Dr. Howard L. Gray, of Harvard University, spoke of the necessity of many local studies before medieval economic history can be securely advanced, and of the difficulties presented by the agrarian history of France, and in a less degree of England, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. Dr. Curtis H. Walker, of the University of Chicago, set forth the new point of view from which a study of the Church in the Middle Ages should be made. The professed church historian, he said, generally trained as a theologian, leaves almost untouched the active side of church history—that is, the influence of the Church on its environment; in other words, its social significance—while on the other hand the secular historian, while he treats church institutions with regard to their social significance, touches on them only here and there. Both fail to give a satisfactory treatment of the Church as a factor in the whole stream of social development. Dr. Curtis then proceeded to show how the history of the Church in the Roman Empire might be treated by a student in touch with the work of the student of sociology, psychology, and religion, who regards his subject as an element in the religious and social development of the peoples of the Mediterranean Basin. Among the others who spoke, Prof. W. E. Lunt laid emphasis upon critical studies of the chroniclers and of the documents respecting taxation; Prof. Edgar H. MacNeal, of the old French and middle high German romances; and Prof. A. C. Howland, of the history of medieval education and of the legal institutions of the Middle Ages.

The two remaining conferences, occupied with American history and with modern history respectively, took place at Harvard University on the morning of Monday, December 30. All the sessions of Monday morning and Monday afternoon, including the annual business meeting, were held in Cambridge.

Those interested primarily in the subject of American history held their conference in Emerson Hall, Prof. Frederick J. Turner presiding. Prof. Dodd's paper on "Profitable fields of investigation in American history, 1815-1860,"¹ pointed to a wide range of unexplored or partially explored territory. Beginning with the thesis that in the period of which he spoke the dominant interest was the

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1913.

plantation system and its chief contestant the manufacturing interest, he showed Polk's administration as the turning point, in which the supremacy of the former became assured, and after which the allied South and West proceeded on a new program of radical nationalism and territorial expansion. Then, proceeding State by State through the South and the Northwest, he pointed out how the struggle of interests which marked the time might be illuminated by certain local and especially by biographical studies. He also set forth the opportunities for closer work upon the history of the religious organizations in this period, in their relations to the social history of the time and especially to conservative sentiment and the slave-holding interest.

Prof. Dodd's paper provided food for a fruitful discussion which was opened by Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, of the University of Michigan.¹ He took exception to Prof. Dodd's statement that slave property was the most valuable investment in a southern community, giving explicit reasons for his opinion. He stated his belief that the greatest need in the period under discussion was a study of economic and social conditions, district by district, with especial emphasis on the social conditions. Prof. Theodore C. Smith, of Williams College, felt that Prof. Dodd had ignored the Northeast and the Central States, and had narrowed his interest by using an inadequate formula. He believed a study of the political history of a single State would be of the greatest use, and suggested Pennsylvania as a fertile subject. The development of the Liberty Party he also cited as needing much more investigation. Prof. Allen Johnson, of Yale, expressed a desire that for a time 1861 be forgotten and the antebellum period be treated as preliminary to our own days, particularly along the line of political processes and party machinery. Prof. Homer C. Hockett, of Ohio State University, suggested as a principle of selection, a necessity in all historical work, the connection of past events with present-day problems such as the third-party movement, the evolution of the wage problem, and the manufacturing interests. Prof. P. Orman Ray, of Pennsylvania State College, followed Prof. Smith's suggestion for detailed work on Pennsylvania politics from 1815 to 1828, by citing numerous topics, among others a study of Pennsylvania financial history, a history of the railroads of the State, the connection between the railroads and legislation, the proceedings of the various State constitutional conventions, the reform movements in connection with debtor laws and liquor legislation, and finally suggested a series of monographs on the presidential campaigns. Prof. Jonas Viles, of the University of Missouri, empha-

¹ A fuller statement of his remarks will be found in a subsequent section devoted to briefer papers read in conferences, pp. 150-151.

sized the need for scholarly local history investigated from the national point of view. Miss Katharine Coman, of Wellesley College, brought to the consideration of the conference research beyond the Mississippi where no slavery question was known.¹ The material for this work, diaries of the early explorers and settlers, letters, business papers, newspapers, early church records, recollections of living pioneers, exists in great quantities, but much of it of value has already been destroyed and more will disappear with each decade that passes.

The conference on modern history, held at the same hour, in the lecture hall of the Fogg Museum of Art, was presided over by Prof. Charles D. Hazen, of Smith College. The principal paper laid before the conference was one by Prof. Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard, on the "History of commerce as a field for investigation," and commercial history remained the sole topic of the conference. Prof. Gay set out with great force, clearness, and grasp of general aspects a wide variety of topics in the history of modern commerce upon which greater light was needed, and expressed with particular vigor the need both of greater breadth and of far greater exactness in the presentation and use of materials, especially of statistical materials, for commercial history. Too much of the history of commerce which has been written is merely romantic fiction.

Prof. Clive Day, of Yale, expressed cordial agreement with Prof. Gay in his demand for a study of the history of commerce in its broader aspects, leading to a better understanding of the successive economic stages. He joined him in pleading for more exact methods in studying the history of commerce, and called attention to such recent works as those by Madame Bang, Becht, and Wätjen, giving a statistical basis for study. He emphasized the importance of the constitutional aspects of commercial history, and urged that students should not be blinded by an exaggerated belief in the importance of commercial policy.

Prof. A. L. P. Dennis, of Wisconsin, spoke of the history of the trade of the English in India, especially in the seventeenth century, as distinguished from the commerce between England and India, of which more is known. Added materials in print have now made it possible to make intensive studies of such subjects as Indian banking, private trading of servants of the East India Company, prices, and the like. Prof. William E. Lingelbach, of the University of Pennsylvania, remarking that the period from 1803 to 1813 had mainly been dealt with from the military and political points of view, advocated a much fuller study of the Napoleonic period as consisting in a great commercial struggle. The sources for the history of Eng-

¹ The papers of Mr. Ray and Miss Coman are printed below, in the section of briefer papers, pp. 152-156.

lish commercial policy during this period are voluminous, those for the French even richer; and there is need of many regional studies on the history and effect of the continental system upon particular areas. American consular reports, inclosures in the diplomatic correspondence, and the manuscripts of private firms, like the five hundred volumes of the papers of Stephen Girard, afford many materials for the discussion of profitable topics like the Baltic trade of that time, the commercial position of the subsidiary states under Napoleon, the amelioration of the system by licenses, English and French, smuggling, and places like Halifax and Amelia Island, which constituted strategic points comparable to Heligoland.¹

Mr. Abbott P. Usher, of Cornell University, dwelt upon the international aspects of commercial history and the need of observing them in spite of the natural temptation to observe national boundaries unduly because the deposits of material are national. He instanced Schmoller's history of the Prussian grain trade in the "*Acta Borussica*," in which the ignoring of the relations of Polish and Baltic trade to Prussian leave the book a work of erudition rather than a vital history of important movements; and the history of the bill of exchange, Goldschmidt's work being confined to Italian sources instead of following in the archives of all important countries alike a subject which is essentially cosmopolitan.²

Mr. Clarence H. Haring, of Bryn Mawr, spoke of the archives of the Indies in Seville, and of the opportunities which they afford for a study of the origin, organization, and history of Spanish colonial commerce, and especially of the Spanish silver fleets, for which the accounts of the treasurers of the Casa de Contratacion and of the various colonial treasurers afford ample materials, while the registers preserved in Seville of ships sailing to and from America are invaluable for the general study of colonial trade and navigation. Dr. Stewart L. Mims, of Yale, from the point of view of a student of the French colonial empire, adverted to the difficulty of generalizing at present, the need of first securing many special studies of individual colonies in the Antilles, individual ports of France, and individual divisions of French colonial commerce, such as the sugar trade and slave trade.

Dr. N. S. B. Gras, of Clark College, closed the discussion by remarks on a group of new sources for the history of English customs and commerce, namely, the great mass of port books and coast bonds recently saved from destruction and brought to attention at the Pub-

¹ In an expanded form Mr. Lingelbach's paper will be found in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1914, under the title "*Historical Investigation and the Commercial History of the Napoleonic Era*."

² See *post*, pp. 143-144, for a fuller text of this paper.

lic Record Office, and in which the history of English commerce in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries can be followed in minute detail of ships, exports, and destinations.¹

A special session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, presided over by its president, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of Wisconsin, was held on Monday morning, the general subject of the four papers read being New England and the West. Prof. Archer B. Hulbert brought new light to bear, from his investigation of the Craigie papers in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, on the history of the Scioto Company and its short-lived and unhappy settlement at Gallipolis. The Scioto Company, he stated, had no real organization, but was composed of Col. Duer, Andrew Craigie, and Royal Flint, as principal associates, who with others styled themselves "trustees," and, under the wing of the Ohio Company, attempted to carry on a speculation pure and simple. Their methods were the purchase of United States claims, the attempt, through foreign financiers such as Brissot de Warville, to secure transfers of the foreign debt or to make loans abroad on Scioto stock, and the exchange of Scioto shares for those of other corporations. The speculators, Mr. Hulbert stated, had no intention of exploiting and settling the region on which they held options, gave no such right to the French company, and should not be held directly responsible for the Gallipolis episode. In the second paper, Dr. Solon J. Buck controverted the generally accepted view that the people of early Illinois came almost entirely from the South and held all "Yankees" in aversion. On the basis of statistical study of the nativity of office holders in Illinois before 1833, he showed that the New England element was about 12 per cent (one-third of the northern element). The participation of New Englanders in Illinois politics was greatest from 1818 to 1824, and the part they played in the slavery struggle was distinctly honorable. The New England emigration was especially strong just after the War of 1812. Prof. Karl F. Geiser, dealing with the early New England influence in the Western Reserve, pointed out that the social and political institutions of that region had developed out of New England Puritanism modified by forces springing out of the new soil to which it was transferred. The settlers from New England formed the nuclei of the various communities, the leadership of which they retained, shaping the development of religion and educational institutions, long after they were outnumbered by other elements.

Mrs. Lois K. Mathews's paper on the "Mayflower compact and its descendants" developed the idea that compact making was a well-known process to the Americans of 1775, and survived after 1865,

¹ See *post*, pp. 145-147.

while side by side with the idea of compact, indeed as a corollary to it, developed that of secession. The plantation covenants of early New England, such as those of Providence, Exeter, and Dover, were discussed. The New England confederation of 1643 represents the same principle on a larger scale, and the Articles of Confederation were in a sense a still more developed outgrowth. It was not, therefore, theoretical knowledge alone which the delegates to the constitutional convention possessed, but much practical experience of compacts. The application of the compact theory by no means ceased with the adoption of the Constitution, for numerous colonies or settlements in western territory bound themselves by compact. The conclusions reached were that government by compact was evolved from practical necessity, not from theoretical speculation; that its beginnings are to be found in the separatist church covenant; that the germ of the larger compacts is found in the town compacts; and finally, that the institution often accompanied further settlement, changing its character to suit changing conditions; all of which suggest the need of studying the church covenant and the town compact, (1) among settlers from New England, (2) among settlers from the southern seaboard, and (3) among the Scotch-Irish.

On the afternoon of the same day, the last whole day of the sessions, the Historical Association and the Political Science Association met in joint session at the new lecture hall of Harvard University. The first two papers of the session pertained to the field of political science, the last to history. President Harry A. Garfield, of Williams College, in a paper entitled "Good government and the suffrage," skillfully led up to the conclusion that for the purposes of good government a universal franchise was neither a danger nor an essential, however desirable it might be for other reasons. Prof. Adam Shortt, of the Canadian civil service commission, explained with some detail the historical development which resulted in the present relationship between the Canadian executive and legislative bodies. The first of the papers in the field of history was presented by Prof. Frank M. Anderson, of the University of Minnesota, and dealt with the enforcement of the alien and sedition laws of 1798.¹ While the alien law was never actually enforced, Burk, the editor of the *Time Piece*, of New York, was obliged to go into hiding until the close of the administration, and the departure of Gen. Victor Collot was all that prevented action being taken against him. Several prosecutions that occurred before the actual passage of the sedition law (July 14, 1798) are often alluded to as sedition law cases. The number of persons arrested under the act seems to have been about 25 and at least 16 were indicted, of whom 10 came to trial and were pronounced guilty.

¹ Printed below, pp. 113-126.

These cases were discussed in four classes: Proceedings aimed at prominent Republican newspapers; proceedings aimed at minor Republican papers; proceedings against important individuals; and cases against unimportant persons. Charges of unfairness in all these cases were numerous. It seems true that the juries could scarcely be called impartial, and the defendant was not in all cases given a fair chance to present his side of the case.

Prof. E. D. Adams followed with an interesting paper on the "Point of view of the British traveler in America, 1810-1860,"¹ the object of which was to study "the mental attitude" of the writers of the various accounts. Guided by this principle, one may group the British writers into five classes. Those writing in the decade 1810-1820 were middle-class Englishmen, interested in agriculture, discontented with the social order at home, and attracted by the industrial opportunity offered by this country. For the second period the books were of two distinct types: Books written by the laborers themselves dilating on their wages, their food, their comfortable housing; and books written by those whose attitude toward American political institutions was distinctly critical. The third decade, 1830-1840, was characterized solely by writers whose judgments, sometimes friendly and sometimes unfriendly, were predetermined by their political opinions. From 1840 to 1850 the majority of travelers were primarily observers, apparently without strong bias. From 1850 to 1860, as in the decade from 1830 to 1840, the writers were concerned chiefly with political institutions in America, the feeling of friendliness predominating.

The last evening of the sessions in Boston was given to the reading, before a general audience, of papers in European history. The first was a brilliant discourse "Anent the Middle Ages,"² by Prof. George L. Burr, of Cornell University. After some discussion of the beginnings of modern tolerance, and their relation to the demarcation of the Middle Ages, Mr. Burr showed how medieval history may most properly be thought of as the period when Christian theocracy was the usual ideal; how, beginning the Middle Ages with Constantine, we may rightly allow them to overlap ancient history at one end; and how, overlapping modern history at the other, we can not think of them as ending till, after Luther and Calvin, the ecclesiastical city of God is supplanted by the lay state.

In the second paper, "Antecedents of the Quattrocento,"³ Mr. Henry Osborn Taylor, of New York, took for his topic the fundamental identity of relationship borne by the Middle Ages as well as the humanists of the Quattrocento to the antique past from which they

¹ To be printed in the Political Science Quarterly for June, 1914.

² Printed in the American Historical Review for July, 1913.

³ Printed below, pp. 87-94.

both drew the substance of their thought. In each succeeding medieval century, as in the Quattrocento, scholars were always reaching back, beyond that which they had received from their immediate predecessors, in the fruitful endeavor to appropriate and profit by a larger share of the great antique past. In this respect the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries resemble the twelfth and thirteenth.

In a systematic and thorough descriptive paper on the "Court of star chamber,"¹ Prof. Edward P. Cheyney, of the University of Pennsylvania, set forth in entertaining fashion the composition and functions of the court, its relations to monarch and council and Parliament, its practices and procedure, and the true facts as to its operations and the part it played in the history of the time—all supported and enlivened by concrete examples drawn from exhaustive researches.

Mr. William R. Thayer's paper entitled "Crispi: A legend in the making" consisted in a comparison, made step by step through the successive stages of Crispi's career, between the actual historic facts and the representation of those facts which is now coming before the public as the result of Crispi's dealings with his own papers and of the publications, out of that collection and from other sources, which have been made by his nephew and other apologists.² He described the early days of conspiracy, the relations of discipleship with Mazzini, the Orsini episode, and the remarkable part which Crispi played in the Sicilian expedition as lieutenant of Garibaldi, as private secretary, and as intriguer for Sicilian and personal interests rather than for those of united Italy; the adhesion of Crispi to the monarchy, his long career as parliamentary privateer, his periods of ministerial power, his policy in external and internal affairs. At every step he showed how nepotie piety and that of lesser adherents has been of late sophisticating the actual facts and creating the legend of a highminded, unselfish, and farseeing statesman.

In view of the lateness of the hour which had now been reached, Prof. John M. Vincent, of the Johns Hopkins University, abstained from reading his paper on "Sumptuary laws in the eighteenth century." The paper was intended to show the duration of this intimate paternal legislation in certain of the old independent cities of Switzerland where the ordinances were persistently renewed and reenacted throughout the century. The French Revolution seems to close the period of serious "blue-law" making. Mr. Vincent has been investigating the extent to which these ordinances were enforced. The execution was usually in the hands of a social court or commission for the refor-

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review* for July, 1913.

² An anonymous article in the *Nation* of January 16, 1913, will give to students, at considerable extent, an excellent notion of what was said upon this interesting topic by Mr. Thayer.

mation of morals. In Basel the docket of this court is complete from 1674 to 1797. In Zurich the record for the eighteenth century is fairly complete, and in other cities information is fragmentary, but interesting irregularities are seen in the enforcement. Spasmodic revivals of stringency are followed by neglect, with a general tendency to mildness as the century advances, until the attempt to enforce strictly sumptuary regulation is abandoned.

The final session of the association, on the last morning of the year, was devoted to a series of papers in American history, of which the first, entitled "The New Columbus,"¹ had been prepared by Mr. Henry P. Biggar, representative in Europe of the archives of the Dominion of Canada.

Our scanty information as to the life of Columbus has been largely based on the biography published by his son Fernando. This, Mr. Henry Vignaud has in recent volumes tried to show, is in large measure composed of forged documents, and he has also attempted to demonstrate that much of what Columbus told of himself was untrue, and, most important of all, that he was seeking not a new route to the East, but new islands in the ocean when he sailed to the west in 1492. Mr. Vignaud, in order to support this theory, regards the entire correspondence with Toscanelli as a forgery on the part of Bartholomew Columbus, the brother of Christopher. There are, however, certain facts that militate against this theory. We know that in 1494 the Duke of Ferrara wrote to Florence asking for Toscanelli's notes on the island recently discovered by the Spaniards. We know that what Columbus proposed to King John of Portugal was a search for the island Cipangu and that that was what he on his return from the first voyage declared that he had found. The letter given to Columbus by Isabella, April 30, 1492, was apparently intended for the Grand Khan of Cathay. Finally, the introduction to the journal of the first voyage, written by Columbus, seems to prove that he expected to reach the East.

Dr. Clarence W. Bowen's paper on "The charter of Connecticut"² sketched briefly the early history of the various settlements in Connecticut, the procuring of the charter by John Winthrop, agent for the colony in England, the enmity of Edward Randolph to the colony, and the attack on the charter by Andros. He described the efforts of Col. Benjamin Fletcher and Gov. Joseph Dudley to gain control of the military forces of Connecticut and the numerous appeals made to the King throughout the eighteenth century to support the charter. To this he added illustrations showing its importance to Connecticut in the present day.

¹ Printed below, pp. 97-104.

² Printed below, pp. 105-111.

Prof. Claude H. Van Tyne, in his paper on "Religious and sectarian forces as causes of the American Revolution,"¹ declared that in a sense the American Revolution was simply the Puritan and Anglican struggle of the early seventeenth century deferred 150 years and removed to another land. There followed a discussion of all those controversies in the earlier colonial history which kept the colonists suspicious of encroachments by the Anglican Church, of the annoying activities of the Bishop of London, of the struggle over the proposed American episcopate, and of the effect of the preaching of Calvinistic ministers throughout the colonial period, between the Stamp Act and the outbreak of war, and after Concord and Lexington. The discussion here turned to the activity of Revolutionary leaders in the use of religious forces and to the attack on the "divine right" doctrine and its effect in removing the last barrier to independence. In closing, the speaker presented the results of a study of a large number of Revolutionary biographies, which show the adhesion of about 80 per cent of the non-Episcopalians to the Whig Party, and of about 75 per cent of the Episcopalians to the Loyalist Party. The speaker expressed the belief that conflicting political ideas, and not tea or taxes, caused the American secession from the British Empire, and that the Puritan clergy had a large part in planting the prevalent political ideals which were antagonistic to those dominant in England.

Mr. Charles Francis Adams's stirring paper on the fight of the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*—"August 19, 1812, at 6.30 p. m.; the birth of a world power"²—provided a fitting climax with which to close the meetings of 1912.

The veteran historian, Dr. James Schouler, was not able to be present on Saturday morning. The paper which he had prepared developed the thesis that to-day we have material which enables us to form a far more just opinion of Andrew Johnson than did his contemporaries. The manuscript collection of Johnson papers placed in the Library of Congress and the "Diary of Gideon Welles," recently published, have furnished vindication for that President's character and official acts. His early reconstruction measures showed courage and ability, his chief mistakes being his failure to unite with the moderate Republicans on a definite policy, his neglect to take the younger Republican leaders into his confidence, and his faults of taste in the canvass of 1866, in which his speeches offended the northern audiences that heard them.

The business meeting of the association was held at Cambridge on Monday afternoon, with Vice President Dunning in the chair. The minutes of the meeting, with the reports of committees, follow this account.

¹ Printed in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1913.

² Printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1913.

**PROGRAM OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN BOSTON, DE-
CEMBER 27-31, 1912.**

Friday, December 27.

3 p. m.: The Copley Plaza. Meeting of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association.

4 p. m.: Joint session of the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Association. Huntington Hall, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Address, "Modern tendencies in the social sciences," Albion W. Small, president of the American Sociological Society. Address, "The need for social statistics as an aid to the courts," Walter F. Willcox, president of the American Statistical Association.

8 p. m.: Symphony Hall, President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University, presiding. Address, "History as literature," Theodore Roosevelt, president of the American Historical Association.

9 p. m.: Informal gathering of members of all the associations at the Copley Plaza.

Saturday, December 28.

9 a. m.: Meetings of committees (at the call of the chairmen).

10 a. m.: Conferences.

Archivists. Massachusetts Historical Society. Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania. "A manual of archival economy for the use of American archivists," Victor H. Paltsits, Public Archives Commission. "Some fundamental principles in relation to archives," Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution. "A report on the Federal archives outside of Washington," Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts, Library of Congress. Discussion led by Dunbar Rowland, director of the department of archives and history, Jackson, Miss.; James J. Tracy, chief of the archives division, Boston; Henry E. Woods, commissioner of public records of Massachusetts.

Ancient history. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Chairman, Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. "Oriental history as a field of investigation," George F. Moore, Harvard University. "Græco-Roman history as a field of investigation," Henry A. Sill, Cornell University. Discussion led by James H. Breasted, University of Chicago; Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary; Clifford H. Moore, Harvard University; Ralph V. D. Magoffin, Johns Hopkins University; Oric Bates, Boston.

Historical bibliography. Boston University. Chairman, Ernest C. Richardson, Princeton University. "The reviewing of historical books," Carl Becker, University of Kansas. Discussion led by J. Franklin Jameson, American Historical Review; Davis R. Dewey, American Economic Review; W. Dawson Johnston, Columbia University; Walter Lichtenstein, Northwestern University; George M. Wrong, University of Toronto.

Military history. Military Historical Society of Massachusetts. Chairman, Albert Bushnell Hart. "The study of military history in the United States." Discussion led by R. M. Johnston, Harvard University; Capt. Arthur L. Conger, United States Army, Army service schools, Fort Leavenworth; Oswald Garrison Villard, New York City; Col. Thomas L. Livermore, United States Army, retired, Boston; Maj. George H. Shelton, United States Army, editor of the Infantry Journal; Maj. J. W. McAndrew, United States Army, Army War College.

1 p. m.: Luncheon, tendered to members of the American Historical Association at the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

2.30 p. m.: Conferences.

Teachers of history. Joint meeting with the New England History Teachers' Association. Museum of Fine Arts. Chairman, William S. Ferguson, president of

the New England History Teachers' Association. Report on equipment for the teaching of history in high schools and colleges by the committee of the New England History Teachers' Association: John O. Sumner, chairman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Arthur I. Andrews, Tufts College; Philip P. Chase, Milton Academy; Miss Lotta A. Clark, Charlestown High School; Arthur Fairbanks, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Miss Mabel Hill, Mitchell Military School, Billerica; William MacDonald, Brown University; Francis A. Smith, Girls' High School, Boston; Harry M. Varrell, Simmons College. Discussion led by Henry Johnson, Teachers' College, Columbia University; Miss Lucy M. Salmon, Vassar College; Samuel B. Harding, Indiana University; Daniel C. Knowlton, Central High School, Newark, N. J.; Arthur P. Butler, Morristown School. In connection with this report a series of rooms in Simmons College will be furnished with reference libraries, maps, and other illustrative material suitable for a high-school equipment, and will be open to the public during the period of the association.

Ninth Annual Conference of Historical Societies. Massachusetts Historical Society. Chairman, Henry Lefavour, president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; secretary, Waldo G. Leland, secretary of the American Historical Association. Opening remarks by the chairman and report of the secretary. Report of committee of seven on cooperation between historical societies, by the chairman, Dunbar Rowland, department of archives and history, Jackson, Miss. "Genealogy and history," Charles K. Bolton, librarian of the Boston Athenæum. "The Massachusetts Historical Society," Worthington C. Ford, editor of publications, Massachusetts Historical Society. Discussion opened by H. W. Van Loon, Washington: "Instances in European history of the value of genealogy."

Medieval History. Boston University. Chairman, George B. Adams, Yale University. "Profitable fields of investigation in medieval history," James Westfall Thompson, University of Chicago. Discussion led by James T. Shotwell, Columbia University; Albert B. White, University of Minnesota; Howard L. Gray, Harvard University; William E. Lunt, Cornell University; Edgar H. McNeal, Ohio State University; Arthur C. Howland, University of Pennsylvania; Dana C. Munro, University of Wisconsin; Curtis H. Walker, University of Chicago; J. Stanley Will, University of Toronto.

4.30-6 p. m.: Tea at Simmons College for members of the American Historical Association and the New England History Teachers' Association.

8 p. m.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Joint session of the American Economic Association and the American Political Science Association. Address, "Population or prosperity," Frank A. Fetter, president of the American Economic Association. Address, "An apology for the rights of man," Albert Bushnell Hart, president of the American Political Science Association.

10 p. m.: Smoker at the City Club.

Monday, December 30.

Morning and afternoon sessions in Cambridge.

10 a. m.: Conferences:

American history. Emerson Hall. Chairman, Frederick J. Turner, Harvard University. "Profitable subjects for investigation in American history, 1815-1860," William E. Dodd, University of Chicago. Discussion led by Ulrich B. Phillips, University of Michigan; Theodore C. Smith, Williams College; Allen Johnson, Yale University; Homer C. Hockett, Ohio State University; P. Orman Ray, Pennsylvania State College; Jonas Viles, University of Missouri; Miss Katharine Coman, Wellesley College; St. George L. Sioussat, Vanderbilt University.

Modern history. Fogg Museum of Art. Chairman, Charles D. Hazen, Smith College. "The history of modern commerce as a field for investigation," Edwin F. Gay, Harvard University. Discussion led by Clive Day, Yale University; Alfred

L. P. Dennis, University of Wisconsin; William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania; Abbott P. Usher, Cornell University; Clarence H. Haring, Bryn Mawr College; Stewart L. Mims, Yale University; N. S. B. Gras, Clark College.

10 a. m.: Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Emerson Hall. President, Reuben Gold Thwaites, State Historical Society of Wisconsin. General subject, New England and the West. "Side lights on the Scioto Company—the early movement of New England in the West," Archer B. Hulbert, Marietta College. "The New England element in Illinois politics before 1833," Solon J. Buck, University of Illinois. "New England and the Western Reserve," Karl F. Geiser, Oberlin College. "The Mayflower compact and its descendants," Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, University of Wisconsin.

12.30 p. m.: Luncheon offered by Harvard University to the members of the associations. Memorial Hall.

2 p. m.: New Lecture Hall. Joint session with the American Political Science Association. Government and American history. "Good Government and the suffrage," Harry A. Garfield, Williams College. "The relation between the legislative and executive branches of the Canadian Government," Adam Shortt, Civil Service Commission of Canada. "The enforcement of the alien and sedition laws," Frank M. Anderson, University of Minnesota. "The point of view of British travelers in America, 1810-1860," Ephraim D. Adams, Stanford University.

4 p. m.: Emerson Hall. Annual business meeting.

Report of the secretary, Waldo G. Leland.

Report of the treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen.

Report of the auditing committee.

Report of the secretary of the council, Charles H. Haskins.

Report of the Pacific coast branch.

Report of the historical manuscripts commission, Worthington C. Ford, chairman.

Report of the public archives commission, Herman V. Ames, chairman.

Report of the committee of the council on a national archive building, J. Franklin Jameson, chairman.

Report of the committee on publications, Max Farrand, chairman.

Report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review, George B. Adams, chairman.

Report of the advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine, Henry Johnson, chairman.

Report of the committee on bibliography, E. C. Richardson, chairman.

Report of the committee on a bibliography of early English history, Edward P. Cheyney, chairman.

Report of the editor of reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History, J. Franklin Jameson.

Report of the general committee, St. George L. Sioussat, chairman.

Report of the committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools, Dana C. Munro, chairman.

Report of the committee on the Justin Winsor Prize, with announcement of award for 1912, Claude H. Van Tyne, chairman.

Announcement of budget for 1913.

Report of the committee on nominations.

Election of officers for 1913.

Announcement of appointments to committees for 1913.

5 p. m.: Reception by President and Mrs. Lowell. Harvard Union.

8.15 p. m.: Boston University. European history. "Anent the Middle Ages," George L. Burr, Cornell University. "Antecedents of the Quattrocento," Henry Osborn Taylor, New York City. "The court of star chamber," Edward P. Cheyney,

University of Pennsylvania. "Crispi: A legend in the making," William R. Thayer, Cambridge. "Sumptuary laws in the eighteenth century," John Martin Vincent, Johns Hopkins University.

10 p. m.: Smoker at the University Club.

Tuesday, December 31.

10 a. m.: Boston University. American history. "The new Columbus," Henry P. Biggar, London, England. "The charter of Connecticut," Clarence W. Bowen, New York City. "Religious forces in the American Revolution," Claude H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan. "Wednesday, August 19, 1812, 6.30 p. m.: The birth of a world power," Charles Francis Adams, president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. "The true President Johnson," James Schouler, Boston.

1 p. m.: Subscription luncheon at the Copley Plaza. President Lowell presiding, and brief addresses made by President Charles W. Eliot and others.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1912.

The annual business meeting of the American Historical Association was held in Emerson Hall at Cambridge, Mass., on Monday, December 30, 1912, at 4.15 p. m., Vice President W. A. Dunning in the chair. The report of the secretary, Mr. W. G. Leland, was read, showing a total membership on December 31, 1912, of 2,846—a loss during the year of 59.

The report of the treasurer, Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, was read and accepted. It showed total disbursements of \$14,119.25, with receipts of \$16,574.12, the total assets of the association being \$27,255.57. The audit committee, Messrs. Marshall S. Brown and William E. Lingelbach, reported that it had examined the report of the treasurer, also a report by the Audit Co. of New York, duly certifying to the correctness of the former.

The secretary of the council presented a budget for 1913 which had been voted by the council, as follows:

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|---|-------|
| Office of the treasurer..... | \$800 |
| Office of the secretary..... | 1,000 |
| Office of the secretary of the council..... | 100 |
| Pacific coast branch..... | 50 |
| Executive council..... | 400 |
| Editorial work of the secretary..... | 300 |
| Annual reports, indexes, and reprints..... | 200 |
| Annual meeting..... | 300 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 350 |
| Historical manuscripts commission..... | 300 |
| Public archives commission..... | 300 |
| Committee on the Adams prize..... | 225 |
| Committee on bibliography..... | 150 |
| Committee on preparation of teachers..... | 10 |
| General committee..... | 200 |
| General index..... | 500 |
| History Teacher's Magazine..... | 600 |
| Writings on American History..... | 200 |
| American Historical Review..... | 4,500 |

The secretary of the council further reported that it had been voted to set aside \$1,000 for the use of the publication committee in publishing the prize essays, and that in addition to this sum the committee on publication would be credited with the profits hereafter accruing from the sales of publications. The secretary of the council stated that the council recommended to the association a change in the method of electing officers, whereby a nominating committee should be appointed, to hold office for a year, for the purpose of receiving suggestions and nominations from mem-

bers of the association and to prepare nominations for offices of the association and members of the council, to be presented at the annual meeting next following the meeting at which said committee was appointed. The association voted to approve the procedure with respect to nominations recommended by the council.

Upon recommendation by the secretary of the council, the association voted to accept an invitation which had been received from the city of Columbia, S. C., to hold a part of the meetings of 1913 in that city. The association also voted to accept an invitation from the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, and Northwestern University to hold the meetings of 1914 in Chicago.

It was moved by the secretary of the council that, in response to an invitation from the Pacific coast branch and from the Panama-Pacific Exposition, a special meeting of the association be held in San Francisco in July, 1915. Remarks in favor of the motion were made by Mr. H. Morse Stephens and by Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, secretary of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. Upon being put to vote, the motion was carried.

Upon recommendation by the secretary of the council the association voted the following resolutions:

Whereas the first Pan-American Scientific Congress, held in Santiago, Chile, in December, 1908, designated Washington as the next place of meeting; and

Whereas the holding of such congresses contributes toward fostering closer intellectual and cultural ties between the countries of the American Continent: Be it

Resolved, by the American Historical Association, That the Congress of the United States be earnestly requested to make a suitable provision for the holding of this congress at the time designated; and be it

Resolved furthermore, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate.

The report of the Pacific coast branch was presented by its delegate, Prof. E. D. Adams, who expressed the gratification of the branch at the decision of the association to meet in San Francisco, and made a brief report on the activities of the branch during the past year, with especial reference to the tenth annual meeting, recently held in Berkeley.

Written reports, appended hereto, were presented by Worthington C. Ford, of the historical manuscripts commission, and by Herman V. Ames, of the public archives commission.

J. F. Jameson, chairman of the committee of the council for a national archive building, stated what had been done during the past year toward securing legislation for an archive building. He pointed out that such a building was especially needed for administrative reasons; and that this fact was amply recognized by the heads of the executive departments; reported that a hearing was held on March 4 before the Senate Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, at which various members of the association had presented arguments in favor of a building; and stated that the matter was now being considered by committees of both House and Senate. A systematic effort had been made, he said, to secure support in the way of memorials and petitions from various historical societies in the country.

A written report, appended hereto, was presented by Max Farrand for the committee on publications.

The report of the board of editors of the American Historical Review was presented by its chairman, George B. Adams, who stated that the board had been able to turn over \$300 to the association during the past year. He also presented a report on the relations between the History Teacher's Magazine and the American Historical Review, which report had been accepted by the council and is given *in extenso* in the minutes of the council appended hereto.

A report was presented for the advisory board of the History Teacher's Magazine, by Henry Johnson; and written reports, which are appended, were made for the committee on bibliography, by E. C. Richardson; for the committee on a bibliography of modern English history, by E. P. Cheyney; and by J. F. Jameson, general editor of the series of reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History.

A written report, also appended, was presented by D. C. Munro for the committee on the preparation of teachers of history.

On behalf of the Justin Winsor prize committee, its chairman, C. H. Van Tyne, announced that the Justin Winsor prize for 1912 had been awarded to Mr. Arthur C. Cole for his essay entitled "The Whig Party in the South."

Upon motion by the secretary it was voted that the rules governing the competition for the Adams and Winsor prizes be amended as follows:

RULE 5. At the end of the part within brackets add "The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of prize essays should be followed."

RULE 8. Strike out all after the first sentence.

RULE 9. Substitute for the present reading the following:

9. The manuscript of the successful essay when finally submitted for printing must be in such form typographically (see rule 5) and otherwise as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

Galley and page proofs will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

An adequate index must be provided by the author.

RULE 10. Add:

The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies, with a special title-page, as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale.

The chairman of the committee on nominations, Max Farrand, presented the following nominations:

President—William A. Dunning.

Vice presidents—Andrew C. McLaughlin and H. Morse Stephens.

Secretary—Waldo G. Leland.

Secretary of the council—Charles H. Haskins.

Treasurer—Clarence W. Bowen.

Curator—A. Howard Clark.

For reelection as members of the executive council—Fred M. Fling, James A. Woodburn, Herman V. Ames, and Dana C. Munro.

For new members of the executive council—Archibald C. Coolidge and John M. Vincent.

It was moved and voted that the chairman of the committee on nominations be instructed to cast the ballot of the association for the officers and members of the council as nominated, which was done, and they were declared elected.

The secretary of the council then announced the appointments to committees and commissions for the year 1913, as given in the minutes of the council hereto appended.

The meeting adjourned at 6 p. m.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary*.

REPORTS OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

The total membership on December 21 was 2,846, a loss during the year of 59. This loss has, however, been in part made up by the number of new members secured since December 21. Of the 2,846, 121 are life members, 197 are institutions, and 2,528 are individual annual members. The total loss has been 300—41 by death, 179 by resignation, and 80 dropped for nonpayment of dues. The total number of new members is 239—6 life, 217 individual annual, and 16 institutional. The net loss has been confined to individual annual memberships, there having been a net gain of 2 in the life memberships and of 10 in the institutional memberships. The number of members whose dues remain unpaid is 396 as against 516 a year ago, and the number of members whose dues are fully paid—the effective membership of the association—is 2,450, whereas a year ago it was 2,389, a net gain in effective membership of 61. The total foreign membership of the association is 99, a net gain of 12 over last year; this gain has been mainly in Canada. The States having membership of over 100 are New York, 414; Massachusetts, 310; Illinois, 210; Pennsylvania, 206; California, 159; Ohio, 138; Connecticut, 105; and Wisconsin, 101.

Full reports respecting the various activities, as well as the publications of the association, will be made by the various committees.

The association was represented at the International Congress of the History of Religions, held at Leyden in September, by Prof. H. V. Ames, and at the centennial celebration of the American Antiquarian Society in October by Prof. William A. Dunning.

Respectfully submitted.

WALDO G. LELAND, *Secretary.*

BOSTON, December 29, 1912.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

RECEIPTS.

| | | |
|----------|--|-----------------|
| 1911. | | |
| Dec. 18. | Balance cash on hand..... | \$3,250.43 |
| 1912. | | |
| Dec. 23. | Receipts as follows: | |
| | 2,656 annual dues at \$3 | \$7,968.00 |
| | 3 annual dues at \$1 | 3.00 |
| | 1 annual dues..... | 2.00 |
| | 1 annual dues..... | 2.75 |
| | 7 annual dues at \$3.05 | 21.35 |
| | 1 annual dues..... | 3.09 |
| | 19 annual dues at \$3.10 | 58.90 |
| | 4 annual dues at \$3.15 | 12.60 |
| | 1 annual dues..... | 3.35 |
| | 5 life memberships at \$50 | 250.00 |
| | Sales of publications..... | 873.75 |
| | Royalties..... | 148.90 |
| | Interest on bond and mortgage..... | 850.00 |
| | Dividends on bank stock..... | 200.00 |
| | Committee on a bibliography of modern English history..... | 125.00 |
| | Public archives commission ¹ | 30.00 |
| | History Teacher's Magazine..... | 1.00 |
| | American Historical Review..... | 300.00 |
| | Loan, Clarence W. Bowen..... | 2,500.00 |
| | | <hr/> 13,353.69 |
| | | 16,604.12 |

¹ This item represents a returned check, which also figures among the disbursements. It is not included in the report of the Audit Co., hence the difference between the totals of the two reports. The balance is, of course, the same in both reports.

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| 1912. | |
| Dec. 23. Treasurer's clerk hire, vouchers 9, 10, 84, 90, 125, 140, 152, 161, 198, 217..... | \$459.72 |
| Secretary's clerk hire, vouchers 7, 37, 57, 63, 78, 89, 103, 110, 120, 133, 146, 157, 187, 213, 215..... | 796.18 |
| Postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary, vouchers 2, 6, 15, 19, 36, 47, 48, 55, 63, 65, 66, 77, 88, 92, 94, 105, 106, 107, 112, 116, 119, 122, 127, 128, 132, 138, 143, 144, 147, 153, 154, 158, 178, 191, 203, 218..... | 456.82 |
| Secretary of the council, vouchers 26, 27, 58, 59, 60, 72, 101, 155, 156, 169, 172, 210. | 193.95 |
| Pacific coast branch, vouchers 82, 207..... | 67.75 |
| American Historical Review, vouchers 8, 41, 54, 61, 73, 80, 85, 100, 115, 124, 136, 142, 165, 196..... | 4,365.60 |
| Public archives commission, vouchers 11, 12, 51, 71, 84, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99, 170, 171, 188, 189, 221..... | 325.85 |
| Historical manuscripts commission, voucher 113..... | 82.00 |
| Justin Winsor prize committee, voucher 13..... | 3.50 |
| Herbert B. Adams prize committee, vouchers 14, 25, 38, 56..... | 131.29 |
| Committee on bibliography, voucher 167..... | 100.00 |
| Committee on bibliography of modern English history, voucher 40..... | 3.90 |
| Committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association, vouchers 151, 168..... | 290.00 |
| Committee on National Archive Building, vouchers 23, 42..... | 24.25 |
| Committee on publication, vouchers 43, 44, 45, 50, 62, 69, 70, 70, 86, 123, 126, 134, 135, 137, 139, 162, 163, 180, 214..... | 1,694.31 |
| Bibliography of "Writings on American History," vouchers 95, 173..... | 200.00 |
| Conference of historical societies, vouchers 182, 192..... | 24.25 |
| Indexing annual reports, voucher 111..... | 50.00 |
| History Teacher's Magazine, vouchers 20, 21, 22, 114, 174..... | 489.43 |
| General committee, vouchers 16, 17, 24, 79, 179, 193, 197, 205, 211, 212, 220, 222.. | 120.67 |
| Annual report, 1908, voucher 39..... | 374.41 |
| Annual report, 1910, vouchers 150, 164..... | 8.66 |
| Expenses executive council, vouchers 1, 3, 184, 185, 186, 190, 194, 195, 200, 201, 202, 206..... | 491.45 |
| Editorial work, vouchers 5, 35, 49, 67, 75, 87, 104, 118, 131, 145, 159, 183..... | 300.00 |
| Furnishing secretary's office, vouchers 53, 175, 199, 204, 216..... | 36.20 |
| Expenses twenty-seventh annual meeting, vouchers 18, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 52..... | 249.99 |
| Expenses twenty-eighth annual meeting, vouchers 160, 181, 208, 209..... | 220.66 |
| Collection charges, vouchers 46, 93, 117, 176, 220..... | 10.37 |
| Miscellaneous expenses, vouchers 4, 74, 81, 83, 102, 108, 109, 121, 129, 130, 141, 148, 149, 165a, 166, 177..... | 2,578.14 |
| Balance cash on hand..... | \$14, 149.25 |
| | 2,454.87 |
| | 16,604.12 |
| Net receipts 1912..... | 10,823.69 |
| Net disbursements 1912..... | 11,619.25 |
| Excess of disbursements over receipts..... | 795.56 |
| The assets of the association are: | |
| Bond and mortgage on real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York.. | 20,000.00 |
| Accrued interest from Sept. 29, 1912, to date..... | 200.70 |
| 20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock at \$230..... | 4,600.00 |
| Cash on hand..... | 2,454.87 |
| | 27,255.57 |
| A decrease during the year of..... | 1,183.75 |

Respectfully submitted.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, *Treasurer.*

NEW YORK, December 23, 1912.

REPORT OF AUDIT COMMITTEE.

We hereby certify that the Audit Co. of New York has examined the cash records of the treasurer of the American Historical Association and that it has presented a statement of the receipts which have been deposited and of the disbursements for which vouchers were shown.

MARSHALL S. BROWN, .

WM. E. LINGELBACH,

Committee on Audit.

REPORT OF THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN, Esq.,

Treasurer American Historical Association, 130 Fulton Street, New York City.

DEAR SIR: Agreeably to your request, we have made an examination of the cash records of the American Historical Association for the period from December 16, 1911, to December 23, 1912.

The results of this examination are presented, attached hereto, in an exhibit termed "Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the period from December 16, 1911, to December 23, 1912."

We found that all receipts, as shown by the cash book, had been deposited. Items of disbursement were compared with receipted vouchers.

A mortgage for \$20,000, drawn to the American Historical Association on property situated at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York City, was on hand, together with the bond, property deeds, insurance, and extension agreement to March 29, 1914. Two certificates of stock of the American Exchange National Bank, aggregating 20 shares, were also shown us.

Very truly yours,

THE AUDIT COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

A. W. DUNNING, *President.*

G. H. BOWERS, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, December 26, 1912.

Statement of cash receipts and disbursements for the period from December 16, 1911, to December 23, 1912.

RECEIPTS.

| | | |
|---|-------------------|--|
| Dues: | | |
| 2,656 at \$3..... | \$7,968.00 | |
| 19 at \$3.10..... | 58.90 | |
| 7 at \$3.05..... | 21.35 | |
| 4 at \$3.15..... | 12.60 | |
| 1 at \$3.09..... | 3.09 | |
| 1 at \$3.35..... | 3.35 | |
| 1 at \$2.75..... | 2.75 | |
| 1 at \$2..... | 2.00 | |
| 3 at \$1..... | 3.00 | |
| | <u>\$8,075.04</u> | |
| Life memberships..... | 250.00 | |
| | <u>\$8,325.04</u> | |
| Royalties..... | 148.90 | |
| Sales of publications..... | 873.75 | |
| Interest on bond and mortgage of \$20,000: One year at 4½ per cent to Sept. 29, 1912..... | 850.00 | |
| Dividend on 20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock..... | 200.00 | |
| Committee on bibliography of modern English history..... | 125.00 | |
| History Teacher's Magazine..... | 1.00 | |
| American Historical Review..... | 300.00 | |
| Loan, C. W. Bowen..... | 2,500.00 | |
| Balance on hand Dec. 16, 1911, as per our statement dated Dec. 22, 1911..... | 3,250.43 | |
| | <u>16,574.12</u> | |

DISBURSEMENTS.

| | |
|--|----------|
| Treasurer's clerk hire..... | 459.72 |
| Secretary's clerk hire..... | 796.18 |
| Postage and stationery, treasurer and secretary..... | 456.82 |
| Secretary of the council..... | 193.95 |
| Pacific coast branch..... | 67.75 |
| American Historical Review..... | 4,365.60 |
| Public archives commission..... | 295.85 |
| Historical manuscripts commission..... | 82.00 |
| Justin Winsor prize committee..... | 3.50 |
| Herbert B. Adams prize committee..... | 131.29 |
| Committee on bibliography..... | 100.00 |
| Committee on bibliography of modern English history..... | 3.90 |
| Committee on indexing the papers and proceedings of the association..... | 290.00 |
| Committee on National Archive Building..... | 24.25 |
| Committee on publication..... | 1,694.31 |
| Bibliography of "Writings on American History"..... | 210.00 |
| Conference of historical societies..... | 24.25 |
| Indexing annual reports..... | 50.00 |
| History Teacher's Magazine..... | 489.43 |
| General committee..... | 120.57 |

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Annual report, 1908..... | \$374.41 |
| Annual report, 1910..... | 8.66 |
| Expenses, executive council..... | 491.45 |
| Editorial work..... | 300.00 |
| Furnishing secretary's office..... | 36.20 |
| Expenses, twenty-seventh annual meeting..... | 249.99 |
| Expenses, twenty-eighth annual meeting..... | 220.66 |
| Collection charges..... | 10.37 |
| Miscellaneous expenses..... | 53.75 |
| Repayment of C. W. Bowen loan and interest..... | 2,524.39 |
| Total disbursements..... | 14,119.25 |
| Balance, cash on hand, represented by certified check on the National Park Bank of New York, dated Dec. 23, 1912..... | \$2,450.37 |
| Check of W. D. McHugh for indorsement..... | 3.00 |
| Check of F. J. Turner, not deposited..... | 1.50 |
| | <hr/> 2,454.87 |
| | 16,574.12 |

REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

The commission has been hampered from three sources. The appropriations for printing have not sufficed to meet the cost of printing (the latest volume accompanied the report for 1908) and the possessors of historical manuscripts are neither frequently met with, nor always complacent when found. The proper editor is not usually at hand. The volume of the Correspondence of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, edited by Prof. Ulrich B. Phillips, is now in the printer's hands, and should be published in the late spring of 1913.

The commission has had offers of material from Prof. Bolton, of Leland Stanford Junior University, but the nature of the material raises questions, not to speak of the mass. He offers a collection of diplomatic notes and related documents upon "American Filibustering Activities and Settlement in Texas and the Southwest, 1803-1821," to be in a volume of more than 500 and less than 1,000 pages—probably near the latter figure. No doubt as a phase of southwestern expansion the subject has interest, but the two weighty volumes of 2,200 pages of Texan Diplomatic Correspondence, 1835-1846, are a liberal contribution to southwestern history, greatly overshadowing the attention given by our publications to other sections of the country. The material is, moreover, largely in public archives, and it is only a question of time when they will be reached in State or National publications. Prof. Bolton also offered a volume on the Santa Fé expedition of 1841, but much the same reasons exist for questioning our acceptance at this time.

The larger publications of the commission during its life have included the papers of Calhoun, of Chase, the French ministers, 1791-1797, and the Texan diplomatic correspondence. The Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb papers are in press. Geographically the South, the Southwest, and the West have been represented. Nothing of weight has been taken from the East or from New England. Through the generosity of the trustees of the Adams manuscripts I am able to offer the letters of William Vans Murray to John Quincy Adams when minister to the Netherlands, 1797-1801. The letters are free, interesting, and include much history on the relations of the United States to Europe in the interval between the rejection of Pinckney by France and the framing of the convention with France of 1801. The material answers the requirements laid down by the commission: It is in private hands; it is not likely to be printed by private or State agency; it relates to the history of the Nation. Murray was a Marylander. The volume will be of about 300 pages. The commission expresses its great obligation for the permission thus given.

The commission was granted \$300 for its expenses in the last year. Of that sum it has expended \$82, and turns back \$218 into the treasury. It asks for a grant of \$300 for the coming year.

Respectfully submitted.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

In the last year's report it was stated that some 10 States remain from which it is desirable to secure reports. The commission is now able to state that reports are in progress on the archives of three States, as follows: California, by Prof. H. W. Edwards, of Berkeley; Louisiana, by Prof. William O. Scroggs, of the State University; and Montana, by Mr. Paul C. Phillips, of the State University. Recent letters from these adjunct members of the commission indicate that substantial progress in their work has been made. It is expected that the reports of Louisiana and Montana will be ready for publication in connection with the report for 1912 of the commission, and it is possible that the one on California may also be ready in time to incorporate in the report.

The attention of the commission has especially been directed to two matters: First, the possibility of preparing a manual for the use of American archivists, and, secondly, the desirability of securing information upon certain classes of Federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia. In connection with the first matter, a special committee was appointed early in the year and it has held several conferences. The results of the committee's work, the outline of the plan and scope of a manual of archival economy, were presented at the Conference of Archivists by the chairman of the special committee, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, together with a paper by Mr. Waldo G. Leland on a closely related subject. The committee proposes to give its first attention to the preparation of a primer for the use of archivists.

In regard to the second problem, namely, the securing of reports upon certain classes of Federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia, it was first proposed to attempt to carry on this work in a manner similar to that followed in securing the reports upon the State archives. Several practical difficulties, however, presented themselves, and at the suggestion of Mr. Gaillard Hunt that an effort be made to get the Government itself to undertake this work, the matter was placed in his hands. Mr. Hunt was successful in securing an Executive order from President Taft, dated July 19, 1912, instructing the heads of the executive departments to obtain from each office under their respective jurisdictions, outside of the city of Washington, information on the following points:

"First. The earliest date of the archives, and the subjects to which they relate up to the year 1873.

"Second. For what years, if any, the archives are missing.

"Third. The condition of the archives, where they are kept, what care they receive, and, if they have been destroyed, the cause of such destruction.

"Fourth. Whether they are accessible for administrative and historical purposes; and the extent to which they are used and can be used for such purposes."

These reports were to be ultimately sent to the Librarian of Congress to be there edited.¹ The Librarian was "to furnish the heads of the departments with such details or instructions for the preparation of the reports as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this order."

During the year, under the editorship of Prof. Andrews, work has been continued in the preparation of the list of the reports and representations of the Board of Trade to the King in Council, Parliament, Secretary of State, and other departments relating to America. The clerical work has been done by Stevens and Brown, and is well advanced. It is hoped that the same may be published in the next volume of the report. This list will supplement the lists of other matters relating to the colonies in British archives, already included in the reports for 1908 and 1911, and will complete all that the commission has planned to do in this field at the present time. The work of transcribing documents for the collections of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, which has been in progress for several years, is being continued

¹ The report has since been printed as 62d Cong., 3d sess., H. Doc. No. 1443.

under Prof. Andrews's direction. Arrangements have been completed for work on the "Proprieties" and "Plantations General" in the Record Office.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

During the past year the Winsor essay for 1910, "The Negro in Pennsylvania," by E. R. Turner, has been issued, and the Adams essay for 1911, "The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum," by Louise F. Brown, has been printed and will be distributed to subscribers during the next fortnight. It has been decided to reprint the first essay to receive the Adams prize, that by David S. Muzzey on "The Spiritual Franciscans," a small edition of which was published in 1906. The reprint will have the same form and appearance as the four volumes already published in the series of prize essays, of which it will appropriately constitute the first volume. Because of its small size the price of the reprint to members will be 75 cents instead of \$1, the price charged for the other volumes.

While the sales of the prize essays encourage the committee to expect that the series will in time become self supporting, the committee feels nevertheless that the series deserves greater support from the members of the association than it is now receiving. Up to the present time the total sales of the four essays already issued amount to 1,674 copies, of which 1,432 have been taken by members, an average of 358 for each volume: That is, about one copy of each essay for every eight members. The number of standing subscriptions to the series is only 159. It is especially important that this number should be increased as much as possible.

The committee wishes to call attention to the fact that the secretary's office has in stock a considerable number of copies of former publications—notably of the "Papers," "Reports," "Writings on American History," and reprints therefrom. It is impossible any longer to supply complete sets of the "Papers" or "Reports," but the volumes on hand will be supplied to members at \$2 each for the "Papers" and \$1 each for the "Reports" or the annual bibliographies of "Writings on American History." Many of the reprints, which are sold at prices varying with the size of the reprint, are of no little value, such as the earlier prize essays, the reports of the public archives and historical manuscripts commissions, and such essays as Dr. Jameson's *Usselinx*.

The report for 1911 will be in two volumes, the second of which contains the report of the historical manuscripts commission, comprising the correspondence of Stephens, Toombs, and Cobb.

Respectfully submitted.

MAX FARRAND, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The larger part of the bibliographical work of this association is done by special committees and the chief work now being done in this way is the International Bibliography of English History, on which Prof. Cheyney, the chairman of the committee, is to report.

Other standing committees, too, besides that on bibliography, are either doing concrete work or are encouraging such work. This is the case with documentary bibliography on the one hand and on the other with Miss Griffin's admirable bibliography of current publications in the field of American history, a publication which under her care has reached a very high standard of technical bibliographical excellence.

At present the committee is charged with three tasks: (1) The Bibliography of American Travels, (2) a List of Sets of Works on European History to be found in American Libraries, and (3) an effort to secure a union list of historical periodicals. Bibliography

of American travels is waiting on the securing of a suitable editor, and the question whether a union list of periodicals can be taken up by the American Library Association will be discussed at a meeting of its publishing board in Chicago this week.

The matter of the collections on European history was rather fully reported on last year. Since that report many additional memoranda have been received. A brief edition was issued in March and a trial edition is now in press. If the expense of printing can be met, a revised and improved edition will later be published under the care of Dr. Walter Lichtenstein, of the Northwestern University and the Harvard libraries, who is recognized as the chief American specialist in this field.

It has been a matter of very extraordinary gratification to the committee that the question of supplying the lacks shown by this list has been taken up so vigorously by the libraries, especially by Harvard, Yale, Columbia, the Library of Congress, and some of the great public libraries. A year ago Harvard reported 1,267 out of 2,200 sets. At the time of the March edition it had about 1,500 sets and at the present time it has more than 1,900. This is more than could be found anywhere in the United States a year ago, and, supplemented by the collections of the Boston Public Library, which is also cordially cooperating in the matter, it gives for Boston and vicinity an apparatus which will be within a short time nearly complete. While no other library or section nearly approaches this record, Yale, Columbia, and the Library of Congress have been very active and the total efficiency in the matter of these sets at New York, Washington, and Chicago centers has been very largely increased.

Respectfully submitted.

E. C. RICHARDSON, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN BRITISH HISTORY.

A large part of the materials for the first two volumes is ready, and it is hoped that one of these two volumes will be published next winter. The first or general volume is being prepared by the general editor, Dr. George W. Prothero, of London. The second volume, covering the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is being prepared by some 8 American and 14 British scholars working in collaboration. Plans for the third volume, to cover the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are already in preparation.

The work is to be published in England by John Murray and it is the present expectation of the committee to have the book imported and handled in this country by an American dealer. The English committee has issued an appeal for contributions and advance subscriptions and has secured these to the extent of some £500. A similar appeal will shortly be issued in this country asking for subscriptions in advance, each subscriber of a certain minimum amount receiving a copy of the work without further payment, as each volume appears. Larger amounts will also be asked for to defray the expenses of preparation of the book. Members of the association are urged to use their influence with colleges, historical societies, and other libraries to secure such advance subscriptions.

Respectfully submitted.

E. P. CHEYNEY, *Chairman.*

REPORT OF THE GENERAL EDITOR OF "ORIGINAL NARRATIVES OF EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY."

During the past year one volume of this series has been published, "Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707," edited by Mr. Albert Cook Myers. Mr. B. B. James's edition of the Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, a Labadist missionary, who traveled through the Colonies in 1679-1680, is nearly ready for print and will be issued this spring. It is expected that in the autumn Messrs. Scribner will publish a volume of Narratives of the French and Indian Wars, edited by Dr. Charles H. Lincoln. To the list of volumes already announced, addition

should be made under the title "Narratives of the Early History of the Southwest," consisting mostly of Spanish narratives respecting Texas, New Mexico, and California never previously translated into English, and edited by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton.

The list of future volumes, then, consists of the books just mentioned, and the following, previously announced: Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, edited by Prof. George L. Burr; Narratives of the Insurrections of 1688, edited by Prof. Charles M. Andrews; and a volume of Narratives of the Early History of the Northwest, not yet arranged for.

Respectfully submitted.

J. F. JAMESON.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS.

The work of the "committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools" has been directed to attempts to arouse interest in the subject wherever possible throughout the country. There have been many encouraging factors, but just how far the work of the committee has been responsible for these is an open question, for the task is a timely one and was already more or less consciously before many of our educational agencies. E. g., the question of the preparation of teachers of mathematics had already been discussed. (See Bulletins of the Bureau of Education, 1911, Nos. 8, 12, 13, 16.) For English the same subject is being considered, and a periodical similar to our "History Teacher's Magazine" has been started. The National Educational Association has appointed a committee of nine, of which Mr. Clarence D. Kingsley is the chairman, on the articulation of the high school and college, and the chairman of your committee has been asked to recommend persons for the chairmanship of the committee of that association on history and social science. President Pritchett, of the Carnegie Foundation, in his sixth annual report, page 5, states that "The president was authorized to undertake a study concerning the training of teachers and the functions of the normal school, and reported progress thereon."

With regard to the work in history:

The New England History Teachers' Association, as reported last year, made the certification of teachers in the high school the subject of its fall meeting in 1911, and the papers which were presented by Commissioner Snedden, Prof. MacDonald, and Prof. Dawson were published in the "History Teacher's Magazine" for May, 1912.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association has a committee, of which Prof. Paxson is chairman, which is doing excellent work. A preliminary report on the training of high-school teachers of history was published in the "History Teacher's Magazine" for September, 1912; and a more complete report will be presented at the spring meeting in 1913.

The Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland will discuss this subject, as a part of the larger subject of the training of teachers, at their Thanksgiving meeting, 1912. Prof. Dawson will have the principal paper.

The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland discussed this subject at their March meeting in 1912, and a committee was appointed, of which Dr. William Fairley is the chairman, which is taking active steps to bring the matter before the teachers of that section.

The Northwestern Association of History Teachers are planning, as their secretary, Prof. Charles G. Haines, writes, "to get committees formed to carry forward the work of improving the teaching of history and government throughout our Northwestern States."

The High School and College Conference for Colorado, at its meeting in March, 1912, adopted strong resolutions, presented by Prof. J. F. Willard, requiring at least 15 hours of work in history in a college or university for teachers in the high schools. (See Appendix A.)

In Texas very active work for the improvement of the teaching of history in the high schools was commenced last year under the leadership of Prof. Duncalf and Mr. Krey.

In Virginia some interest has been aroused, but there are no practical results as yet.

In such a report as this I think the usage of California, although established long before this committee was created, should not be omitted. California up to the present time has probably the largest requirements of any State. (See Appendix B.)

Your committee, which was appointed "to bring about a closer union among the various history teachers' associations of the country," of which Prof. Pray is chairman, has been much interested in this matter and has promised to bring it actively before all the associations as rapidly as possible.

It should also be noted that a number of the universities of the country, especially in the West, have their own rules for certification of graduates who are preparing to teach history; and the same is true in the East, of Brown University at least. (See Appendix C.)

This committee was also asked to consider whether the preparation of the grade teacher should be included in its work. It decided that it would not be wise to do so. In general, special history teachers are not employed in the grades, although there is some encouraging advance in this respect; for example, Supt. Chadsey writes, "In Denver we are introducing the departmental system as rapidly as possible and we are securing some elementary history teachers who are carefully preparing themselves and who are cultured women. But in only a few of the schools can we claim to have secured properly equipped history teachers."

The committee has asked Mr. H. W. Edwards, of Berkeley, Cal., to assist them in their work and desire to have his name added as a member of the committee.

Respectfully submitted.

D. C. MUNRO, *Chairman.*

APPENDIX A. Resolutions passed by the High School and College Conference of Colorado, March 30, 1912. (See History Teacher's Magazine, May, 1912, p. 114.)

"I. That American history and civics be made a prerequisite for graduation from the high schools of Colorado.

"II. That four years of history be offered in the Colorado high schools and that the course of study be so arranged that it may be possible for the students to take the full four years if they so elect.

"III. That none but trained history teachers be employed to teach history in the Colorado high schools, and that such requirement be taken into account in the accrediting of schools. ('Trained teacher' was interpreted by the conference to mean one who had taken at least 15 hours' work in history in a college or university.)

"IV. That the equipment of the department of history be placed upon a parity with that of other departments."

APPENDIX B. Requirements for the candidate to teach history in the high schools of California:

A four-years' college course and a year of graduate work.

APPENDIX C. System of department of history at Brown University.

Requirements:

1. A three-hour course throughout the year in general European history.
2. At least two three-hour elective courses throughout the year, one of which must be either American or English history.
3. A creditable standing.

These are for the minor certificate. For the major certificate, in addition, one elective course and one course in research. In other words, the major indorsement represents 15 hours throughout the year, or one full year of college work in history with a satisfactory standing. (Taken from Prof. MacDonald's address at the New England History Teachers' Association.)

University of Wisconsin requirements for candidates preparing to teach history in high schools:

1. At least 26 semester hours of history, of which at least 12 must be in advanced courses, and a satisfactory thesis.
2. At least one two-hour course for the training of teachers of history.
3. In addition, a three-hour semester course in psychology and at least seven semester hours in education.
4. Students are being urged to add to this preparation one year of graduate work.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUSTIN WINSOR PRIZE.

The committee on the Justin Winsor prize would report that six manuscripts were submitted this year in competition. They were all concerned with the history of some part of the present United States. Two were concerned with the colonial period, one with the Revolutionary, and three with the constitutional period.

The committee was nearly unanimous in deciding which was the best essay, and it recommends that the prize be awarded to Dr. A. C. Cole for his essay on "The Whig Party in the South."

Respectfully submitted.

C. H. VAN TYNE, *Chairman.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD AT THE METROPOLITAN CLUB, NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 30, 1912.

The council met at 10 a. m., with Vice President Dunning in the chair. Present: Messrs. McLaughlin, Leland, Bowen, Jameson, G. B. Adams, Hart, Turner, Sloane, Riley, Sparks, Fling, Woodburn, Ames, Munro, and the secretary.

The secretary of the association presented his report, showing that the total membership on November 21, 1912, was 2,820, as against 2,891 on November 27, 1911.

The secretary of the council also reported briefly.

The treasurer presented the following report:

| | |
|---|-----------------|
| Cash on hand Dec. 18, 1911..... | \$3,250.43 |
| Receipts to date..... | 9,511.60 |
| | <hr/> 12,762.12 |
| Disbursements..... | 10,640.19 |
| | <hr/> 2,121.93 |
| Balance on hand Nov. 29, 1912..... | |
| <hr/> ASSETS NOVEMBER 29, 1912. | |
| Cash on hand..... | 2,121.93 |
| Bond and mortgage real estate at No. 24 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York (due Mar. 29, 1914)..... | 20,000.00 |
| Accrued interest on above (2 months, 4½ per cent)..... | 141.67 |
| 20 shares American Exchange National Bank stock (at 230)..... | 4,600.00 |
| | <hr/> 26,863.60 |
| Assets at last annual report, Dec. 18, 1911..... | 28,439.32 |
| | <hr/> 1,575.72 |
| A decrease during the year of..... | |
| <hr/> NEW YORK, November 29, 1912. | |

In response to an invitation from the International Historical Congress, to be held in London in April, 1913, the council voted to appoint as delegates of the association Messrs. Haskins, Jameson, and McLaughlin, and to authorize the president to make additional appointments from members of the council who may attend the meeting, in case it appears that further appointments would be welcome to the organization of the congress.

The secretary reported on behalf of the committee on program for the Boston meeting and Prof. R. B. Merriman on behalf of the committee on local arrangements.

It was voted to request the committees on the Winsor and Adams prizes to consider and report upon such modification of the rules of competition for these prizes as may

reduce the editorial labor performed by the association in the publication of the essays.

At the request of the committee on bibliography the council passed resolutions with respect to a check list of learned periodicals.

The committee on bibliography was authorized to solicit subscriptions for a revised and amended edition of the Check List of European History Collections published by Dr. Richardson for the committee. It was understood that if the number of subscriptions prove sufficient the publication and sale of the revised edition should be undertaken by the association.

The committee on publications was authorized to arrange for the reprinting at the association's expense of the prize essay of David S. Muzzey on "The Spiritual Franciscans," in a style uniform with the other prize essays.

The committee on publications was requested to consider and report at the next meeting of the council upon the advisability of establishing an association bulletin or some similar means of quarterly communication between the association and its members.

Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart was reappointed representative of the association on the committee for a yearbook of history and political and economic science.

At the request of the committee on a bibliography of modern English history it was voted:

(1) To enter into a contract with an American publisher for the issue of the work on the conditions described in the report submitted to the council, it being understood that the association is not placed in a position involving any financial responsibility;

(2) To issue an appeal for funds, with the similar offer of a copy of the work for the best price obtainable from the publisher;

(3) To extend the period covered by the bibliography to the present time.

Reports were received from the following standing committees not already mentioned: Historical manuscripts commission; public archives commission; board of editors of the American Historical Review; board of advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine; general committee; committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools; committee on indexing the Papers and Reports of the association; and from the editor of the reprints of Original Narratives of Early American History.

Estimates for regular appropriations were presented as follows:

| | |
|--|---------|
| Secretary of the association..... | \$1,000 |
| Historical manuscripts commission..... | 300 |
| Public archives commission..... | 300 |
| Committee on the Adams prize: | |
| For the prize..... | 200 |
| For incidental expenses..... | 25 |
| History Teacher's Magazine..... | 600 |
| Committee on bibliography: | |
| General appropriation..... | 100 |
| For the bibliography of American travels..... | 50 |
| General committee..... | 200 |
| Committee on the preparation of teachers..... | 10 |
| Committee on indexing Papers and Reports of the association: | |
| General appropriation..... | 500 |
| For indexing annual report of 1912..... | 100 |
| Editorial duties of the secretary..... | 300 |

It was voted to appoint a committee of one to confer with the American Political Science Association and other allied associations with reference to the place of meeting in 1914, it being the opinion of the council that that meeting should be held in the West. Mr. Turner was appointed as such committee.

Invitations to hold the meeting of 1914 in Memphis, St. Louis, and Colorado Springs were received and placed on file.

It was voted to authorize the chairman to appoint at this meeting the committee to nominate officers for 1913, with the understanding that the names of its members should be announced in the forthcoming edition of the program, and that members of the association should be requested to send to the committee any suggestions they may wish to make. Messrs. Max Farrand, Ephraim D. Adams, Walter L. Fleming, Frederic L. Paxson, and Miss Lucy M. Salmon were appointed as such committee.

It was voted to recommend to the association that the nominating committee for 1914 be appointed at the Boston meeting, and that this committee be requested to transmit to the council any suggestions which it may receive concerning members who would be serviceable on the committees and commissions of the association.

It was voted to appoint a committee on appointments—with the chairman as an ex officio member—to report at the next meeting of the council. Messrs. Fling, Haskins, and Leland were appointed to act with Mr. Dunning as such committee.

It was voted to accept an invitation for 1913 from Columbia, S. C., and to arrange for the holding of one general session in Columbia as a part of the meeting of 1913 in South Carolina.

It was voted that the treasurer, secretary, and secretary of the council be a committee to prepare a budget for 1913 for presentation at the next meeting.

It was voted to appoint a committee to consider methods of promoting research in American and European history. Messrs. Fling, Turner, and Munro, were appointed as such committee.

The council, having sat through luncheon, adjourned at 4.30.

The annual dinner of the council was held Friday, November 30, at the Metropolitan Club, where the members of the council, chairmen of committees and commissions, and the editors of the *American Historical Review* were the guests of President Theodore Roosevelt, ex-President Charles Francis Adams, and ex-President James Ford Rhodes. No formal business was discussed at the dinner, but brief remarks were made by Messrs. Roosevelt, Andrew D. White, Charles Francis Adams, and James Harvey Robinson.

CHARLES H. HASKINS, *Secretary of the Council.*

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE, DECEMBER 27 AND 30, 1912.

The council met at 3 p. m. December 27 in the Hotel Copley Plaza, Boston, Vice President Dunning in the chair. Present: Messrs. George B. Adams, Ames, Fling, Hart, Jameson, Leland, Munro, Turner, the secretary, and E. D. Adams, representing the Pacific coast branch.

An invitation to hold a meeting in San Francisco in 1915 in conjunction with the Panama-Pacific Exposition having been presented by Prof. Morse Stephens and Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, it was voted to recommend to the association that a special meeting of the American Historical Association be held in San Francisco in July, 1915. It was also voted to appoint a special committee to arrange the details. Prof. H. Morse Stephens was appointed chairman of the committee, the other members to be appointed later.

Voted, To appoint a committee to consider and report at the next meeting of the council on the activities of the patriotic and hereditary societies. Messrs. Jameson, Clark, and Leland were appointed as such committee.

Voted, That hereafter the council minutes be printed as part of the proceedings of the association.

Voted, on the recommendation of the committee on publications:

(1) That the treasurer be instructed to open a separate account with the committee on publications;

(2) That in lieu of the estimate presented at the last meeting of the council the council appropriate \$1,000 for the publication of the prize essays;

(3) That in addition to this sum the committee on publications be credited with the profits hereafter accruing from all sales of the publications of the association.

Adjourned at 5.30 p. m.

The council met at 1.30 p. m., December 30, in the New Lecture Hall, Harvard University, Vice President Dunning in the chair. Present: Messrs. Ames, Fling, Hart, Jameson, Leland, McMaster, Turner, Munro, the secretary, and E. D. Adams, representing the Pacific coast branch.

Voted, on the report of the committee to confer with a similar committee of the American Political Science Association, to hold the meeting of 1914 in Chicago, in accordance with an invitation received from the University of Chicago, the University of Illinois, and Northwestern University. It was understood that the headquarters and meetings should be arranged for the center of the city.

Upon the report of the secretary the council took up the question of the budget for 1913 and voted the following appropriations:

| | |
|---|-------|
| Office of the treasurer | \$800 |
| Office of the secretary | 1,000 |
| Office of the secretary of the council | 100 |
| Pacific coast branch | 50 |
| Executive council | 400 |
| Editorial work of the secretary | 300 |
| Annual reports, index, and reprints | 200 |
| Annual meeting | 300 |
| Miscellaneous | 350 |
| Historical manuscripts commission | 300 |
| Public archives commission | 300 |
| Committee on the Adams prize: | |
| For the prize | 200 |
| For incidental expenses | 25 |
| Committee on bibliography, including the bibliography of American travels | 150 |
| Committee on the preparation of teachers | 10 |
| General committee and the conference of historical societies | 200 |
| General index | 500 |
| History Teacher's Magazine | 600 |
| Writings on American History | 200 |
| American Historical Review (estimated at \$1.60 per member) | 4,500 |

The treasurer was authorized to draw on the miscellaneous appropriation for any excess in the expenses of the officers or of the council above the amounts appropriated.

The president, secretary, and treasurer were designated as a committee with power to arrange readjustments in the clerical work of the secretary's and treasurer's offices.

Voted, To recommend to the association the following modifications in the rules of the Adams and Winsor prizes:

In the bracketed note under Rule V:

"[The typographical style as to capitalization, punctuation, spelling, etc., of the volumes already published in the series of prize essays should be followed.]"

Rules VIII and IX shall read as follows, and there shall be added Rules X and XI:

"VIII. The successful monograph shall be the property of the American Historical Association, which reserves to itself all rights of publication, translation, and sale, both in the United States and in foreign countries.

"IX. The manuscript of the successful essay, when finally submitted for printing, must be in such form, typographically (see Rule V) and otherwise, as to require only a reasonable degree of editing in order to prepare it for the press. Such additional editorial work as may be necessary, including any copying of the manuscript, shall be at the expense of the author.

"Galley and page proofs will be sent to the author for revision; but, should changes be made by him exceeding in cost an aggregate of 10 cents per page of the completed book, such excess shall be borne by him, and the amount will be deducted from the prize.

"An adequate index must be provided by the author.

"X. The amount of the prize, minus such deductions as may be made under Rule IX, will be paid to the author upon the publication of the essay.

"XI. The author shall be entitled to receive 10 bound copies of the printed volume, and to purchase further copies at the rate of \$1 per volume. Such unbound copies with special title page as may be necessary for the fulfillment of thesis requirements, will be furnished at cost, but no copies of the volume will be furnished the author for private sale."

Voted, To appoint a committee of the council to report on the best methods of promoting by governmental means the study of military history in the United States. Messrs. Hart, Sloane, and Fling were appointed.

Voted, To appoint as a committee to cooperate with the committee on program in arranging a session on military history at Charleston, Messrs. R. M. Johnston, Fling, T. L. Livermore, J. W. McAndrew, and G. H. Shelton, proposed by the conference on military history as a committee for carrying on the work of that conference.

The following memorandum concerning the relation of the American Historical Review and the History Teacher's Magazine, presented by the editors of the Review, was adopted by the council:

"The editors of the Review, to whom the matter was referred as a committee of the council, beg leave to adopt as their report a memorandum on the relations between the American Historical Review and the History Teacher's Magazine drawn up by the chairman of the advisory committee of the Magazine, and approved by the members of that committee, to which the editors have made two slight additions which have also been approved by the advisory committee. Your committee would recommend that the council adopt this memorandum as a statement of its opinion as to the principles which should govern the relationship between the Review and the Magazine:

"The general province of the Review is to set forth and to appraise the ideals and achievements of historical scholarship. The general province of the Magazine is to set forth and to appraise the ideals and achievements of classroom instruction in history. To the teacher of history the one is a matter of interest as strictly professional as the other. Teachers of history ought, therefore, to have access both to the Review and the Magazine.

"The two periodicals already have a considerable number of readers in common. The Magazine should endeavor as a part of its general policy to increase the number.

"This condition should be clearly before the editors in selecting material for the Magazine. At the same time the Review will reach many readers who never see the Magazine, and the Magazine will reach many readers who never see the Review. These two classes will probably always outnumber the readers who keep in touch with both periodicals. It follows that the Review may at times with profit enter the province of the Magazine and that the Magazine may at times with profit enter the province of the Review.

"This freedom will naturally be exercised more frequently by the Magazine than by the Review and can be exercised without prejudice to readers who have access to both periodicals.

"Some articles published by the Review should be summarized by the Magazine. This should be done whenever conclusions are established that affect directly either facts or interpretations of facts now presented in school. What is taught in school should as far as possible be kept in harmony with the development of historical knowledge.

"Some books appraised by the Review should be appraised also by the Magazine. This should occur especially in the case of books which are sound historically and yet so conceived and so written as to appeal strongly to young readers. The Magazine should regard it as one of the greatest services that it can render to raise the standard of books deemed suitable for school history.

"The Magazine should also from time to time publish general reviews embodying the results of investigations in those fields from which school history draws its material. These reviews should as far as possible be prepared by acknowledged scholars. There should be similar reviews of the history of history and of discussions of the historical method.

"Again, the Magazine should keep watch over newly discovered sources and should be free to publish sources which have special bearing on school history.

"While school history only has thus far been mentioned, it is the purpose of the Magazine to serve also the interests of college teachers of history. In any of the fields indicated the Magazine should be free to include whatever may advance the special interests of history teaching in college.

"The furtherance of these special aims may at times involve some duplication of material, but the point of view of the Magazine will always be specifically that of the teacher of history either in school or in college.

"The Review should surrender to the Magazine the work of reviewing textbooks and other apparatus intended primarily for use in classroom instruction, but reserve the right of reviewing advanced textbooks from the point of view of their scholarly quality.

"Both the Review and the Magazine should be free to publish items of personal interest and such accounts of meetings and of general discussions as seem desirable.

"It is recommended that the managing editors of the Review and the Magazine confer together concerning any doubtful points which may arise in the practical operation of the terms of this memorandum."

Voted, To recommend to the association the adoption of the following resolution:

"Whereas, The first Pan-American Scientific Congress, held in Santiago, Chile, in December, 1908, designated Washington as the next place of meeting, and

"Whereas, The holding of such Congresses contributes toward fostering closer intellectual and cultural ties between the countries of the American Continent,

"Be it resolved, By the American Historical Association, that the Congress of the United States be earnestly requested to make a suitable provision for the holding of this congress at the time designated; and be it

"Resolved furthermore, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate."

Voted, To authorize the president to appoint—should circumstances call for it—an advisory committee of five to advise concerning the exploration of Spanish archives and the publication of material therefrom.

The report of the council's committee on appointments, which had already been considered at the meeting of December 27, was then adopted with certain modifications, and the following appointments were made for the committees and commissions of the association for the year 1913:

Editors of the American Historical Review.—J. Franklin Jameson, Frederick J. Turner, Andrew C. McLaughlin, George L. Burr, James Harvey Robinson (these five to hold over). Edward P. Cheyney, elected to serve for six years from January, 1913.

Historical manuscripts commission.—Worthington C. Ford, Ulrich B. Phillips, F. G. Young, C. W. Alvord, Julian P. Bretz, Archer B. Hulbert.

Committee on the Justin Winsor prize.—Claude H. Van Tyne, Carl Becker, William MacDonald, J. G. deR. Hamilton, Carl R. Fish.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize.—George L. Burr, Edwin F. Gay, Charles D. Hazen, A. B. White, Laurence M. Larson.

Public archives commission.—Victor H. Paltsits, Charles M. Andrews, Robert D. W. Connor, Gaillard Hunt, Jonas Viles, Eugene C. Barker, Henry E. Woods.

Committee on bibliography.—Ernest C. Richardson, W. Dawson Johnston, George P. Winship, F. J. Teggart, C. S. Brigham, Walter Lichtenstein.

Committee on publications.—Max Farrand, and, ex officio, Waldo G. Leland, Charles H. Haskins, J. Franklin Jameson, Worthington C. Ford, Ernest C. Richardson, George L. Burr, C. H. Van Tyne, Victor H. Paltsits.

General committee.—Frederic L. Paxson, Clarence S. Paine, Isaac J. Cox, Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, Pierce Butler, Frederic Duncalf, Miss Julia A. Flisch, Morgan P. Robinson, W. Roy Smith, David D. Wallace, and W. G. Leland and H. W. Edwards, ex officio.

Committee on a bibliography of modern English history.—Edward P. Cheyney, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Ernest C. Richardson, Williston Walker.

Committee on the preparation of teachers of history in schools.—Dana C. Munro, K. C. Babcock, C. E. Chadsey, Edgar Dawson, R. A. Maurer, H. W. Edwards.

The conference of historical societies.—Thomas M. Owen, chairman; Solon J. Buck, secretary.

Advisory editors of the History Teacher's Magazine.—Henry Johnson, chairman; George C. Sellery, St. George L. Sioussat (these two renominated to serve three years); Miss Blanche Hazard, F. M. Fling, James Sullivan.

Committee on program for twenty-ninth annual meeting.—St. George L. Sioussat, W. G. Leland, S. C. Mitchell, U. B. Phillips, Henry A. Sill, James T. Shotwell.

Committees on local arrangements for the same.—Charleston, S. C.—J. W. Barnwell, Harrison Randolph, O. J. Bond, Theodore D. Jervy. Columbia, S. C.—B. F. Taylor, chairman; Yates Snowden, A. S. Salley, jr., S. C. Mitchell.

Nomination committee.—William MacDonald, Clarence W. Alvord, John S. Bassett, E. B. Krehbiel, Franklin L. Riley.

Adjourned at 3.45 p. m.

CHARLES H. HASKINS, *Secretary of the Council.*

II. REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL
MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA, APRIL 5-6, 1912.

By H. W. EDWARDS,
Secretary of the Branch.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PACIFIC COAST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By H. W. EDWARDS.

The ninth annual meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association was held at Stanford University, April 5 and 6, 1912. In the absence of the president of the branch, Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft, the vice president, Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt, acted as chairman of the sessions.

The first session, on Friday afternoon, was opened by a paper by Prof. Henry L. Cannon, entitled "Royal finances in the time of Henry III."¹ The second period of Henry's reign (1232-1252) is important for study, because it shows the full course of the disease for which the constitution was to be a remedy. The constitutional history of this period revolves around the King's financial despotism. From what has been called "the first authorized account of a parliamentary debate" (January 28, 1242) we find that the baronage was conscious of the following principles: First, that normally the King should "live of his own"; second, that the nation had some voice in regard to the need for any unusual subsidy, and that one subsidy was never properly to be taken as precedent for another; third, that the King owed it to his people to spend an aid for the purposes for which it was collected, and to this end a baronial committee might properly be appointed as a check. Many questions are involved in the financial history of this period, but the period has not been fully worked by historians for the reason that they have not been in a position to use the necessary historical material, namely, the royal financial records. Many of the financial records are not yet published. The Pipe Roll Society has undertaken to publish the pipe rolls and other financial records up to 1200, but there is no prospect of publication after that year. Besides the pipe rolls there are the important "Pells series" and the "Wardrobe accounts," as well as other rolls. Practically none of these thirteenth-century accounts are accessible in published form, though other records are being issued by the English Government. As these documents now lie in the Public Record Office, they are accessible to very few persons. A uniform publication of all these records is necessary. Prof. Cannon concluded

¹ See pp. 79-86. *post*.

by mentioning four possible courses of action toward having these records photographed and the photographs deposited at some place within the United States. He asked, therefore, that the branch appoint a special committee to canvass the whole question and report its conclusions to the American Historical Association. On motion, a committee was appointed to report to the branch at the Saturday morning business session on the feasibility of acting on Prof. Cannon's proposal.

Prof. William A. Morris next read a paper on "The Norman sheriff and the local English courts." Probably the most difficult problem connected with the English courts of shire and hundred in the Norman period is that of their relations to the new feudal jurisdictions. The sheriff was the main agency employed by the Norman rulers to prevent the creation of feudal rule. But the sheriff, often a great tenant himself, was far from being free of feudal influence. An inducement for carrying out the wishes of his master lay in the fact that he held his county under a speculative arrangement. He farmed his county of the King for profit.

Sums derived from the ordinary pleas of the shire and hundred formed part of the sheriff's farm. Whenever his farm was concerned his motive for maintaining the rights exercised in the King's name was the same as that of the ordinary feudal lord in extending private rights at the expense of the King. It is probable that the source to which the sheriff chiefly looked for profits when he farmed his shire was the pleas of its courts. The farming system was thus a clever arrangement for furthering royal judicial and financial interests, as well as royal authority in general.

The sheriff stood at the head of the judicial system of the county and was responsible for the courts of the hundred as well as those of the shire. The fact seems to explain certain similarities between the two, as, for example, in the matter of their attendance, and tends to show that the hundred court passed into private hands less frequently than has been supposed. The perpetuity of these courts throughout the Norman period may be regarded as established in spite of loss of business and suitors, particularly on the part of the hundred. The Norman kings depended upon both courts to perform important governmental functions. That these national and popular institutions survived to become the corner stone of English constitutional development is due to the watchful supervision of the Norman sheriff.

The final paper of the session was presented by Prof. Louis J. Paetow, and was entitled "Robert Grosseteste and the intellectual revival in the thirteenth century." Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253, is praised highly for his learning by Roger Bacon, who considered him one of the greatest scholars of the world, worthy to rank with Aristotle and Boethius. To-day, Grosse-

teste is known as a bold reformer of abuses in both Church and State, but nobody ever thinks of comparing him, even distantly, with Aristotle. However extravagant may be the praise of Roger Bacon, he at least deserves a hearing. He exalts Grosseteste for his interest in sciences and the languages. These were the subjects to which Bacon devoted himself heart and soul in the hope that they would bring about a veritable revolution in human knowledge. Apparently nothing came of this movement. At present the fame of Bacon is likely to be diminished by the researches of the Neo-Scholastics. The whole question of Robert Grosseteste and his Oxford school is sadly in need of further investigation. Byzantine and Arabic civilization must be studied more thoroughly in connection with western Europe. For the particular subject in hand a closer study of culture in Sicily and southern Italy during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries will probably lead to the best results. In general, the investigation must not be obscured, as it has been, by an overemphasis of the revival of learning in the fourteenth century.

The annual dinner was on Friday evening. The address was delivered by Prof. Rockwell D. Hunt, who chose for his topic "A California calendar of pioneer princes." Referring to the path of westward empire, Dr. Hunt pointed out that the typical pioneer has been our truest American. Spain, the real mother of California, contributed indeed richly to the calendar of princely pioneers, but it was the oncoming American that best exemplified the true California spirit—dynamic, democratic, fundamentally American. Numbers of conspicuous pioneers were passed under review in the quest for names most worthy of places in the California hall of fame, and John Bidwell, pioneer of 1841, was selected as the one man whose life and character most adequately embodied the happily blended qualities of the typical California pioneer at his best. The second speaker of the evening, Judge John E. Richards, emphasized the need of arousing an interest in local history and in the preservation of local records and traditions.

The Saturday morning session was opened by Prof. Robert C. Clark, who read a paper entitled "The Canadian settlers' opposition to the organization of a government in Oregon, 1841-1844." Prof. Clark briefly traced the growth of government in the Willamette Valley of Oregon from the time of the first election of judicial officers by the American settlers in 1838 to the establishment of constitutional government in 1843 and 1844. He showed that the Oregon Territory was settled principally by citizens of Great Britain and the United States, the former being for the most part French Canadians, a peaceful and law-abiding people. In the early years there was little need of government, but as the American element increased the danger of conflicts became more acute. Some of the leading men were

ambitious for office; others felt that an organized government would give the colony prestige abroad and thus attract settlers; still others desired a land office for the registration of land claims. All these motives, with others, led to unsuccessful attempts to organize a constitutional government in the years 1841 and 1842. The movement of 1841 was not quite a failure, as a body of officers was selected by an assembly of all the citizens, and the judicial officers instructed to follow the laws of New York until such time as the colony might adopt a code of its own. From this time the American element was recognized as a self-governing community by the Hudson's Bay Company officers. The failure to establish a government to include both British and American settlers was due to opposition of the Hudson's Bay Company, which used its influence over the French Canadians to defeat the movement. In 1841 these had joined the Americans, but during the next two years they attended such public meetings as were held for this purpose and outvoted the Americans. However, when some 140 new settlers arrived from the States in the fall of 1842, the Americans outnumbered the Canadians, and in May of the next year by a bare majority carried in an assembly of the people a motion for organization of a provisional government. The Canadians withdrew from the meeting after presenting a protest and declaration of their reason for remaining separate. As a result of this movement organic articles and laws were submitted to a second meeting in July and ratified by the people. These formed Oregon's first constitution. The men responsible for them were without legal training and possessed little originaive genius, so in drawing up the constitution and laws they borrowed very extensively from a copy of the Iowa code that happened to be in their possession.

The organization of 1843 was too partisan in character to be a success. It failed to provide a government for the whole community. This defect was recognized by the Americans who arrived in 1843. The Canadians were now ready to join in a union with the Americans and in a meeting held in March, 1844, signified their willingness in a formal address to the American citizens.

Perhaps the most important contribution of this paper is the evidence presented of this March meeting of 1844 and the proof that the address of the Canadians belongs to the year 1844 and not to 1843, as given by previous writers. It also gives more clearly than had previously been done the reasons for the refusal of the Canadians to join the movements of 1841-1843 and the circumstances leading to their union with the Americans in 1844. It is also shown that narrators of Oregon history have relied entirely upon an imperfect English translation of the Canadian address, when the French original was preserved with it in the same envelope in the State archives.

Prof. E. I. Miller read a paper entitled "The Virginia committee of correspondence from 1759 to 1770." The paper, he stated, is based

partly on the journals of the House of Burgesses, but chiefly on the minutes of the committee, which were found a few years ago by Secretary Stanard, of the Virginia Historical Society. The paper reviewed briefly the Virginia method of dealing with the mother country through special agents and then the transition to a system of permanent agents, 1753. In 1759 the assembly appointed an agent of its own in addition to the agent of the governor, and appointed a committee of correspondence to instruct and correspond with him. This committee consisted of 6 councilors and 10 burgesses, men of ripe experience and leadership. That the distance of the colony from the King and the mother country made an agent in England necessary in order that Virginia might be properly and clearly understood, was the reason given to the agent, Montague, for his appointment. Inasmuch as the different branches of government sometimes disagreed, it was necessary for the representatives of the people to have an agent. The instructions to the agent distinctly recognized that English and colonial economic interests were not always the same and that a direct representative of the assembly was necessary to secure the rights of the people. The committee explained acts passed by the Virginia Assembly, giving reasons for their passage, the legal principles involved, and the committee's interpretation of the English Constitution with reference to law-making by the assembly. It laid down some definite lines of procedure which were in conflict with English practice. The agent was instructed on many questions, such as the military activities of Virginia, the act on collecting debts, paper money, importation of salt, securing a war ship for the Virginia coast, etc. On the proposal of Parliament to pass a stamp act the committee took its firmest stand. In July, 1764, it protested against such a tax, maintaining that it was dangerous to the people and posterity, that it was a violation of the English constitution to tax the Virginians without their consent or that of their representatives, that the levying of internal taxes on Virginia by Parliament was "replete with most dangerous consequences," and that while Parliament might have *power* it had no *right* to do this. When the assembly met, the correspondence was placed before it, and in November addresses, memorials, and remonstrances were sent to the King and the two houses of Parliament. These were expressed in strong terms. The resolutions of Patrick Henry, who was not yet a member of the house, were passed in the following May and in some respects were like the memorials. The records contain several letters written by Montague telling of the proceedings in Parliament, the attitude of various men such as Pitt and Shelburne, and the reasons for the repeal of the stamp act. The records of the committee end with a letter dated July 5, 1770. This committee does not seem to have been revived to form the committee of correspondence of 1773, but a new committee was then

formed. The committee was an organized center of opposition to the objectionable acts of the English Government and did much to define clearly the issues of the Revolution.

The Saturday afternoon teachers' session was devoted to the subject of economics in the high school. Miss Anna G. Fraser, of the Oakland High School, discussed the question "Has economics a place in the high school?" Prof. Stuart Daggett read a paper on "The content and method of high-school economics." An active discussion followed, in which the contention of the two principal speakers, that present conditions require that the citizen understand the economic basis of current political questions was indorsed.

At the business session the secretary reported a slight decrease in the membership of the branch and urged that the members be more active in presenting the claims of the association and the branch to persons interested in history. He also reported that the council of the branch had appointed Prof. Herbert E. Bolton as the delegate to the council of the association for the meetings of December, 1911.

For the committee on archives, Prof. Herbert E. Bolton reported progress. He stated that the aims of the committee were three-fold:

1. To undertake a comprehensive examination of the central and local archives of the States connected with the branch, and to report thereupon.

2. To insure the proper preservation of archives.

3. To establish central repositories for local archives.

The committee has plans under consideration for the accomplishment of these aims.

On motion of Prof. Adams, it was voted that the committee on archives be continued for five years, and that it be instructed (1) to continue its labors with a view to initiating a movement looking toward the organization and publication of a comprehensive calendar of the archives of the Pacific coast, and (2) to take such steps as may seem desirable in order to secure the safety and usefulness of the archives deposited in the California State library. It was further voted that the committee be empowered, in carrying out its objects, to increase its membership and to conduct correspondence as the agent of this association.

Miss Agnes E. Howe, on behalf of the Santa Clara County Historical Society, solicited the cooperation of the branch.

For the committee on making libraries accessible, Mr. George E. Crothers reported the passage of an act by the California Legislature permitting the State librarian to make deposits of books of the State library at any point in the State of California that he may designate. This will make it possible for scholars, especially at the universities, to obtain easy access to the books of the State library. The report was ordered filed.

The auditing committee, consisting of J. N. Bowman, William A. Morris, and S. P. McCrea, reported as follows:

APRIL 5, 1912.

We have examined the accounts of the secretary-treasurer, Prof. H. W. Edwards, and have found them correct and in good order.

The report was ordered filed.

The committee on resolutions, through Prof. R. C. Clark, presented the following:

Resolved, That the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association, at its ninth annual session, extend its thanks to the authorities of Stanford University, to the committee on general arrangements, and to the program committee for their efficient labors in organizing and conducting this, one of the most successful meetings in the history of the organization.

On motion, the report of the committee was accepted.

The following resolution, introduced by the secretary, was, on motion, adopted:

Resolved, That the branch commend to the directors of the Panama Pacific Exposition the feasibility of securing a meeting of the American Historical Association in San Francisco during the exposition, and that the branch pledge its aid in managing such a meeting in case it is secured by the said directors.

Prof. Bolton reported as the delegate of the branch to the council of the American Historical Association.

The special committee, consisting of Profs. A. B. Shaw and L. J. Paetow and Miss Jessie L. Cook, which was appointed to report on Prof. Cannon's proposal regarding the publication of the pipe rolls, presented the following recommendations:

In the matter of Prof. Cannon's proposal, we recommend:

1. That the project for the publication of the pipe rolls and related manuscripts for the reign of Henry III, as presented by Dr. Cannon, be transmitted to the American Historical Association with a request that it be given careful consideration.

2. That the Pacific coast branch approve of Dr. Cannon's plan to investigate, at his own expense, the scope and cost of such publication, his report to be transmitted, with the documents in the case, to the American Historical Association.

On motion, the report was adopted.

The committee on nominations, through Prof. E. B. Krehbiel, reported the following nominees:

For president, Prof. Arley Barthlow Shaw, Stanford University.

For vice president, Prof. William G. Roylance, University of Utah.

For secretary-treasurer, Mr. H. W. Edwards, Oakland High School.

For the council, in addition to the above officers, Prof. Wilberforce Bliss, State Normal School, San Diego, Cal.; Prof. Louis J. Paetow, University of California; Prof. Joseph Schafer, University of Oregon; Prof. Jeanne E. Wier, University of Nevada.

On motion, the report was accepted and the ballot was cast for the persons named in the report.

On motion, the selection of a delegate to the council of the American Historical Association was left to the council of the branch.

The secretary presented a letter from Prof. E. S. Meany, suggesting that the branch take steps toward securing a meeting of the Universal Races Congress for San Francisco in 1915. On motion, the matter was referred to the council of the branch.

It was voted that the date of the next meeting of the branch be left to the council of the branch.

The meeting adjourned.

III. ROYAL FINANCES OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.

By HENRY L. CANNON,

Associate Professor in Leland Stanford Junior University.

ROYAL FINANCES OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III.¹

By HENRY L. CANNON.

The reign of Henry III is usually divided into three periods. Of these the first embraces the 16 years under the wise and conservative administrations of William Marshall and Hubert de Burgh. The second period extends from 1232 to 1252, during which the King either reigned under the reactionary influence of Hubert's old enemy, the Bishop of Winchester (Peter des Roches), or ruled alone along the same lines. The third period, extending from 1252 to 1272, covers the struggle with the barons.

In treating of the first period the historian traces the steady advance in national security and prosperity with considerable satisfaction. Hubert de Burgh, following the Earl Marshall, who died in 1219, made it his business to repress the feudal lawlessness left over as a heritage from John's reign, to avoid wars and their demoralizing consequences, and to keep foreigners from battenning upon English resources. The improbable charges upon the basis of which his enemies secured his fall are sufficient proof of his integrity and of the beneficence of his rule.²

Historical writers also find much of interest in the third period, for, as one of them has remarked, "it is full of incident, character, and development."³ But the long years of the second epoch, 1232-1252, seem to have little of interest for them. "The political history is little more than a detail of heavy demands for money, ineffectual protests, and ever-increasing irritation," writes Stubbs, and again, "The details of the transactions of the whole period are abundant, intricate, and dreary."⁴

Details become dreary to one in case they possess no meaning for him, and so our first thought would be that the historians who find the second period dreary have missed its significance. But, paradoxically enough, Bishop Stubbs has stated the true significance of the period while remarking its insignificance, namely, that "the political history is little more than a detail of heavy demands for money, ineffectual protests, and ever-increasing irritation."

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association, April, 1912.

² Cf. Stubbs, "Constitutional History," II, 45.

³ Stubbs, "Select Charters," 320.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 319, bis.

In other words, the events of these times are significant as showing to the nation of that day exactly what a reversal of Hubert's policy of peace, order, and prosperity could do for them. Henry's dependence upon the foreign ecclesiastics and the foreign favorites introduced through his wife, Eleanor of Provence, his foolish foreign wars in behalf of his oversea dominions, his own reckless expenditures of treasure for any and all purposes, produced not merely a period of chronically heavy taxation but of taxation for the purpose of amassing coin to be spent in a foolish manner. At the time there seemed to be no effectual way of voicing protests against this despotic oppression; hence the ever-increasing degree of national irritation and the desperate attempts during the third epoch of the reign to find a suitable remedy. The historian Ramsay, in his comparatively recent work upon the period 1216 to 1307, has sagaciously entitled this whole century "The dawn of the constitution"; and to my mind the period of Henry's despotism, 1232 to 1252, is one of the most important for study, because it shows the full course of the disease for which the constitution was to be developed as a remedy.

It is clear that constitutional history during this second epoch revolves around the King's financial despotism. For evidence of this we need go no further than to what has been called "The first authorized account of a parliamentary debate," on which occasion prelates, earls, and barons duly called and consulted by the King (January 28, 1242), declined to countenance a declaration of war or to vote an aid for that purpose.¹

Not satisfied to leave the motives for their action in possible doubt, the council left this authorized account of their proceedings. In this they made clear the following points: First, that they considered themselves qualified to judge of the need for the tax; secondly, that they considered that they had not been remiss on former occasions, which are instanced, when they had taxed themselves heavily; thirdly, that the King was drawing these previous voluntary grants into a line of precedents which would thus do away with the need of calling councils for making such grants, although he had confirmed the Magna Charta with a certain "small charter" containing promises to the contrary; fourthly, that on one occasion a thirtieth had been granted to him on the condition that a committee of four should supervise its due expenditure, of which nothing had thereafter ever been heard; fifthly, that they believed that with his rich escheats, such as the archbishopric of Canterbury and various bishoprics, and with the income from the itinerant justices, by whom the shires, hundreds, cities, boroughs, and almost all vills were heavily amerced, the King ought to be well supplied with money; that is, assuming that it was faithfully collected and cared for. In other words, the King

¹ Stubbs, "Constitutional History," II, 59-60; "Select Charters," 365.

should "live of his own." Finally, they added, the country had become impoverished by all these forms of taxation.

We find in this document, therefore, that the baronage was conscious of the following principles: First, that normally the King should "live of his own"; secondly, that the nation had some voice in regard to the need for any unusual subsidy, and that one subsidy was never properly to be taken as precedent for another; thirdly, that the King owed it to his people to spend an aid for the purposes for which it was collected, and that to this end a baronial committee might properly be appointed as a check.

Perhaps at this distance we can dimly see some other causes at work in this constitutional ferment. We should like to ask, for instance, were new national needs making it impossible for an English king in the thirteenth century to live of his own; consequently, was a portion of this discontent due to a failure to appreciate the financial needs of the National Government? Again, had the baronage or other classes actually contributed as heavily as they thought; also, was England at this time as a matter of fact being impoverished by her taxation or was it the unequal incidence of the taxation that was grievous? Was the character of the judicial tallages of a sort to create a feeling of "taxation without representation"? Were the royal accounts really kept in good shape?

We do not propose to answer all or any of these questions in this paper, but to suggest that the period is one full of interest for the student of constitutional history who seeks to find in it the answers to the kind of questions indicated above.

That the questions are involved in the financial history of the period is evident, and we may say in brief that the reason why many historians have found the period dry and uninteresting is that they were not in a position to use the sort of historical material necessary for the proper interpretation of the period, namely, the royal financial records. This consideration brings me to the second portion of my subject, in which I wish briefly to set forth the character of these records and the extent to which they have been allowed to lie unpublished.

It may be remarked in passing that valuable as the chroniclers are—it is Matthew Paris, e. g., who has preserved for us the record of the debate of 1242—when it comes to definite financial history they are apt to be silent or to present wildly exaggerated figures which are positively misleading. And how far competent scholars have erred along these lines owing to a lack of study of the financial records is shown in the curious instance where Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, editor of the Charter Rolls of King John in 1837, stated in regard to the confirmation of the charters required by Henry III in the year 1227 that "By this measure King Henry realized not less than

£100,000."¹ This sum is repeated by Stubbs without question.² Ramsay has shown from the records, however, that the fines for that year came to less than £4,000, of which only half was paid up at once.³

Sir James Ramsay, who perhaps is doing the most successful work in the use of the records in the interpretation of historical problems of medieval English history, presents his point of view in the following statement from the introduction of the work referred to above: "I still seize opportunities of exhibiting and refuting the absurd exaggerations of chroniclers in their estimates of numbers; English history, from the wealth of our public records, offers special facilities for the correction of such errors."⁴

As especially pertinent to the object of this paper, I wish to make one further quotation from the same source: "In my efforts to get at the revenues of our Kings," Ramsay writes, "I still seem to have a field all to myself [it is to be noted that his remarks apply to the whole century]. I have been careful to point out the difficulties of the subject. The figures taken from the public accounts speak for themselves and are indisputable. My final estimates are given under reserve, and must be considered open to revision in case of the production of further evidence."

The difficulties Ramsay refers to lie in the first place in the fact that so much of the financial records is still unpublished.⁵ The original revenues of the King, embracing his income from landed possessions and the profits arising from royal prerogatives, were regularly enrolled in the sheriffs' accounts with the court of the exchequer, from which originated the magnificent series of rolls known as the pipe roll series or the great rolls of the exchequer. The Pipe Roll Society, operating from 1884 to the present time, has undertaken to publish these and other important financial records up to the year 1200, and in the course of time may be expected to accomplish its purpose. Beyond 1200, however, the whole series of pipe rolls lies practically untouched with no prospect of publication.⁶

For the interpretation of the pipe rolls, which are formidable documents, we often find that the double Pells Series, so called, is of great help. These pells record separately the receipts and expenditures for each of the two financial sittings of the court, at Michaelmas and Easter, with the entries arranged not by counties, as in the pipe rolls, but day by day, with daily, weekly, and terminal totals.

When other sources of revenue opened up in the reign of Henry III and special commissioners were appointed for their collection, the

¹ "Rot. Chart.," introd., VI.

² Stubbs, "Constitutional History," II, 40.

³ Ramsay, "Dawn," 47, n. 4; "English Historical Review," XVIII, 628 (1903).

⁴ Ramsay, "Dawn," VI.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 291, ff.

⁶ The pipe rolls extend from 31 Henry I to 2 William IV; 676 rolls.

pipe rolls and pells no longer gave the full revenue and we must seek the additional information in what are known as the wardrobe accounts. The King's wardrobe was the spending department for the King, and the Queen's wardrobe performed a similar service for the Queen. Fortunately for us these accounts were for some time, probably for the sake of convenience, customarily entered upon vacant parts of the pipe rolls, and to this circumstance we are doubtless indebted for various accounts that otherwise might have become lost to us. As an example of the way in which these accounts were thus interpolated, I find that the pipe roll for 26 Henry III, in which I am particularly interested at the present time, contains one whole membrane given over to special accounts of various kinds, one of which is that of the Queen's wardrobe.

There are other rolls which I shall not take your time to name, but the point is that none of these thirteenth-century accounts of which I am speaking, with the exception of extracts here and there as in Madox's "*Exchequer*," are accessible in published form, and so far as I am aware no plans have been made for their publication. In the case of the other records of the period having a bearing upon these problems the English Government has made considerable and commendable progress. Thus we have the fine rolls for the entire reign of Henry III; the charter rolls from 1226 onward; the patent rolls from 1201 to at least 1258 (still in process of publication); the close rolls from 1204 to 1242 (in progress); the originalia—so far as they have survived—for the whole period; the inquisitions for Henry III.

The extent of the unpublished material may perhaps be best illustrated if I give the list for a single year, that of 26 Henry III, 1241–1242. As my photographs will help to show, the list is as follows:

(a) There is the pipe roll itself. With its interpolated wardrobe and other accounts this may be estimated at from 5000 to 6000 lines of a possible length of 15 inches.

(b) The pells receipts—10 inches wide, 800 lines.

(c) The pells issues—8 inches wide, *ca.* 160 lines; also a second, *ca.* 240 lines.

(d) The auditor's receipts—by counties—16 inches wide, 3 columns, 18 skins; also a second, 8½ inches wide, 16 skins (*ca.* 1280 lines).

(e) The Queen's memoranda rolls—8 inches wide, 22 membranes (30 to 36 inches long).

(f) The liberate rolls—(1) Chancery, *ca.* 12 inches wide. There are three of these, of which the Gascon is published. The two others contain 18 and 6 membranes, respectively.

(2) Exchequer of receipt—two rolls, 18 inches, 1½ and 4 skins, respectively.

As they now lie in the public record office in London these documents are available only to the palæographical expert who is upon

the ground, and in case of fire they may be destroyed. Extremely few Americans can hope to take advantage of the information they contain. Yale University has recently secured a photographic copy of the pipe roll for the thirtieth year of Henry III, and Stanford University proposes to publish an extended edition of that of the twenty-sixth year. So far, so good, but while these attempts show the trend of scholarly opinion, and the estimation of the value of these records, it must be evident to all that a uniform publication of all of these records is the only satisfactory solution of the question. This leads to the proposal which I wish to make; namely, that we seek a means for this publication.

We can not look to the English Government for this undertaking, for it is now doing its full share of such work. Four possible courses of action are open to us: First, to form a new society similar to the Pipe Roll Society now in existence; secondly, to secure the interest of the Carnegie Institution; thirdly, to form an agreement among the universities; fourthly, to make it the business of the American Historical Association. In my estimation it is entirely practicable to have all these records photographed and deposited in some place within the United States, e. g., at the Library of Congress, where they may be advantageously worked over and properly prepared for publication. Which would be the best course to pursue is open to consideration. At any rate, we have here a field new to Americans which they may cultivate, if they will, with what promises to be fruitful results.

IV. ANTECEDENTS OF THE QUATTROCENTO.

By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR,
of New York City.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE QUATTROCENTO.

By HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

Much scholarship has been devoted to Petrarch and the humanists of the Quattrocento, but less to a classifying estimate of what they represent. How did that differ, and in what respects did it essentially resemble, the human progress, for example, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries? It is of these resemblances between the progress of one and the other period that I would speak. I refer especially to the fundamental identity of relationship borne by both periods to the remote past from which the Quattrocento as well as the Middle Ages drew the elements of human progress. But the closing Middle Ages were the immediate past of the later time just as each medieval period formed the immediate past of its successor; and in spite of frequent vehement disclaimers the Quattrocento drew of necessity from its immediate past just as copiously as each succeeding medieval century drew from its predecessor.

So we have the two quite obvious conceptions of a nearer well-nigh environing past, and a greater past which lay behind. That consisted of Greece, Rome, Judea, and whatever made part of the Roman world until the Empire crumbled, and thought and mood took on those forms in which they passed into the Middle Ages. There was first the Greek contribution of poetry, fine art, philosophy, and science. These four Greek gospels were to be partly translated, partly transfused, and partly forgotten in the Latin civilization of Italy and Spain and Gaul. The whole content, the cumulative aggregate, of Greece did not pass into Rome; one may say that it did not exist at any one time even for the Hellenic world. Parts of it would be discarded or forgotten while other parts were being produced. Crudely speaking, it was the more nearly contemporaneous portion that currently affected Rome—Menander and not Aristophanes, Stoicism and Epicureanism rather than the great antecedent philosophies, and, above all, the Alexandrian poets and the later schools of sculpture and painting. Still Homer, Pindar, Sappho directly influenced such best of the Latins as Virgil and Horace.

Secondly, after the Greek contribution to this great antique past, there was the partly resultant Latin civilization—the law, the polity, *the fact* of the Roman Empire, and the classic Latin literature, which was to constitute par excellence the world's belles lettres for as many centuries to come as we choose to say.

Thirdly, if one will, there were the increasing religious tendencies both within philosophy and quite without its pale. Within philosophy these were represented by Neo-platonism and the later prayerful phases of Stoicism; while as seemingly independent religious movements were Manicheism, Mithraism, Arianism, and Catholic Christianity, the last springing from grafting the Gospel of Jesus on an Old Testament stem and recasting it in categories of Hellenic thinking. In Latin Christian circles, moreover, there was a constant translation of Greek Christian theology into Latin, with some adaptation of the Greek thought to the temper and experiences of the West, also with considerable injection of fresh Latin elements. The Latin fathers, Ambrose, Jerome, Hilary, Augustine, with their theology, superstition, ardor for salvation, carelessness of physical fact, in all of which they did not shine or sin alone, represent a most important closing phase of this further past.

There follow the transitional sixth and seventh centuries, which are no longer what one calls "creative," but seem occupied with selecting such parts of the existing materials as meet their taste and capacity, and in reducing these by translation or otherwise to a form suited to the time. Boëthius, Cassiodorus, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville are the most distinguished examples. They were preceded or accompanied by grammarians of the Latin tongue whose work was to be of priceless value to the Middle Ages.

Now, when about to pass over to the Middle Ages (the "nearer past" of the Quattrocento), we recall the pervasive fact that the most obvious part of all progress from Boëthius till certainly well beyond the sixteenth century, was to consist in an ever larger appropriation of what we have been calling the "further past." Here the medieval centuries were as the Quattrocento, although they often were exploiting other parts of the great heritage. Generally speaking and allowing for some breaks, each succeeding century, besides accepting from its immediate progenitor what that progenitor had attained, strives to reach back of this immediate inheritance (its "nearer past") and from the "further past" draw what its fathers had not known.

On the other hand, of course, each period is experiencing its own experience, and is growing through its own life and individuality. Neither in the Middle Ages nor in the Quattrocento did humanity's advance consist solely in the increment of knowledge garnered from the past. In the growth of medieval Europe the native genius and equipment of the Celts and Teutons always counted—a genius itself the fruit of age-long growth and unknown influences. But for these few minutes we confine ourselves to that palpable progress which consisted in appropriating the ancient store, of which we know.

The Carolingian period shows the first stage in this progress. It studied Latin grammar and orthography, and abstracted and rearranged the writings of the Latin Church Fathers. These were its most serious intellectual pursuits; but, besides, we also find some enamored reading of Virgil and Ovid, and attempts to make secular verses and write good Latin prose. Controversies as to the Eucharist and Predestination are waged with extracts from the Fathers; and Erigena, the most original mind of the period, translates the Hierarchies of Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite, and somewhat out of due time puts together a crudely rational Neoplatonic system of his own.

By the eleventh century the more pious educated men have, as it were, been living and growing familiar with what the Carolingian time had put together of the antique and patristic past—Gerbert has studied and felt himself into Ciceronian thoughts, has wrestled with mathematics and the crudities of logical classification; and his cathedral school of Rheims affords a better education, probably, than Alcuin had obtained at York or helped others to at Tours. After Gerbert, his pupil Fulbert made the cathedral school of Chartres an advance on that of Rheims, and in the next generation the strife concerning “Universals” dawned, with text and kernel drawn from a sentence of Porphyry translated by Boëthius. At the same time, scholars began to write a more fluent medieval Latin and easier forms of verse.

The twelfth century was a period of brilliant human progress. One may believe that no part of its material advance, of its increase in mental power, of its increment of religious feeling, of its growth in every kind of human faculty, was quite lost in the centuries to come. Certain phases of twelfth-century development can be followed in their continuing thirteenth-century advance, while others apparently sink beneath the surface of thirteenth-century reactions, to reemerge in Petrarch's time and after. The intellectual and social progress of the thirteenth century is equally striking.

In these two centuries monasticism culminated, and there came a rich expansion of religious contemplation with a deepening flood of emotion. The emotional tide flowed over into human loves as well. Intellect had part in this emotional growth, and more especially cooperated in the florescence of symbolism, which drew its elements from the patristic and the antique. Passing out from the field of religion, symbolism permeated the medieval literature of human love and conduct, and the interpretation of the old pagan writings, till it reached a glorified vitality in the *Vita Nuova* and the *Commedia*. Afterwards neither Petrarch nor the Quattrocento would abandon it, however incapable of carrying it on.

Most plainly and in grandiose manifestations the scholasticism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries presents the constant medieval phenomenon of a later period reaching back of its immediate past for a larger share of the antique heritage. A Neo-platonic Augustinianism had predominated in the twelfth century, while the controversy as to Universals also filled many minds. This dispute stimulated the unearthing of the entire logical *Organon* of Aristotle, which marks the century's second half. All this logical training was carried over into the thirteenth century, which manifested its own great intellectual advance in the growth of universities and the rediscovery and appropriation of the substantial contents of Aristotle's philosophy. The last was largely the achievement of three successive masters, Alexander of Hales, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas. Herein lay an enormous increase of human knowledge drawn from a classic source.

The twelfth-century Platonism of Hugo and Richard of St. Victor, with that of Bonaventura in the thirteenth, was to prove suggestive to Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and other fifteenth-century Platonists of Italy, while the work of Aquinas and his followers provided a knowledge of Aristotle and a full arsenal of theologic argument for fifteenth-century Aristotelians. In the thirteenth century there were also attempts to read Greek and Hebrew for scientific-theologic purposes and a sporadic devotion to mathematics and physical science, of which the substance was antique. The most interesting worker here was Roger Bacon, perhaps read by Albert of Saxonia, great in physics in the fourteenth century, whose work in turn influenced Leonardo and Kepler.

Scarcely second to philosophy in its illustrative pertinency to our theme was the medieval appropriation of the Roman law. It offers the same long story of disuse, forgetting, and then, as the needs and capacities of men enlarge, a renewed study of the material in hand leading to a practical rediscovery and appropriation of a genuine jurisprudential source, the *Digest* of Justinian. For three hundred years from the opening of the twelfth century, the School of Bologna led in the task of placing before men a great classic source of discipline and legal wisdom, an achievement as important as the mastering of Aristotle.

The new knowledge of the Roman law, with the contemporaneous ordering of the Canon law, its younger sister of the half blood, promoted a larger discussion of political and social theory. Here Aristotle's "*Politics*" became the guiding authority, in the light of which Scripture and Augustine's "*Civitas Dei*" might be restudied. Political theorizing went on with increasing pertinence to contemporary affairs from Aquinas through Occam, Dante, Marsiglio of Padua, Wyclif, Nicholas of Cusa, to Machiavelli's "*Decades of Livy*."

In the meanwhile the *litteræ humaniores*, the study of the more rhetorical or imaginative Latin literature, had followed a course of its own. Through the Carolingian period, the eleventh century, and likewise the twelfth, Latin grammar and illustrative literature were the close and constantly called-on allies of philosophic, theological, even mathematical or physical studies. At the schools of Chartres and Orleans the study of Latin was consciously held the basis of all other pursuits. In a sense this remained true of all studies followed in the thirteenth century. Yet there had come a change. Many of the philosophic or theological writings of the twelfth century were of a markedly literary nature, and the sources used, like the Latin fragment of Plato's "Timæus," were literary. But the scholastic or quasi-scientific productions of the thirteenth century, based upon the writings of Aristotle, and themselves taking the forms of gigantic *summæ*, *quodlibetalia*, and commentaries, were decidedly non-literary. It had become true, as told in a contemporary, "Bataille des Sept Arts," that Logic from its stronghold of Paris had vanquished Grammar whose fortress was Orleans, and that Aristotle overthrew Priscian in the battle.

So in the later thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries the presentations of scholastic philosophy, theology, and science became unliterary, horrid, and detestable. Absorption in philosophy had afflicted letters. This condition brought its reaction, which Petrarch specifically represents. A love of letters wrought in him and in Boccaccio; but it was made more acute by the abominable scholasticism of the period. Yet the tendencies of Italy, where scholastic philosophy was less dominant and where humanism had never died, scarcely called forth any such reaction, and Petrarch was as much their child as their rebel. Moreover, disinclined as he was to admit his debt to any man later than Augustine, he had studied *medieval* grammars, and perhaps might have been less vain had he realized how his chosen path of Latin studies had been kept open by the labors of twelfth-century humanists like Hildebert of Lavardin, Bernard of Chartres, Peter of Blois, and John of Salisbury.

So Petrarch and Boccaccio in some degree represented a reaction against the unliterary direction of thirteenth-century studies, which in their serious phases had become unliterary, notwithstanding the immense amount of vernacular verse, including the "Roman de la Rose," in a literary way the most influential work of the Middle Ages. I wish to make the point that the work of Petrarch and the Quattrocento humanists after him was analogous to the most obvious and constantly recurring phenomenon of medieval progress. That is to say, these later men, after the bent of their particular tastes, were doing just what had been done by scholars and thinkers throughout the Middle Ages: They were one and all reaching back beyond the

heritage delivered to them by their fathers in the fruitful endeavor to appropriate and profit by a larger share of the great further past.

In some respects Petrarch and the Quattrocentists understood the Latin classics better than most medieval scholars, and were attaining a better scholarship. Yet in the question between natural or symbolical interpretation of the classics, they, like medieval men, absurdly favored the symbolical. And another point I wish to make is that some of them followed the classics more slavishly than medieval scholars. Those Quattrocento humanists who rejoiced to be called the "Apes of Cicero" resembled the medieval Averroists who, unlike Aquinas, clung to the *ipse dixit* of their master Aristotle or indeed of his commentator Averroes.

I have not referred to the Greek studies of the Quattrocento. That is not another story, but a further chapter of the same: again a reaching backward to gain from antiquity what the fourteenth century and the thirteenth had had no share in. I will not touch this story here, but will beg my readers to deal charitably with my very general and insufficient statements, which the shortness of this paper did not permit me to elaborate or explain.

V. THE NEW COLUMBUS.

By HENRY P. BIGGAR,
of London.

THE NEW COLUMBUS.

By HENRY P. BIGGAR.

If it be true, as Alexander von Humboldt has stated, that the biography of a man of learning is to be found in his works, equally certain is it that the life of a man of action is to be sought in his deeds. Christopher Columbus in the year 1492 discovered the New World, afterwards called America, and, whether he achieved this result by accident or of fixed purpose, thereby gained immortality. Yet as the full life of to-day with its animation and its color is reflected to-morrow merely in the stray lifeless papers that by chance escape destruction, so the story of Columbus's achievement has been handed down to posterity in a fragmentary form. Apart from the official papers drawn up before Columbus set sail, we have only the extracts of the Journal of his first voyage copied by Las Casas and two letters despatched by Columbus to friends on his return. The biography of Columbus written by his son Fernando between 1533 and 1539, the Spanish original of which has never been found, was first published in Italian at Venice in 1571, when Columbus had been dead some 65 years, and the author of his life, 32 years.

Although Washington Irving declared Fernando's life of his father to be the corner-stone of American history, the late Mr. Henry Harri-
risse, whose death on May 13, 1910, is deplored by every American scholar, sought in 1870 to prove that this volume could not possibly have been written by Fernando. Mr. Henry Vignaud, formerly first secretary of the American Embassy in Paris, has recently attempted to show, not merely that this book is full of inaccuracies but that it is composed in large part of forged documents. Mr. Vignaud, in his "*La Lettre et la carte de Toscanelli*" (Paris, 1901), maintained that the correspondence with Toscanelli preserved to us in Fernando's life was fabricated by Bartholomew. Mr. Vignaud has since published three more volumes on Columbus. In 1905 in his "*Études critiques sur la vie de Colomb*" he endeavored to prove both that the statements made by Fernando regarding his father's early life were incorrect and also that everything Columbus himself relates of his early life is untrue. Finally, in two bulky volumes, entitled "*Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*" (Paris, 1911), Mr. Vignaud has advanced the theory that Columbus

never proposed to seek a new route to the east by way of the west; his object was merely the discovery of new islands in the Atlantic.

These theories present both the character of Columbus and also his achievement in such a different light from that in which these have hitherto been regarded that, with your permission, I shall endeavor to sketch here this new Columbus, and in conclusion shall draw attention to one or two facts which would seem to militate against a very general acceptance of Mr. Vignaud's views.

Columbus was born at Genoa in 1451. He was thus 41 years of age when he discovered America. There were no sailors in his family, nor had he any relatives of noble estate. His father was a weaver and gave his son but a rudimentary education at one of the guild schools in Genoa. Columbus never attended the University of Pavia. It is also improbable, as he asserts, that he took to sea at 14 years of age. In 1470, at the age of 19, he was a wool-comber at Genoa, where we find him still in 1472. In 1473 he was living in Savona, a suburb of Genoa, and presumably exercising the same profession of a weaver.

In September, 1475, Columbus sailed to Chio, the Genoese colony in the Levant, on board two vessels belonging to Antonio di Negro and Nicola Spinola, of Genoa. Columbus's stay at Chio lasted some months, but early in 1476 he returned to Genoa and in the summer of that year set out for England in a fleet of four galleasses, three of which belonged to his fellow-citizens, di Negro and Spinola. On August 13 off Cape St. Vincent these vessels were attacked by the French Admiral Colombo in command of some 15 French and Portuguese ships-of-war.

After an engagement lasting 10 hours, during which neither side could claim the advantage, a fire, which destroyed seven of the vessels, put an end to the fight. Fernando Columbus relates how his father, being a good swimmer, seized an oar and, having made his way safely to land, proceeded on foot to Lisbon.

Two of the vessels belonging to di Negro and Spinola, which had taken refuge at Cadiz, called at Lisbon on December 12, 1476. If Columbus visited England it was on board these ships. He never sailed to Iceland in February, 1477, as he relates, but may have reached the Faroe Islands after touching at Bristol and Galway.

Columbus returned to Portugal in the course of 1477 and, as his fellow-countrymen established in Lisbon gave him a friendly reception, he determined to settle there. In July, 1478, he was commissioned by Paulo di Negro to buy a quantity of sugar at Madeira. Columbus made contracts for the purchase of the desired amount, but on the arrival of di Negro's ship at Madeira it was discovered that she had not brought the full purchase money, in consequence of which

the bargain fell through. Columbus stated all this before a notary at Genoa in August of the following year, 1479. He added that he was then 27 years of age, had 100 florins in his pocket, and intended on the following day to return to Lisbon.

In that city it was that about this time he married Felipa Moniz, daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, formerly governor of the island of Porto Santo. Columbus can not have lived on this island with his mother-in-law, for she resided in Lisbon. It is also impossible for her to have handed over to her son-in-law the papers and geographical notes of her dead husband, for, according to Mr. Vignaud, Perestrello never was a sailor.

As these notes are supposed to have given to Columbus his first idea of a search for land in the west, the correspondence with Toscanelli can only have taken place after Columbus's marriage in 1480 and before the death of Toscanelli at Florence in May, 1482. Mr. Vignaud, however, pronounces all these Toscanelli letters to be forgeries and sees in the Italian text of the second letter, and the Latin and Spanish texts of the first letter, merely progressive drafts of one and the same fictitious document. In the time at our disposal it is impossible to give in detail Mr. Vignaud's reasons for such a conclusion, but as this question is intimately bound up with that of Columbus's plan of the discovery of a new route to the east, on which Mr. Vignaud has much to say that is new, we shall have occasion later to refer to the origin of this correspondence.

In this year, 1482, in which Toscanelli died, the Portuguese built the fort of St. George de La Mina, 5° north of the Equator. Columbus states that he visited this fort, but places it on the Equator. He was therefore a most inaccurate scientific observer. His voyages to the West Coast of Africa, of which he frequently makes mention, must have taken place between this year, 1482, and 1484, when, as we shall see, he passed into Spain.

Columbus's conclusion from his observation of the explorations of the Portuguese along the coast of Africa was not, as Fernando would have us believe, that it was possible to reach the east by sailing to the west, but merely that since the Portuguese had found new lands by advancing toward the south, so it was possible other new lands might be discovered by sailing out into the Atlantic beyond the Cape Verde Islands. Accordingly, the design which Columbus laid before King John II of Portugal in 1483 was not that of a new route to the Spice Land of the east by way of the west, as has been supposed, but simply the discovery of new islands in the Atlantic to the west of those already known. The attempt on the part of this king to send a caravel in secret to the region indicated by Columbus shows that the latter's idea was not the discovery of a route to the east, but merely that of new lands to the west of the Cape Verde Islands.

Indignant at this behavior on the part of King John, Columbus, whose wife was then dead, left Lisbon secretly by sea and with his young son Diego sailed to Palos in Andalusia. On his way from Palos to Huelva, where lived a sister of his dead wife, Columbus called at the Franciscan convent of La Rabida. One of the monks, Antonio de Marchena, on questioning Columbus and hearing his tale became so interested that he sent him to the Duke of Medina-Sidonia at Seville. Unsuccessful with this duke, Columbus applied to the Duke of Medina-Celi, who considering the undertaking more suited to their Catholic Majesties gave him a letter to the court at Cordova. Ferdinand and Isabella after their audience with Columbus in April or May, 1486, commanded Talavera to place the matter in the hands of a commission, before whom Columbus was summoned at Salamanca in the autumn of 1486. The University of Salamanca was in no way interested in these discussions.

While waiting for the decision of the commission, Columbus on August 15, 1488, became the father of a second son, Fernando Columbus, whose mother was Beatriz Enriquez de Torquemada. This girl, whose parents were both dead, was then some 18 or 20 years of age. She was in poor circumstances and may possibly have been but a servant in a *posada* at Cordova, which would explain why Columbus never married her.

Although Columbus collected all available data regarding the existence of undiscovered land in the west and consigned this to his "Livro de Memorias" he has nowhere made mention of the reported discovery of the Antilles by an unknown pilot of Huelva, related at length by Las Casas. While Mr. Vignaud thinks it impossible to prove the authenticity of this tale, there are in his opinion many reasons for believing that a pilot was actually driven by winds and currents to one of the Antilles, and that on his death he confided the fact to Columbus. In no other way can one account for the firmness with which Columbus constantly maintained his conviction of the existence in the west of new lands. He seemed as sure of what he asserted, Las Casas tells us, as if he had already been there in person.

In 1490, after five years' deliberation, the commissioners advised the rejection of Columbus's plan, which was not the discovery of a new route to the east by way of the west, but the same that he had laid before King John of Portugal, namely, the discovery of new lands in the Atlantic to the west of the Canaries. The documents make no mention of any other project.

Before offering his plan to the King of France, Columbus proceeded to La Rabida to bring his son Diego to Cordova. He profited by his return to Palos to hold frequent converse with the sailors of that town and also with those of Moguer and of Huelva, which latter town had been the home of the unknown pilot. At Palos, Columbus was

informed by Pedro de Velasco that, from observations made at the Azores, he had concluded that land must exist further to the west. Another pilot of Palos, Pedro Vasquez de la Frontera, told Columbus that he knew the very situation in the Atlantic, beyond the great Sargasso Sea, of the Indies themselves. In this man's house Columbus met Martin Alonzo Pinzon, who had just returned from Rome, where in the pope's library he had seen a mappemonde on which lands were depicted in the west at a distance to which hitherto no sailor had penetrated.

This new and valuable information induced Juan Perez of La Rabida to demand an audience of Isabella and the latter to agree to receive Columbus again. The conditions demanded by the latter were, however, so exorbitant as to prove a fresh stumbling block. Finally, Luis de Santangel succeeded in inducing the Queen to accept them. Mr. Vignaud is the first to point out that in some copies of this agreement with Columbus the privileges granted are motivated, not by what Columbus was to discover, but according to the best texts "as some satisfaction for what he *has* discovered." Nowhere in this agreement, however, can a single reference be found to the idea of a new route to the east by way of the west. Columbus simply proposed to discover new lands in the Atlantic.

Amid the difficulties of fitting out the ships at Palos, the intervention of the Pinzons saved the situation. In Mr. Vignaud's opinion, however, Martin Pinzon alone would not have discovered America. On the other hand, Columbus would never have been able to carry out his plan, at any rate in Spain, without the active cooperation of this helpful lieutenant.

According to the instructions given by Columbus to his captains, the flotilla was to sail west from the Canaries for some 700 leagues, at which point he instructed them always to shorten sail between midnight and dawn. Columbus also gave the crews to understand that at this point land would be reached. It was because no land was seen after they had gone this distance that on October 3 the men began to show signs of mutiny. Here again Columbus had to rely on the help of Martin Pinzon. "Hang some of the mutineers," he called out to Columbus. "If you are afraid," said he, "my brothers and I will come aboard and do it for you." Pinzon declared, indeed, that he would never return to Palos without first running his prow upon the shore of the land of which they were in search.

On October 6, when they had already sailed the distance fixed by Columbus and found no land, Pinzon proposed that they should steer more to the southwest, in order to reach Cipangu, of which he had heard at Rome. The next day Columbus agreed to this course, with the result that on October 12 they sighted the island of San Salvador, some 1,100 leagues to the west of the Canaries. Mr. Vignaud thinks

that a great change now took place in Columbus's mind. Since they had sailed over 350 leagues beyond the point at which he expected to find land, Columbus concluded that he had penetrated to the outskirts of Asia. Cuba, which was sighted on October 28, was in consequence of this held to be the Asiatic mainland. On December 6 they discovered the island of Haiti, which both Columbus and Pinzon decided must be Cipangu.

On his return Columbus declared that he had found the Indies, to which point it had always been his intention to make his way. Although at first Ferdinand and Isabella accepted this statement, and in their letters described the new islands as being "in the Indies," the expression used in the official documents some two months later is "in the parts of the Indies," which expression, in Mr. Vignaud's opinion, shows that a doubt had arisen in their minds whether the new islands really were India. This doubt in time became general. Thus La Cosa, Cantino, and Canerio in their maps did not include the islands discovered by Columbus with the Indies, and Peter Martyr went even so far as to call Columbus the discoverer of a "new world." Again, had Columbus's statement that these new lands were India met with general acceptance, some trace would be found of the astonishment experienced when it was discovered that the new lands were not really India. Mr. Vignaud can find in the records no trace of the expression of any such surprise.

As the world persisted therefore in believing not only that Columbus had not discovered India, but also that he had never intended to do so, Columbus felt it incumbent upon himself to show that it had always been his intention to sail to the East. In his letters of 1498, and in that of 1503 written from Jamaica, he developed a new cosmographical system which he took from Martin Behaim whom he had met in 1491 and 1492.

As, however, on Columbus's death in 1506 the world was still unconvinced that he had intended to sail to the East, his brother Bartholomew, to save the memory of Columbus from the unjust aspersions cast upon it by those who persisted in relating the story of the anonymous pilot, had recourse to an heroic solution. He forged the whole correspondence with Toscanelli in order to prove that Columbus had always had in mind the discovery of a new route to the east. Fernando Columbus found these fictitious documents among his uncle Bartholomew's papers, and in this way they came into the hands of Las Casas, who believed them to be authentic. Mr. Vignaud's conclusion thus is, that while Columbus displayed genius in the faculty with which he sifted the evidence regarding the existence of land in the west, his real merit will always lie in this, that he discovered America not in seeking for the east by way of the west, but because he deliberately set out to find America.

In conclusion one can but call attention to a few facts which would seem to militate against a very general acceptance of Mr. Vignaud's views. If it be true as he has stated that there is not a single contemporary reference to Columbus's correspondence with Toscanelli, equally certain it is that in June, 1494, the Duke of Ferrara wrote to his ambassador in Florence requesting him to inquire of Toscanelli's nephew, who had inherited his uncle's papers, whether this nephew would be good enough to send the duke a copy of some notes, which he understood Toscanelli had written, regarding the island recently discovered by the Spaniards.

And as to the real nature of Columbus's project, we know that what he proposed to King John of Portugal was a search for the island Cipangu, and Barros tells us that when Columbus returned from his first voyage, he declared at Lisbon that this was the island he had actually discovered. Since Columbus knew from the travels of Marco Polo, which he had read, that Cipangu lay some, 1,500 miles off the coast of Asia, it would seem clear that Columbus's original intention must have been to sail to the East across the western ocean.

In proof of this we have the text of the letter of credence given to Columbus by Queen Isabella on April 30, 1492. Although the name of the prince to whom this letter was to be delivered is therein not given, Columbus in his Journal under October 23, states that this prince was the Grand Khan of Cathay. This is further apparent from the statement of Queen Isabella in this letter that "from the reports of some of our subjects, and others who have come to us from your Kingdoms and Countries, we have learned with joy, with what good feelings you are animated toward us and our State." Such a remark could never apply to the ruler of an undiscovered island in the Atlantic, but is in keeping with the supposition that this letter was intended for the Khan of Cathay. Finally, we have Columbus's introduction to the above-mentioned Journal of his first voyage, and with the first few sentences of this important document we must bring this paper to an end:

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. Whereas, most Christian, most high, most excellent, and most powerful Princes, King and Queen of the Spains, in the present year of 1492 in consequence of the information which I had given to your Highnesses of the lands of India, and of a Prince who is called the Grand Khan, how that many times he and his predecessors had sent to Rome to entreat for Doctors of our Holy Faith, to instruct him in the same, and that the Holy Father never had provided him with them, and that so many people were lost, believing in idolatries, and imbibing doctrines of perdition, therefore, your Highnesses, as Catholic Christians and Princes, Lovers, and promoters of the Holy Christian Faith, determined to send me, Christopher Columbus to the said parts of India to see the said Princes and people and land, and discover the nature and disposition of them all, and the means to be taken for the conversion of them to our Holy Faith, and ordered that I should not go to the East by land by which it is the custom to go, but by a voyage to the West, by which course unto the present time we do not know for certain that anyone hath passed, Your

Highnesses therefore, after having expelled all the Jews from your Kingdom and Territories, commanded me in the same month of January to proceed with sufficient armament to the said parts of India. I departed therefore from the City of Granada on Saturday, May 12, 1492, to Palos, a seaport, where I armed three ships well calculated for such service, and sailed from that port well furnished with provisions on Friday, August 3 of the same year, half an hour before sunrise, and took the route for the Canary islands of Your Highnesses to steer my course thence and navigate until I should arrive at the Indies and deliver the Embassy of your Highnesses to those Princes.

These words, which Mr. Vignaud is obliged to declare apocryphal, though originally written for the edification and information of Ferdinand and Isabella, would seem to place beyond the shadow of a doubt the fact hitherto undisputed that Columbus discovered America merely by accident in sailing across the western ocean on a voyage to the East Indies.

VI. THE CHARTER OF CONNECTICUT.

By CLARENCE W. BOWEN,
of New York City.

THE CHARTER OF CONNECTICUT.

By CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN.

To-day is the last day of the year, but it is the year 1912—the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the granting of the charter to the colony of Connecticut by Charles II, King of England. Let us do honor to the memory of the one who obtained the charter from the King, John Winthrop, jr., the son of John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts.

The first inhabitants of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor left the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and had no charter of their own. The colony of New Haven, likewise, had no jurisdiction right to the soil, although some incipient measures which came to naught had been taken "toward obtaining from the English Government as then constituted, a chartered recognition of the rights and constitution of the colony."¹ The colony of Saybrook, however, had a patent, the Saye and Sele patent, about which so much has been written and so little is known. But this colony did not flourish and was absorbed by the colony up the river. Col. George Fenwick, as agent of the Saye and Sele patentees, had no right to sell, and what Connecticut bought was of little value. The original deed from the Earl of Warwick to Lord Saye and Sele could not be delivered, and all that Connecticut to-day can show is a copy of a copy of the patent which was found in 1661 in London by John Winthrop, jr., among Gov. Hopkins's papers. Rather than see the Saye and Sele patent transferred to the Dutch, Connecticut made the purchase. The right by conquest of the Pequot country and the subsequent purchase by the colony of Indian lands which did not belong to particular towns extended the area of Connecticut, and when Charles II was restored to the throne of England it was determined to apply for a royal charter. Connecticut addressed a petition to Charles II asking for charter privileges, and letters were written to Lord Saye and Sele and to the Earl of Manchester. These papers, together with the text of the proposed charter, were intrusted to John Winthrop, jr., who was sent to England in 1661 as the agent of the colony.

Winthrop's previous visits to England, his wide acquaintance and charming personality, made him an ideal representative of the colony.

¹ "The Early Constitutional History of Connecticut," paper delivered before the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, May 17, 1843, by Rev. Leonard Bacon.

One of Winthrop's most powerful friends in England was the aged Viscount Saye and Sele, whose public services as well as several marriages in his family had brought him close to New England. Lord Saye and Sele secured the help of the Earl of Manchester, who was lord chamberlain, and of Sir Edward Hyde, the earl of Clarendon, who was chancellor and prime minister. Charles II was in a most favorable mood, and every circumstance favored Winthrop. The day on which the King signed the charter was the festival of St. George, the patron of Portugal as well as of England, and was the day on which Catharine of Braganza sailed from Lisbon to Great Britain to become the wife of Charles II. The same day, April 23, 1662, was the first anniversary of the crowning of the King. Yet only a few weeks after the King's marriage occurred the tragic death of Winthrop's dear friend, the fascinating Sir Harry Vane, former governor of Massachusetts. Pepys described the execution and said that Sir Harry's conduct on the scaffold was regarded as a miracle. The charter, duly signed and sealed, was sent to New England and was first seen in Boston, and on October 9, 1662, was publicly read at a meeting of the citizens of Hartford "and declared to belong to them and their successors."¹

The charter gave to the patentees 120 miles from the Narragansett River along the coast and thence in a line 60 miles wide to the Pacific Ocean, including all islands. New Haven and Long Island were thus brought under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. But the vital peculiarity of the charter was that no veto power was retained by the Crown "to thwart the free action of the people in the election of their own governors and the transaction of governmental business."²

The charter of 1662 expanded the jurisdiction of Connecticut and gave stability to its government, yet the colony had to fight for its privileges and rights and for its very existence from 1662 down to the days of the Revolutionary War. The charter was no sooner granted than Connecticut began its long controversy with Rhode Island regarding boundaries, and the heirs of the Duke of Hamilton began the long-drawn-out fight for the possession of the eastern half of Connecticut. The colony of New Haven did not at first approve of its absorption into Connecticut, but rather than become a part of the Province of New York and for other reasons reluctantly consented, and its incorporation into Connecticut was consummated in 1665. To John Davenport of New Haven the blow was severe. He accepted a call to the First Church in Boston, where he died in 1670.³

After Connecticut had brought within its jurisdiction the colony of New Haven the vitality of the New England confederacy was

¹ "Colonial Records."

² "History of Hartford County," I, 59.

³ Fisher, "The Colonial Era," 149, 150. See also Palfrey ("History of New England," II, 542), who says that Lord Clarendon, in granting the charter to Connecticut, wanted to humble Massachusetts, as well as to strengthen New Haven, which had backed the confederacy.

extinct. There was little chance for concerted action in New England to resist the repeal of the charters which was threatened in the mother country.¹ Edward Randolph, called the "Evil genius of New England," arrived in Boston in 1676, and was requested to report upon the condition of the colonies. He crossed the ocean 14 times and exerted himself to the utmost in attempts to deprive Connecticut of its charter. Connecticut was accused of making laws contrary to the laws of England. Three *quo warrantos* were issued against the charter of Connecticut. Another enemy of Connecticut whose influence against the colony made him even more unpopular than Randolph was Joseph Dudley, who was born when his father, Gov. Thomas Dudley, was over 70 years of age. Ambition was Dudley's ruling passion, "and in attaining his ends means were a secondary consideration. His cringing to Randolph, when at heart he despised him, was a blot on his character."² From September, 1685, until December, 1686, Joseph Dudley was president of New England, and was succeeded by Sir Edmund Andros, who had been selected by James II to take the government of the New England colonies into his own hands. Andros arrived in Boston, December 19, 1686. His arrival in Hartford on October 31, 1687, to take possession of the charter of Connecticut, is one of the romantic incidents in the history of the colony. A number of papers have been published regarding the hiding of the charter, and it is unnecessary to give a summary of the facts regarding this well-known episode in Connecticut history.³

It is sufficient to say that Sir Edmund Andros left Connecticut without the charter, and in a little more than a year⁴ James II was compelled to abdicate. When the news reached New England that King William and Queen Mary had been proclaimed, it was a red-letter day throughout the colony of Connecticut. Roger Wolcott wrote years after: "I never see a day of rejoicing in Connecticut like this."⁵ The charter government was resumed and the colony sent as its agent to England, Fitz John Winthrop, the honored son of John Winthrop, jr.

England tried to find a way of depriving Connecticut of its charter. As a governor for all New England had been a failure, it was suggested that two commissions to govern the New England territory should be appointed.⁶ Connecticut resented any infringement on

¹ Fisher, "The Colonial Era," 157, 158.

² Francis S. Drake, "The Town of Roxbury," 250-251.

³ See article, "Charter Oak," by Albert C. Bates, in "Encyclopedia Americana"; "Hartford, the Keeper of Connecticut's Charter," by W. De Loss Love; "The Hiding of the Charter," by Charles J. Hoadly (Acorn Club Publications, 1900), read before the Connecticut Historical Society February 26, 1894, and the New Haven Colony Historical Society; "The Hiding of the Charter," by Cyrus Sherwood Bradley, read before the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Connecticut, May 6, 1896; and "The Hiding of the Charter," by Morris Woodruff Seymour, read before the Society of Colonial Wars in Connecticut, May 26, 1894.

⁴ December 11, 1688.

⁵ "A Memoir for the History of Connecticut," by Roger Wolcott, written in 1759 (Connecticut Historical Society Collections, III, 325).

⁶ "Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series," II, 124-125.

its jurisdiction; as, for example, when Col. Benjamin Fletcher, the new governor of New York, arrived from England in 1692 with a commission vesting him with power to command the militia of Connecticut. Fletcher was subsequently allowed to command 120 Connecticut men in case of a threatened invasion, but the rest of the militia was under Connecticut's control. This arrangement virtually recognized the authority of the charter. Connecticut likewise resented Gov. Joseph Dudley's attempt to take command of the military forces of both Connecticut and Rhode Island in time of war.¹ But a true friend of the colony was Sir Henry Ashurst, who was the agent of Connecticut at the court of Great Britain from 1704 until his death in 1710. Connecticut owes a debt of gratitude to Sir Henry for his unselfish devotion to Connecticut in upholding her chartered rights.

The years following 1710 showed several attempts to appeal to the court of England when Connecticut refused to give redress for alleged wrongs. Nicholas Hallam and Maj. Edward Palms, a son-in-law of John Winthrop, jr., appealed to the King in Council, but the decisions of the Connecticut courts were sustained. But a more notable case was the appeal to England of John Winthrop, F. R. S., grandson of John Winthrop, jr., who was unwilling to allow his sister to inherit any real estate, but claimed all for himself. Winthrop went to England to prosecute his claims and died there. The Talcott papers published by the Connecticut Historical Society gave a full account of this notable appeal.² A confirmation of the Connecticut law was obtained.³ Connecticut was obliged to appeal to the Crown during the eighteenth century on account of the boundary disputes with Massachusetts and Rhode Island; but appeals to the Crown were unpopular, for the reason that privileges in the charter were threatened. The Mohegan case was used by enemies of the colony to injure Connecticut, but this case was finally decided in 1771 in favor of the colony.⁴ A violation of the charter of Connecticut was the appointment by George II of the governor of New York as captain

¹ Kimball, "Joseph Dudley," 135-179.

² "Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society," IV, 166-168, 175, 179, 180, 232, 235 (Talcott Papers) and "Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings," second series, VIII, 125, 138.

³ Hildreth, "History of the United States," II, 348. See also "Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series (The Unbound Papers)," VI: 173, The Petition and Complaint of John Winthrop of Connecticut, dated Feb. 8, 1727:

"As your petitioner saw the government there wholly vested in the hands of persons of levelling spirits and antimonarchical principles. . . . Your petitioner looked upon it as his particular duty, as being the grandson and heir of the person who obtained the grace and bounty of this Charter at your Majesty's royal predecessor's hands and which the said Company have so greatly abused, to come over to England in person to lay those grievences before your Majesty."

Governor Talcott answered the 29 articles in the petition and said that Winthrop's sole aim was to inherit all of his father's and grandfather's estates, basing his claim on primogeniture and not on partition, which was the rule of inheritance in all the New England colonies.

⁴ Palfrey, IV, 364, 366, also "Massachusetts Historical Society Collections," fifth series, IX (Trumbull Papers), 222, 235, 253, 261, 483.

general and commander in chief of the militia within the colony of Connecticut.¹

The charter of Connecticut was used by English commissioners against the French in 1752 in order to establish our jurisdiction across the Mississippi River. The establishment of the Mississippi River as a boundary line between the United States and Spain at the close of the Revolutionary War was an affirmation of the charter of Connecticut and the acceptance by the United States in 1786 of Connecticut lands in the west was another confirmation of the charter.² If Connecticut had not received a charter from Charles II, she would not have to-day the \$2,000,000 school fund obtained as the result of the sale of western lands.

¹ Peters, "General History of Connecticut" (1781), 76, 77, 78, 90, 102.

² Johnston, "Connecticut," 281-282.

VII. THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.

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THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.

By FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

In the summer of 1798, when the outbreak of war with France was daily expected, the Federalist majority in Congress hastily passed the famous alien and sedition laws. Designed to afford the President of the United States an effective weapon against what was deemed an especially pernicious and dangerous form of domestic opposition in time of war, they are now best remembered for the part they are presumed to have played in bringing about the defeat of the Federalists in the election of 1800. As the Federalists never recovered from that disaster, it is, I think, a little surprising that one does not find anywhere a close and detailed study upon either the genesis of the alien and sedition laws or upon the manner in which they were enforced. The purpose of this paper is to deal with the latter point, making use of contemporaneous materials brought together from widely scattered sources. The main reliance has been upon the newspapers,¹ but the Pickering and Jefferson papers and the archives of the Department of State at Washington and of the Federal circuit court at Boston have furnished some important materials.

As it is impossible in a 20-minute paper to trace in detail the entire effort at the enforcement of the alien and sedition laws, I shall confine myself to a concise statement of the conclusions to which my study has led upon a few points of prime importance.

First as to the alien law. John Adams, writing to Jefferson in 1813, asserted that he had not applied the alien law in a single instance.² This statement, I believe, was at least technically correct.³ Yet it should not be supposed that the alien law was entirely devoid of effect nor that the administration refrained entirely and on principle from making use of it. There are indications, if not proofs, that a

¹ There are few complete files for any of the newspapers of the period in which the alien and sedition laws were in force. Most of the papers which have been preserved are to be found in volumes of miscellaneous newspapers, often containing only a few numbers of any given paper. The Ebeling collection in the library of Harvard University is the largest and most valuable. The collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the Boston Athenæum, and the Library of Congress contain a considerable number. Several other libraries, especially those in Boston and New York, have a few each.

² Adams, "Writings," X, 42.

³ Adams nevertheless expressed to Pickering on August 1, 1799, a willingness that the alien law should be used against Duane of the Aurora. Adams to Pickering, Adams, "Writings," IX, 5. Pickering did not make any use of the permission, probably because Duane claimed to be of American birth and because a prosecution under the sedition law had already been started against him. Aurora, July 31, 1799, Harvard University Library; Pickering to Adams, August 1, 1799, Adams, "Writings," IX, 7.

considerable number of aliens, anticipating the enforcement of the law, left the country on account of it.¹ Moreover, in at least one instance, that of John D. Burk, author of the well-known history of Virginia, the administration made use of the alien law, in connection with a prosecution for sedition, to drive from the country, as it supposed, an obnoxious alien. In still another instance, that of Gen. Victor Collot, the administration decided to expel him, and it would seem failed to do so only because of his opportune departure from the United States.

Burk a few years before had become involved in the political troubles in Ireland and had fled to America to avoid arrest for sedition.² At the time of the passage of the alien law he was one of the editors of the *Time Piece*, a vigorous semiweekly Republican paper in New York City, which was reported about to become a daily.³ Soon after the law was passed Burk published an article in which he rather more than insinuated that a letter of Gerry to Adams, recently communicated to Congress, was garbled and that certain passages were a forgery.⁴ Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, at once wrote to the United States district attorney, calling attention to the article and to a report in another paper of some seditious remarks said to have been made by Burk. "If Burke be an Alien," said Pickering, "no man is a fitter object for the operation of the Alien Act. . . . Altho' Burke should prove to be an Alien, it may be expedient to punish him for his libels, before he is sent away."⁵ The district attorney, however, had begun a prosecution for libel before the receipt of Pickering's letter.⁶ An indictment was returned against Burk, but the case never came to trial, an agreement having been made that Burk should leave the United States.⁷ It appears, however, from a letter of Burk to Jefferson, written in 1801, that Burk did not leave, but went into hiding until after the expiration of the alien and sedition laws and the change of administration once more made it safe for him to appear in public.⁸

¹ A large number of French refugees from the West Indies were in the United States when the alien law was passed. Létombe, the French consul general, over a year earlier, in a dispatch to the Directory estimated the number at 20,000 to 25,000. Archives Nationales, AF III, 64. Other estimates are even higher. The archives of the Department of State at Washington contain abundant evidence that directly after the passage of the alien law large numbers of these French refugees left the United States. See especially "Domestic Letters," XI, July 2, 1798, to June 29, 1799. Although the going of most of these can be fully accounted for on other grounds, there are indications that with some of them apprehension on account of the alien law was a factor in bringing about their departure.

² John Burk, "History of the Late War in Ireland" (Philadelphia, 1799), 43-50. New York Public Library.

³ The *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), reprinted in the *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia), June 13, 1798. Boston Public Library.

⁴ The article is in the *Time Piece* of July 2, 1798. Wisconsin Historical Society.

⁵ Unpublished letter, Pickering to Richard Harrison, July 7, 1798, in Pickering Papers, XXXVII, 315.

⁶ The *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), July 6, 1798. Boston Athenaeum. Dr. James Smith, associate editor of the *Time Piece*, was also arrested.

⁷ Unpublished letter, Pickering to Richard Harrison, January 1, 1799, in Pickering Papers, XXXVII, 381.

⁸ Unpublished letter, Jefferson Papers, second series, VII, 33, Library of Congress. The letter is undated, but Jefferson's reply ("Writings," VIII, 65-66, Ford ed.) indicates that it was written in May or June, 1801.

Gen. Collot was in America during the Revolution as an officer in Rochambeau's army.¹ In 1792 he was appointed governor of Guadeloupe, arriving there in February of 1793. In that island he led a stormy career, finally surrendering it to the English on April 20, 1794, under a capitulation which enabled him to go to the United States as a prisoner of war on parole.² In the spring of 1796, Adet, the French minister to the United States, commissioned him to go upon a trip to the western part of the United States and to Louisiana.³ Ostensibly the only object of the enterprise was to gather information.⁴ Whether his mission had any other immediate purpose and what use was to be made of the information the documentary evidence does not disclose. It was, of course, but natural that Adams and his advisers, who speedily learned of the project, should become deeply suspicious. Instructions were sent to St. Clair, Governor of the Northwest Territory, to keep close watch upon Collot.⁵ At Fort Massac he was arrested but was permitted to proceed under escort as long as he remained in the territory of the United States.⁶ After an extensive tour, which he afterwards wrote up in his "*Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*," he returned to Philadelphia in January, 1797.⁷ Late that year Pickering received a report that Collot was connected with a French project for the seizure of Louisiana and the western portion of the United States.⁸ Pickering, whether he fully believed the report or not, was thoroughly convinced that Collot was a dangerous character, and about the date of the alien law was keeping close track of his movements. In October, 1798, Pickering suggested to Adams that Collot and two other Frenchmen, if they could be found, should be sent away under the alien law, and sent some printed forms to be used for the purpose.⁹ Adams signed the documents, authorizing that they should be filled out for the three men mentioned.¹⁰ Pickering-

¹ Collot, "*Voyage dans l'Amérique*," I, 1 (Paris, 1826). Internal evidence (I, 2) shows that this work was written as early as 1803.

² Collot's own version of his career in Guadeloupe is in his "*Précis des Événemens qui se sont passés à la Guadeloupe*" (Philadelphia, 1795). Bib. Nat. Lk² 74. The version of his enemies, which contradicts that of Collot at almost every material point, may be found in several pamphlets published at Paris in November, 1794. Arch. Nat. AD VII, 21. Professor F. J. Turner in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XCIII, 811-812, gives a brief account of Collot's journey in the West. The evidence is cited in *American Historical Review*, X, 272-273.

³ Adet to Collot, 24 Ventose, Year IV (March 14, 1796), Collot, "*Voyage dans l'Amérique*," I, vii. Adet to Minister of Foreign Relations, 3 Messidor, year IV (June 21, 1796), "*Annual Report*" of the Amer. Hist. Assoc., 1903, II, 928-929.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ McHenry to St. Clair, May, 1796, "*St. Clair Papers*," II, 395-396.

⁶ Collot, "*Voyage dans l'Amérique*," I, 270-272.

⁷ Létombe to Delacroix, 30 Messidor, year V (July 18, 1797), "*Annual Report*" of the Amer. Hist. Assoc., 1903, II, 1048-1049.

⁸ Unpublished letter, J. J. Ulrich to Pickering, November 29, 1797, in *Pickering Papers*, XXI, 368.

⁹ Unpublished letters, Pickering to Adams, October 4 and 11, 1798, in *Pickering Papers*, IX, 426, 453-454.

¹⁰ Adams to Pickering, October 16, 1798, Adams, "*Writings*," VIII, 606-607. In the *Pickering Papers*, LIV, 1, there is a printed form of a warrant of arrest under the alien act. It is signed by Adams, but is not otherwise filled out. Probably it is one of the three mentioned in Adams's letter.

ing, however, did not have Collot arrested for fear that his arrest might interfere with the search for other suspects.¹ In June, 1799, there was a report in the newspapers that Collot was about to leave the country.² He did not go at once, and on August 1 Pickering again suggested that the alien law should be used against him.³ Adams again consented,⁴ but before the consent was given Collot had left Philadelphia and soon afterwards took his departure from the United States.⁵ It is a perfectly safe inference, I think, from the silence of the archives of the Department of State, the Pickering Papers, and Collot's own writings, that he was not sent away under the alien law.

The sedition law bears date of July 14, 1798. It is a notable fact, but hitherto I believe generally overlooked, that prosecutions for seditious libel against the Federal Government or its officers actually began prior to the passage of the sedition law, and that several of the cases usually alluded to as sedition law cases were prosecuted under the common law or partly under the common law and partly under the sedition law. This procedure seems to have been based upon the doctrine laid down by Judge Peters in April, 1798, in the case of *United States v. Worrall*,⁶ that there was a common law of the United States, from which the Federal courts acquired a jurisdiction over crimes in addition to that bestowed by the Federal statutes, a doctrine which at that time had numerous supporters among Federalists, though denied by some,⁷ and was among the strong centralizing tendencies which alarmed the Republican leaders and probably the country as well.⁸ The earliest of these cases appears to have been that of Benjamin F. Bache, of the *Aurora*, who was arrested at Philadelphia on June 26, 1798, for "sundry publications and republications" of an earlier date, which were alleged to be libels upon the Executive department of the

¹ Unpublished letter, Pickering to Adams, August 1, 1799, in Pickering Papers, XI, 524-527.

² *Gazette of the United States* (Philadelphia), June 21, 1799. Boston Public Library.

³ Adams, "Writings," IX, 6-7.

⁴ Adams to Pickering, August 13, 1799, Adams, "Writings," IX, 14.

⁵ The unpublished correspondence between Pickering and Elisha Boudinot during August, 1799, shows that Collot was then residing at Newark, closely watched by Pickering, who was contemplating his arrest. See Pickering Papers, XXV, 84, 85, 102, 115, 116; XI, 607.

⁶ 2 Dallas, 384-396.

⁷ Chief Justice Ellsworth enunciated this doctrine in a charge to a South Carolina grand jury in 1799. *Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), May 16, 1799. Harvard University Library. Justice Chase in the *Worrall* case expressed dissent.

⁸ Among the numerous evidences of the opposition of the Republicans to this doctrine may be cited the article signed "Aristogiton," copied from the *Examiner* (Richmond) by Greenleaf's *New Daily Advertiser*, November 2 and 4, 1799 (Wisconsin Historical Society), a series of articles signed "Hortensius" in the *Aurora* during 1800, and two sets of resolutions passed in 1800 by the Virginia Legislature. See Tucker's "Blackstone," I, Appendix, 438-439, and the manuscript journal of the House of Delegates, December 15, 1800 (Virginia State Library). In 1812 the Supreme Court in the case of *United States v. Hudson and Goodwin* (7 Cranch, 32-34) decided that the doctrine was untenable. The whole history of the effort to secure recognition for the doctrine deserves careful study as an example of the extreme centralizing doctrines which in the early years of the Federal Government had powerful advocacy.

United States Government.¹ Other cases of the sort were those of two irreverent citizens of Trenton who were tried and punished for some light remarks in regard to President Adams,² and that of Anthony Haswell, the editor of the leading Republican paper of Vermont, for the publication of the advertisement of a lottery formed for the purpose of raising the amount of Matthew Lyon's fine and for some remarks in regard to the employment of Tories of a sort not to be appreciated by Federalists.³

From the accounts of the alien and sedition laws in many histories one is likely to get the impression that, having been enacted in a moment of panic, their enforcement was afterwards neglected by the administration and that such prosecutions as occurred were due wholly to the initiative of subordinate Federal officials.⁴ Such an impression is not correct. There is no evidence to show that President Adams ever personally interested himself in the enforcement of either law. But Pickering, his Secretary of State, the Federal judges quite generally, especially Justice Chase, and the Federal district attorneys and marshals were by no means inattentive to the enforcement of the sedition law. Pickering, despite his tremendous activity in other matters, was the most energetic of all. His correspondence shows that he scanned the columns of numerous Republican newspapers to detect possible material for sedition cases, and that he wrote to several, at least, of the district attorneys instructing them to be vigilant for the same purpose in their localities.⁵ It also shows him receiving letters which called his attention to possible occasions for sedition prosecutions, and that in several instances he specifically directed prosecutions to be begun.⁶ The justices of the Supreme Court in charges to grand juries called attention to the sedition law and in some instances at least gave strong intimations that the jury ought to bring in indictments.⁷ Chase was the most active in this

¹ Gazette of the United States (Philadelphia), June 27, 1798. Harvard University Library. The Aurora (Philadelphia), June 27, 1798. Library of Congress. It looks much as if the case against Bache, with its attendant possibility, that the case might fail because there was no Federal statute on the subject of seditious libels, was a considerable factor in bringing about the passage of the sedition law.

² The Federalist (Trenton), April 8, 1799, Harvard University Library; The Argus (New York), October 12, 1799, *ibid.*; The Oracle of the Day (Portsmouth, N. H.), October 26, 1799, *ibid.* The latter article is reprinted from a Trenton paper, probably The Federalist of October 8, 1799.

³ Wharton, "State Trials," 684-687. The Vergennes Gazette, May 15, 1800, reprinted in the Albany Gazette, May 22, 1800. Wisconsin Historical Society. Vermont Gazette, May, 1800, reprinted in the Albany Register, May 30, 1800. *Ibid.*

⁴ This impression seems to rest chiefly upon a statement made by Adams in 1815. See Adams to James Lloyd, February 11, 1815, Adams, "Writings," X, 118.

⁵ Unpublished letters, Pickering to Zebulon Hollingsworth, August 12, 1799; to Thomas Nelson, August 14, 1799; to Richard Harrison, August 12, 1799; to William Rawle, September 20, 1799; in Pickering Papers, XI, 599, 603-604, 611-612; XII, 82-83.

⁶ Pickering to Adams, August 1, 1799; Adams, "Writings," IX, 7, and unpublished letters; Pickering to Rawle, July 5 and 24, 1799; John B. Walton, December 23, 1799; and January 19, 1800; Pickering to Richard Harrison, June 28, 1798; in Pickering Papers, VIII, 604; XI, 390, 486, 495; XII, 82; XXV, 321-322; XXVI, 16.

⁷ Iredell's charge to the grand jury at Philadelphia, April 11, 1799, is typical. McRee, Iredell, II, 551-570.

matter. The indictment against Callender came in that way, and Chase apparently tried at both Baltimore and Wilmington to secure similar action against the local Republican papers.¹ As the result of what may be characterized, considering the conditions of the day, as a fairly systematic effort to enforce the sedition law, proceedings were begun or attempted against one or more persons, usually the editors of Republican newspapers, in each of the States, except New Hampshire and Rhode Island, where there were few Republicans, and in the States of the far South and West.

How many instances were there of arrest, trial, and conviction or acquittal under the sedition law or for seditious libel under the common law of the United States doctrine? Information on these points must come largely from the newspapers. For many of the newspapers of the time no files have been preserved. Those which remain are incomplete and so widely scattered that some part of the newspaper material is almost certain to be overlooked. The nearly universal newspaper practice of the day, whereby newspapers furnished their news of other than local happenings by reprinting articles verbatim from other papers, nevertheless, enables an investigator by fairly extensive research to approximate the results of an exhaustive investigation. Great difficulty arises from the meagerness and conflicting character of the reports. Arrests for sedition under State laws are sometimes hard to distinguish from those under Federal law. I have made a special effort to discover every possible instance and to avoid confusing Federal and State cases. There appear to have been about 24 or 25 persons arrested. At least 15, and probably several more, were indicted. Only 10, or possibly 11, cases came to trial.² In 10 the accused were pronounced guilty. The eleventh case may have been an acquittal, but the report of it is entirely unconfirmed.³

Since limitations of time preclude an account of the various trials, a classification of the cases in which indictments were returned may be of service to show the character of the prosecutions. They may be said to fall into four classes. The first includes the proceedings aimed at the leading Republican newspapers of the country. There were at that time four papers which, because they were located at strategic points and were edited with considerable ability, and had a relatively large circulation, stood in a separate class as regards

¹ The American (Baltimore), June 4, 1800, reprinted in the City Gazette and Daily Advertiser (Charleston), June 20, 1800. Harvard University Library. The Wilmington Mirror quoted in the Aurora (Philadelphia), July 7, 1800.

² Thomas Adams, of the Independent Chronicle (Boston), and Benjamin F. Bache, of the Aurora (Philadelphia), died while the cases against them were pending. The cases against Mrs. Ann Greenleaf and Jedediah Peck were nolle. Several cases against William Duane, of the Aurora, were pending when Jefferson became President. They were dropped. For eight or nine cases no information can be obtained beyond the fact of arrest for sedition.

³ The Connecticut Gazette (New London), May 21, 1800, in its report of the Haswell trial said: "Doctor Shaw of Castleton, was likewise tried for sedition, and acquitted." Harvard University Library.

power and influence, the other Republican papers consisting largely of articles reprinted from these four. They were the *Aurora* (Philadelphia), the *Examiner* (Richmond), the *Argus* (New York), and the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston). Could these or any one of them be silenced, a hard blow would be dealt the Republican party. That all four were attacked¹ through their proprietors, editors, or chief writers, and that the *Aurora*, the ablest, boldest, and most influential of the four, was repeatedly attacked was probably in large measure responsible for the belief among Republicans that a real effort was being made to silence the Republican press.

The second class consists of proceedings aimed at minor Republican papers. There were at least four such cases. Allusion has already been made to those against Burk, of the *Time Piece* (New York), and Haswell, of the *Vermont Gazette*. William Durrell, of the *Register* (Mount Pleasant, N. Y.), and Charles Holt, of the *Bee* (New London, Conn.), were convicted and sentenced to both fine and imprisonment.² It is again noticeable that at least three of these papers were abler and bolder than most of the Republican papers, many of which about that time were decidedly colorless.

A third class was of cases not primarily against the press, but against individuals of considerable national or local importance. Those against Matthew Lyon, the Vermont congressman, and Dr. Thomas Cooper are among the best known of the sedition-law cases and for that reason may be passed over. That against Jedadiah Peck, a member of the New York Legislature, is not so well known. It is said to have been instigated by Judge William Cooper, the Federalist congressman from the district in which Peck lived, and to have been based upon a petition which Peck circulated asking Congress to repeal the sedition law.³ The prosecution was finally dropped, partly at any rate from considerations of political prudence, but not until Peck had been subjected to a good deal of annoyance.⁴

The fourth class consists of cases against insignificant persons, whose acts it is hard to believe could have been of any serious im-

¹ The case against Callender was virtually directed against the *Examiner*.

² Durrell was sentenced to four months in prison and a fine of \$50 for reprinting an article from the *New Windsor Gazette*. He served only a small part of his sentence, being the only sedition-law culprit pardoned by Adams. The *Time Piece* (New York), August 6, 1798, quoting the *Mount Pleasant Register*; unpublished letters, Pickering to Harison, June 28, 1798, and April 22, 1800; Harison to Pickering, April 10, 1800; in *Pickering Papers*, VIII, 604; XIII, 406; XXVI, 77-78; archives of the Department of State, Adams to Pickering, April 21, 1800, *Miscellaneous Letters*, 1800, and book of "Pardons and Remissions," No. I, pp. 31-32. Holt was sentenced to three months in prison and a fine of \$200. The *Connecticut Journal* (New Haven), April 24, 1800. Harvard University Library. His offense, as recited in the indictment, was the publication of an article containing some caustic comment upon the moral character and influence of the Army and ascribing its enlistment to the ambition of Adams. The *Bee*, May 21, 1800. Library of Congress.

³ Hammond, "Political History of New York," I, 131-132 (third ed., 1845). Hammond wrote many years later, but probably had personal knowledge of the case, as he was living in the vicinity at the time of Peck's arrest.

⁴ Unpublished letters, Richard Harison to Pickering, April 10, 1800; Pickering to Harison, April 22, 1800, in *Pickering Papers*, XXVI, 77-78; XIII, 406; and Adams to Pickering, April 21, 1800, in the archives of the Department of State, *Miscellaneous Letters*, 1800.

port. That there should have been any such cases shows the panicky feeling which prevailed among the Federalists of the time and illustrates the possibilities of oppression which lay in the sedition law. The most typical are two closely connected cases which occurred in Massachusetts. Both cases, probably on account of the insignificance of the individuals concerned, seem to have been overlooked hitherto, though there are materials in the newspapers and the archives of the circuit court and of the Department of State for a more exact description of these cases than for almost any of the sedition-law trials. A brief account of them may, therefore, be of interest.

In October, 1798, there was erected at Dedham a liberty pole with an inscription upon it in these words: "No Stamp Act, no Sedition, no Alien Bills, no Land Tax: downfall to the Tyrants of America, peace and retirement to the President, long live the Vice-President and the Minority; may moral virtue be the basis of civil government."¹ The erection of this pole seems to have greatly alarmed the Federalists of the neighborhood. A few days later the United States marshal, with the assistance of some citizens from neighboring towns, arrested Benjamin Fairbanks, who had taken a hand in the erection of the pole. He was taken to Boston and bound over to the next session of the Federal circuit court.² The *Columbian Centinel* pointed to his release on bail as proof of "the leniency of the Federal administration," remarking that "in 1786 he would have been committed to close gaol."³

The examination of Fairbanks appears to have disclosed the fact that the erection of the liberty pole had been brought about by David Brown, whom Fisher Ames described at Fairbanks's trial as a "wandering apostle of sedition," but apparently Brown could not be found at the time. In March of the next year, however, he was arrested at Andover. At the time of his arrest he had upon him a number of manuscripts which, together with his share in the erection of the Dedham liberty pole, became the basis of the sedition case against him. His bail was fixed at \$4,000; being unable to furnish it he was taken to the jail in Salem.⁴

Indictments were found against Fairbanks and Brown at the June session of the United States circuit court and the cases were tried immediately, Justice Chase presiding.⁵ At first both decided to stand

¹ The *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), November 8, 1798. Wisconsin Historical Society. The indictment against David Brown (see below) gives the same form for this label, except that it omits the last clause.

² *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), November 7 and 10, 1798. Harvard University Library.

³ November 10, 1798.

⁴ *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), March 27, 1799. Harvard University Library. *Salem Gazette*, March 27, 1799. Massachusetts State Library.

⁵ The account of these trials, unless some other authority is cited, is drawn from the report in the *Independent Chronicle* (Boston), June 13-17 and 17-20, 1799. Harvard University Library. The reports in the other Boston papers confirm but do not add anything.

trial, but afterwards changed their minds and pleaded guilty. Fairbanks presented a paper to the court in which he freely confessed his fault, stated that he had been present at the erection of the pole, but had been misled and had not known "how serious an offence it was." He protested that he was now "fully sensible" of his offense and in the future would try to conduct himself as a good citizen. His plea for a mitigation of penalty was supported by Fisher Ames, who declined to act as his counsel, but consented to make an appeal for clemency. According to Ames, who despite his rôle on this occasion is not likely to have been unduly partial to his client, Fairbanks was of unblemished reputation, a man of substance, a former selectman of Dedham, and a zealous patriot during the Revolution. These pleas appear to have been effective, for Justice Chase imposed a sentence of six hours in prison, \$5 fine and costs—the only really lenient sentence in any of the sedition-law convictions.

No leniency was shown to Brown. It appears that he was a man of 40 to 50 years of age, a native of Connecticut, and a laboring man. He had been a soldier during the Revolution. Later he had wandered about a good deal, claiming to have been in foreign countries and in most of the States of the Union. During the two preceding years, according to his own statement, he had been much engaged in preaching and writing politics and had been in or had information in regard to 80 Massachusetts towns. Justice Chase tried to induce Brown to reveal the names of the persons who had prompted or aided him and to get from him a list of the subscribers to an intended edition of his writings, but Brown refused to make either disclosure. He requested that his punishment should be wholly by imprisonment, and not by fine, but Chase after examining several witnesses "that the degree of his guilt might be ascertained" sentenced him to pay a fine of \$400 and to go to prison for 18 months.

That Brown, though probably a man of considerable natural ability and of some reading, was semiilliterate, is abundantly shown by the extracts from his writings which were recited in the indictment.¹ A few samples will illustrate both their substance and their style.

Upon the subject of the sale of the western lands, he said:

They have sold the lands by fraud and without any power derived from the people to justify them in their conduct. Here is the one thousand out of the five millions that receive all the benefit of public property and all the rest no share in it. But now if they want to settle their sons they must give 10 dollars instead of ten cents to those gentlemen that the legislature have made rich and made themselves rich also. Indeed all our administration is as fast approaching to Lords and Commons as possible—that a few men should possess the whole Country and the rest be tenants to the others.

¹ Unpublished document in the archives of the United States circuit court at Boston.

He denounced the general policy pursued by the United States, charging that the few were controlling the Government in their own interest and to the detriment of the masses.

What a sad dilemma do we find! for our own constitution has not been formed but ten or twelve years and the history of ages has not produced so great a declination of administration, and so great a tyranny in so short a period: for there is not an instance wherein the property of the Union is concerned but what the leaders of Government have ingroced the whole to themselves, and five hundred out of the union of five millions receive all the benefit of public property and live upon the ruins of the rest of the Community. Yet we sit still and see our fellow Citizens crossing into a State of abject slavery and do nothing to retrieve ourselves. . . . The language of Government is reverence to the constitution, let the constitution be ever so corruptly administered, if it takes all their property with lives to support it, for the sake of one hundred out of the Union of five millions by teaching that a few men were cloth'd by God to govern in Church and State, and that the rest were made for the express purpose to see how miserable he could make them both in things of time and futurity. . . . there all [always] has been an actual struggle between the laboring part of the community and those lazy rascals that have invented every means that the Devil has put into their heads to destroy the labouring part of the Community and those that we have chose to act as public servants, act more like the enthusiastic ravings of mad men than the servants of the people and are determined to carry their own measures by the point of the bayonet.

The portion which perhaps most particularly alarmed Massachusetts Federalists was in these words:

Those that are for enslaving the people need not flatter themselves that they have gained their points for in eighty towns . . . in Massachusetts there is a number in each who have stood out against the land tax and manner of collecting and would not give in. . . . Seven eighths of the people are opposed to the measures of tyrants to enslave them: and Congress need not flatter themselves that they can carry their measures, for I never knew a Government supported long after the confidence of the people was lost, for the people are the Government . . . notwithstanding all the petitions and remonstrances to Congress they take no notice of it—and if they do not get a redress of their grievances by petitioning for it, they will finally break out like the burning mountain of Etna, and will have an unconditional redress of their grievances.

It is, I think, pretty evident from these extracts that Brown, while a crude, semiilliterate fanatic, was something of a thinker and had some ideas of democracy and social justice which were somewhat in advance of his day.

Severity against Brown did not stop with the imposition of a sentence which was more severe than that against any other person convicted under the sedition law. In July, 1800, after having been

in jail 16 months, including the period while awaiting trial, he addressed a petition to President Adams, who was then at Quincy, asking for a pardon, but it was refused.¹ The term for which he was sentenced was up in December, 1800, but he was not released, as he could not pay the \$400 fine and costs. On February 5, 1801, he addressed a second and very pathetic petition to Adams, setting forth the long period he had been in jail and that on account of his poverty there was no prospect that he would ever be released, unless the fine should be remitted.² Shortly after Jefferson became president, a third petition was sent. That petition was not necessary, for Jefferson had already granted a full pardon.³ Brown thus actually remained in prison fully two years and was altogether the most grievous sufferer from the penalties of the sedition law. All the circumstances of the case point to the conclusion that the exceptional severity against Brown was due to a fear of the possible effect of his political activity. This inference is converted almost into certainty by the character of some of the comments of the Federalist papers.⁴

Did time permit I should include something upon the nature of the offenses punished under the sedition law, the personal history of the culprits, the treatment meted out to them, and the effect of the enforcement of the law upon public opinion. But I am forced to close with merely a few observations upon the fairness of the trials.

Charges of unfairness were numerous. They turned chiefly upon the alleged packing of the juries, the construction of the law by the courts, and the general deportment of the judges at the trials.⁵

Were the juries packed? It is evident from the tone of the replies made to the judges' charges by the grand juries which found the indictments that they were composed preponderantly, if not exclusively, of Federalists.⁶ As to the trial juries little definite information can be obtained, except as to the Callender jury. In that instance the jury was certainly drawn in a manner which went far toward

¹ Unpublished document in the archives of the Department of State. The indorsements upon the petition show that it went to Adams at Quincy and that he forwarded it to the Department of State. See also an unpublished letter, Adams to Pickering, June 19, 1800, in *Miscellaneous Letters*, 1800.

² Unpublished document in the archives of the Department of State.

³ Unpublished document in the archives of the Department of State. "Pardons and Remissions," I, 43-44. The pardon was dated March 12, 1801.

⁴ The *Salem Gazette*, March 29, 1799, contained an election appeal signed "A Federal Watchman." It declared "that there is now on foot a plan of the Jacobins, which they are pursuing everywhere with the most indefatigable industry to have a majority in our next Legislature who will favour the views of France, and the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions calculated to that object. Already one *Brown* is now in our jail, committed for seditious conduct to accomplish such purposes; and from most respectable authority I am assured the plan is assiduously pursuing by the disorganizing agents in every county in the commonwealth, and there is much fear they will in many instances accomplish their ends."

⁵ Typical charges of unfairness may be found in *The Bee* (New London), November 28, 1798, and Jefferson to Edmund Pendleton, April 19, 1800, "Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections," seventh series, I, 76. Lyon at his trial charged that the jury was packed, asserting that the jurors had been summoned from towns which were hostile to him. *Albany Gazette*, October 19, 1798. Boston Public Library. Lyon to S. T. Mason, October 14, 1798, McLaughlin, "Matthew Lyon," 343.

⁶ A typical reply is that of the grand jury which indicted Lyon, *Rutland Herald*, October 15, 1798.

justifying the charge of packing.¹ In the cases of Matthew Lyon, Anthony Haswell, and possibly of Dr. Cooper, the juries could scarcely be called impartial, though the evidence is not sufficient to sustain the charge that they were deliberately packed.

Charges of unfair construction of the law by the courts had to do chiefly with two matters: (1) The question of the constitutionality of the sedition law; (2) the construction to be placed upon the provision permitting the truth of the alleged libel to be offered as a valid defense. Upon the first of these questions all of the presiding judges, except possibly Justice Washington, had pronounced in advance of the trials in charges to grand juries. Although they did not altogether refuse to permit discussion of that point, the reports of the trials make it abundantly clear that their minds were made up and that practically no consideration was given to the arguments against the constitutionality of the law. The value of the provision permitting the truth of the alleged libel to be offered as a valid defense depended, of course, upon the construction put upon it by the courts. By refusing to distinguish between fact and opinion and by requiring that every item in every allegation should be fully proved the courts would deprive the provision of all value as a protection for the accused. This is exactly what was done.²

The deportment of the judges, Chase excepted, seems to have been substantially correct, though doubtless their manner was not altogether devoid of bias against the defendants. Chase's conduct in the Callender trial, and possibly in that of Cooper also, was bad enough to warrant the charge that the defendant was not given a fair chance to present his side of the case.³

¹ See the evidence offered at the Chase impeachment trial, "Annals of Congress," 8 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 195, 201, 210, and *passim*. The charge was made that Chase instructed the marshal that no Democrat should be put upon the panel. The evidence does not sustain that charge, but does show that Chase admitted to the jury a man who confessed to a strong bias against Callender and virtually prevented the defense from exercising any right of challenge.

² Rulings which had that effect were exhibited most clearly in the Haswell and Callender cases. See for the Haswell case the Albany Register, May 21, 1800. Wisconsin Historical Society. For the Callender case see Wharton, "State Trials," 695, 707-708.

³ Wharton, "State Trials," 688-721; the Examiner (Richmond), reprinted in the Aurora (Philadelphia), June 13-27, 1800. Harvard University Library. Testimony at the Chase impeachment trial, "Annals of Congress," 8 Cong., 2 sess., *passim*.

VIII. THE REVIEWING OF HISTORICAL BOOKS.

By CARL BECKER,
Professor in the University of Kansas.

THE REVIEWING OF HISTORICAL BOOKS.

By CARL BECKER.

When I was invited to prepare a brief paper on book reviewing, it at once occurred to me that such a paper might well be entitled "How to review books, by one who never wrote any." I prefer not to dwell on the circumstances which make this title personally fitting; the more so as, in one sense, it is perhaps not inappropriate that the present discussion should be opened by one who is more familiar with reviewing than with authorship. The point I have in mind may be well brought out by relating a personal experience. Some years ago there fell into my hands, for purposes of review, a book of some pretensions, which unfortunately turned out to be largely pretentious. Shortly after the review was printed there came an anonymous communication inclosing clippings from any number of high-class journals, such as the *Kansas City Star* and the *Boston Transcript*, all of which had given the book a good character. The clippings had been pasted on a sheet of note paper, and underneath were written, very neatly, these words: "Big men write books; little men review them." The particular example which had so obviously inspired this crisp epigram I naturally thought to be unfortunately chosen; but I have often wondered whether the epigram itself, abstractly considered, is not truer than we like to suppose.

And yet, with all due respect to these eminent persons, I imagine the result would be much the same even if the big men wrote all the reviews as well as all the books; for, although the reproach of my friend is probably less apropos in foreign countries than it is here, I do not see that the reviews, in the *Revue Historique* for example, are very different from those in American journals; a little more effectively executed perhaps—hitting the mark a little more surely when the book has merit, less weakly amiable when it has none—but still of the same general type. Now if this type is what we want, there is nothing more to be said. The quality of our reviews is good enough, but it is just possible that their character, which is much the same everywhere, leaves something to be desired. Supposing this to be the case, it may not be amiss to ask what, essentially is the character of the typical historical book review.

Book reviewing is a term of variable significance. It may be defined as a species of writing which ranges from bibliography on the

one side to creative criticism on the other. Matthew Arnold's essay on Amiel, an essay which is a little masterpiece of criticism, might be called a book review, inspired as it was by Mrs. Ward's translation of Amiel. If, however, I write 20 lines describing the latest textbook, that also, I suppose, is not improperly called a book review. But there is a world of difference between these productions; the one is valuable only for bibliographical information, the other only for criticism. Now it seems to me a pretty accurate description of the ordinary historical book review to say of it that it aims to be both bibliography and criticism, and so ends by not being precisely either the one thing or the other: in substance it is an expanded bibliographical note, while in form it affects the mannerisms of the literary critique.

Just consider what it is of real value that one gets from the general run of book reviews. Is it not information of a bibliographical nature, information which can be briefly set down on a small card, thus enabling one to speak intelligently about the book without ever having seen it? All very well; but why is this information swelled to two pages instead of being compressed to ten lines? The reason is that the historical book review still maintains the traditions of the essay in criticism. The reviewer is expected to put his best pen forward, and, besides giving all necessary bibliographical information, to make some remarks of a general nature appropriate to the occasion. Knowing what is expected, the faithful fellow does his best; opens perhaps with a kind of introduction, throwing in here an epigram and there a classical allusion; very likely begins an analysis or a comparison which there is not space to finish; hastily concludes with a falling inflection which not infrequently half withdraws the sting of a caustic introduction. One readily sees in these characteristics the stunted survivals of a once flourishing species; so that the typical historical review has often all the appearance of a leisurely essay ruthlessly deleted by some unfeeling editor.

Well, for my part, I wish our editors might be even more unfeeling and more ruthless. I wish they might altogether destroy this hybrid creature which is not bibliography simply, and is criticism only in appearance. Bibliographical information is an excellent thing, and historical criticism is an excellent thing; but they are very different things, and both would probably be better done if we did not boil them together in the same pot. Let us, then, in our reviewing, separate what is bibliography from what professes to be criticism: of bibliographical information let us have as much as possible, and of criticism let us have at least a little, and have that little excellent.

In respect to the bibliographical information which the professional student requires, the essential points are the author, title, and date of the book, the subject precisely indicated, the sources

used by the author and his manner of using them, the plan or method of presentation, and the conclusions, if any, which the author thinks he has reached. Generally speaking, this information is contained in the book review as we now have it; but it might be given much more concisely. By adopting the condensed form used by constructors of scientific bibliographies, by rigidly excluding all superfluous matter, half the space now devoted to reviews would serve to chronicle twice as many books. And this is a consummation to be wished for. The great majority of teachers and students work in small and very inadequate libraries, and at present they find it difficult if not impossible to keep in touch with all the publications in any particular field. Doubtless it is impossible for any one journal to make a complete record of all the books and articles that appear in the field of history, but I believe the record could be made much more complete than it now is; and perhaps it would not be wholly impracticable for the four or five leading journals of the world, by cooperation, avoiding all unnecessary duplication, to make a record that would be very nearly complete.

But, desirable as it is to have more and more concisely stated bibliographical information, I am rather interested to have a little first-rate historical criticism. Perhaps critical reviewing is the better term, for I have in mind articles long or short, inspired always by currently published historical works, yet dealing with some subject of general historical importance, and discussing this subject critically, and with whatever of originality and constructive power the writer may possess. The critical review is occupied not so much with books for themselves, as with the general trend of historical thought and investigation, and with the relation of history to other branches of knowledge; it has to do with the entire intellectual activity of the time, and is concerned with books, therefore, only as they illustrate aptly some aspect of this larger subject.

From this point of view, many excellent books do not lend themselves, individually, to the purposes of the critical reviewer. But they may often be grouped in illustration of some prevailing type of investigation, or active interest in a particular field. In recent years many scholars, both here and in England, have been engaged in exploiting the sources which throw light on the imperial aspects of our colonial history. Valuable collections of documents, such as the colonial series of the privy council records, and many careful monographic studies, such as those of Mr. Beer, to say nothing of the comprehensive work of Prof. Osgood, have been published in the last decade. I am sure that some one who is thoroughly familiar with all this work might write an instructive, an illuminating critical essay about it, noting the changing attitude of both British and American scholars toward our colonial history, and attempting to

find an explanation for this change in those present-day conditions that are determining the trend of historical scholarship generally, and, more particularly, that are bringing about, in England and the United States, a marked revival of interest in colonial policy. And reviews of this sort, from time to time, in other fields of study would be equally instructive.

But the critical reviewer, being primarily interested in the main drift and tendency of historical thinking, finds his best opportunity in the appearance of books that depart from conventional methods of investigation or interpretation. Books of real originality, such as the "Ancient City" or the "Holy Roman Empire;" books that are less original than they profess to be, such as a well-known recent history of Rome; books, like those of Lamprecht or Taine, which reflect the influence of contemporary scientific thought; books that shock us by inviting the historian to learn something about man as well as about his past; great undertakings, such as the "Cambridge Modern History" or Prof. Channing's "History of the United States"—books of this sort we need to have critically reviewed, particularly in an age of specialization like the present, in order to clarify our ideas of historical method and of the purpose and trend of historical scholarship.

I have mentioned the "Cambridge Modern History," and I return to it because it seems to me that the present method of reviewing has proved strikingly inadequate in dealing with this work. The reviewer, confronted with a single ponderous tome, appalled by the necessity of dispatching it in three or four pages, has felt the hopelessness of the task. And yet this great undertaking might, under a different method, have inspired reviews of distinct value. Nearly every reviewer, for example, has felt bound to make a few obvious remarks about the advantages and disadvantages of the cooperative method; and by the time the "Cambridge Mediæval History" is finished I don't doubt we shall know perfectly that the cooperative history is strong in respect to accuracy of detail and variety of treatment, but weak in respect to unity and coherence. Now, cooperative work is a marked feature of our time, but it is not peculiar to it; and I am confident that our knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of such work would lose nothing in accuracy, while it would gain much in coherence, if some one competent to the task should undertake a critical estimate of the principal cooperative histories of recent years from the point of view of the history of cooperative scholarship in general. This would not preclude an extended critical review of each volume of the "Cambridge Modern History." The preface informs us that the plan of the work contemplated devoting each volume to some distinct movement or to some period possessing a certain unity in itself. The reviewer might well take his cue from

this; and it would then be his task to bring into sharp relief the principal features of the great movement, such as the Reformation or the Revolution, or of the period, such as the eighteenth century, which is the subject of the particular volume in hand. Such a series of critical articles would enable us to understand European history better; and, besides, it might clear up certain obscure points in respect to the "Cambridge Modern History" itself—as, for example, why the work is more often commended in public reference than it is in private conversation, or why the execution of the work falls so far short of Lord Acton's ideal of it, or how it is possible for Englishmen to write so learnedly about the Revolution without being aware that there was a Revolution.

The great books, however, are not the only ones that enlist the attention of the critical reviewer. It sometimes happens that a slight book is significant for what it points to. I have in mind, for example, the little volume of Mr. A. M. Simons, entitled "Social Forces in American History;" not perhaps a very wise performance; written, it must be confessed, without fear and without research; written nevertheless with profound conviction, and significant because it is representative of what probably passes for history among militant socialists, but significant above all because in the next 50 years many histories of the United States, and better ones than this, will doubtless be written from the same point of view.

Critical reviewing, at its best, doubtless requires particular qualities: grasp and breadth of view as well as erudition; information meditated as well as catalogued; something of originality and constructive literary power. These are precisely the qualities which, in our talks to teachers, we are apt to say the study of history will develop. It would seem, therefore, that historians should be pre eminent in this species of writing. But the fact is they are little given to it, and when they attempt it not infrequently just fall short of something first rate. It sometimes happens, indeed, that the very historian who exhibits breadth of view and originality, sound judgment, and a certain constructive power in his own work fails in just these respects when he is concerned to estimate critically the work of another. There is a notable example of this, and I bring it forward in order to show more clearly what I mean by critical reviewing, and as a means of suggesting the reason why historians are less successful in this rôle than one might expect them to be.

A quarter of a century ago Taine published the second part of his "Origins of Contemporary France"—the part dealing more particularly with the French Revolution. Few histories have been more widely read or more passionately discussed. After so many years one might reasonably expect to find some comprehensive estimate of the work, some dispassionate yet profound and searching criticism of

it, which is at the same time an illuminating discussion of the Revolution itself and of its principles. And to whom should one go for such a criticism if not to the man who has given his life to the study of the Revolution? Well, there is such a criticism of Taine. But did M. Aulard write it? No. It was written 25 years ago, when the book first appeared, by a professional critic and man of letters—M. Ferdinand Brunetière; an essay of 70 pages, as good an example of critical reviewing as you will readily find. It may now be read in the author's collected works and is rather better worth reading to-day than the book which inspired it.

But now, over against this short critique, for purposes of comparison, place the entire volume which M. Aulard has devoted to Taine. It can not be said of M. Aulard that he rushed into print. On the contrary, 20 years of study and meditation prepared him, if he could ever be prepared, to say the last word on Taine, to estimate him justly, to the hair's breadth; and 300 pages was surely space enough to do it in. Under the circumstances, the book should be a masterpiece; but I confess it strikes me principally as the failure of a master, and perhaps it may serve to illustrate, on a grand scale, the way in which historians are most in danger of failing, if they do fail, when they assume the rôle of critic.

The title of M. Aulard's book is, "Taine, Historian of the French Revolution;" but it is only with one aspect of this large question, or at most two, that the author really deals. M. Aulard found that Taine had a preconceived notion of the Revolution, and that his references were not always adequate to the proof of his assertions. These facts are important, certainly, but M. Aulard has allowed himself to be overwhelmed by them; and so he has written, not a balanced and judicious criticism of Taine, but a catalogue of the errors to be found in his book. It needs not 300 pages, nor 3 pages, to prove that Taine was prejudiced. The fact is obvious. Taine is so hard on the Jacobins that one ends by supposing there must have been something substantial about these men to justify so much hammering. That Taine's documentation is inadequate was not so obvious. It was well to point out the fact, if it is a fact, but it was not well to do nothing else. For by dint of patiently picking out and methodically chronicling error after error, monotonously, without haste, without rest, chapter after chapter, through 300 pages, the reader is left with the impression that Taine must have been either a very superficial charlatan or an imbecile. Criticism should render us the form and portrait of a man in right perspective. M. Aulard has collected all the surface imperfections, the moles and the warts, the scars; he has put them all together under a magnifying glass; he bids us look—"See," he says, "this is Taine. How repulsive!"

Thus, even if M. Aulard has not detected more errors in the book than it contains, still the result is false criticism. But now it appears that M. Aulard himself is not always accurate; and so we have another book, by M. Cochin, in which is demonstrated conclusively that Aulard made mistakes in the process of proving that Taine made mistakes. It remains only for some one to prove definitively that Cochin made mistakes in proving that Aulard made mistakes in proving that Taine made mistakes. It is scarcely necessary to remind you that such a comedy of errors has been staged already, done into downright English by Messrs. Froude, Freeman, Round, and I don't know how many more besides. This, I maintain, is not historical criticism; it is only excess of historical method, tempered with professional amenity.

It is excess of method; and this, I take it, is the secret of M. Aulard's failure. M. Aulard, who has written if not brilliantly at least justly about the Revolution, can not write justly about Taine because he has surrendered to the cult of method. Nothing but blind faith in method could have led him, from the fact that Taine cited a document incorrectly, to conclude that he never saw the document; or, from the fact that of 500 documents in a certain place in the archives Taine cited only 5, to conclude that he never read but 5. Common sense should have saved him this. But M. Aulard, who has no lack of common sense, does not bring it to the criticism of Taine; he brings method. It is not Taine's conclusions that offend M. Aulard, but his method of reaching them. What M. Aulard can't endure about Taine is not the fact that he did not read the documents, but rather the fact that, professing to read them, he did not sit still in his chair and read them leisurely, methodically, without malice, and almost without interest—that is to say, as M. Aulard has read them. I suspect that Taine found the documents so interesting that he often forgot to take notes, and so suffered the mischance of having more ideas in his head than could be found in his card cases. But alas! It is even possible that Taine did not use cards.

And this devotion to method, which is the secret of M. Aulard's failure, may perhaps explain in part why our historical reviews contain excellent bibliographical information but very little genuine criticism. A natural reaction from the futile rhetoric which characterized much of the writing of the romantic historians has carried us somewhat too far in the opposite direction. We wish not to be classed with theorists and literary people. We wish to be thought substantial and scientific. We are bound to have our work very solid even if it prove very heavy. And so in our reviewing we look a little too much to the footnotes and the bibliography, and judge a book to be good if its technique is up to the mark. The result is

excellent for increasing our knowledge of books and of how they are constructed. . But at the present time, when many thoughtful men, both within the guild and out of it, are asking what is the value of so many learned volumes that nobody reads, we need a criticism that shall go beyond technique. If such a criticism should take us even into the domain of the philosophy of history, let us not be dismayed; for it is possible that in seeking to avoid having a philosophy of history the historian does not succeed in not having one; perhaps after all he succeeds only in having a bad one.

IX. BRIEFER PAPERS READ IN CONFERENCES.

- A. LIBYA AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH. By ORIC BATES.
- B. THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF COMMERCIAL HISTORY. By
ABBOTT P. USHER.
- C. SOME NEW MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF MODERN
COMMERCE. By N. S. B. GRAS.
- D. THE STUDY OF SOUTH AMERICAN COMMERCIAL HISTORY. By
CHARLES L. CHANDLER.
- E. ON THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY, 1815-1860. By ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.
- F. ON THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1815-1860. By P. ORMAN RAY.
- G. HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE FAR WEST. By KATHARINE COMAN.
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A. LIBYA AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH.

Read in the Conference on Ancient History, by ORIC BATES.

There is one region which, although partially within the Minoan sphere, has been curiously neglected by students of the earliest Mediterranean cultures: the North African littoral zone. After four years of specialization in the history and ethno-geography of North Africa, I am convinced that before we can attain to a just understanding of Mediterranean origins, we must pay far more attention than hitherto to the Libyan field.

In the first place, Sergi's contention that, at a very remote period, there existed on both sides of the Mediterranean a homogeneous Afro-European or "Eurafrican" race is now supported by evidence much more serious than that which Sergi himself brought to bear upon the question. By the labors of other anthropologists the main features of his hypothesis have become established facts. This being so, the study of ancient Libya is profoundly important if we are to arrive at any accurate knowledge of the various ethnical elements which constituted the Minoan peoples and the Greeks and Romans of full classical times. In studying the ethnology of ancient Libya we are studying the ethnology of the basic element in Greece and Italy, and in the Iberian peninsula as well.

Again, a very complex problem, which needs to be approached from the Libyan side, confronts the student of Semitic origins. Is there real justification for the recently arisen fashion of speaking of the Berber languages as "proto-Semitic"? The question can be answered only when modern philology has got to the bottom of the mysterious relationship observable between the Semitic languages on the one hand and the numerous neo-Libyan dialects on the other. When this problem is cleared up, we shall have a fact, or a set of facts, of the utmost importance to the Semitic scholar, the Egyptologist, and the student of Mediterranean pre-history in general.

In regard to Libyan philology, two other points may be mentioned: First, that the Berlin school recognizes that the Libyan contribution to ancient Egyptian language is an important one, while Maspero and his adherents tend to regard it as fundamental. Yet little modern work has been done under this head. The late Marquis de Roche-monteix instituted a comparison between Berber and Egyptian

syntax, and I have myself endeavored to do the same for the vocabularies; but neither the labors of Rochemonteix nor my own attempts can be taken as more than initial steps in a field in which the philologist, especially equipped, and equally familiar with the work of Basset, Motylinski, Masqueray, and others, in Berber studies, and with that of Erman, Sethe, and Steindorff in Egyptian, could not fail to secure very valuable results. Secondly, despite de Vaux's new presentation of the Ugro-Altaic theory for the origin of Etruscan, here again we are in need of expert philological opinion to confute or to support the hypothesis of Brinton and Sergi, who looked for the solution of this *quæstio vexata* by means of Berber philology.

To turn to questions more strictly historical, I would enumerate the following as typical problems demanding the serious attention of students of ancient history:

1. The connection between Libya and Syria calls for further investigation than it has yet received from W. M. Müller or from anyone else. Thus, it appears that the Hittites connived at one of the great Libyan invasions of the Nile Valley in the time of the Twentieth Dynasty, and everyone is familiar with the notices of Lubim or Lehabim mercenaries in the Old Testament. In the Libyan spoil lists are enumerated objects which are almost certainly derived from Syria, as well as others obtained from northern sources; and in an Egyptian relief showing the Egyptian assault on the Asiatic fortress of Satuna the garrison is represented as half Syrian and half Libyan. With what part of Libya did the Syrian Semites of New Empire times have relations? Was there a sea traffic between the two regions? Is Daressy right in asserting that already the Semites had established factories and even colonies in North Africa? These are but some of the questions suggested by the known facts.

2. In the case of the great Greek colony of Cyrene, the leading problem may be said to be the relationship existing between the colonists and the natives. It has been suspected that the historic alternation in the monarchical epoch of the names Battos and Arkesilaos might point to the early existence of some sort of dual control in which Greeks and Libyans shared. I do not at present hold this view, but I am convinced that without an acquaintance with the temper and usages of the Libyan inhabitants of Cyrenaica, the internal history of Greek Africa is a sealed book. The very names of most of the towns and hamlets in Cyrenaica—Sozusa, Taucheira, Darnis, Barkê, etc.—are old Berber, as is also—despite Studniczka's elaborate relation of the name *Κυρήνη* to a Greek radical KYP with the sense of *dominor*—the name of the metropolis itself. For the name is most easily explained as a Hellenized form of the proto-Berber *ثبير* *pl. ثبيرين* *Gyr, Igyren* or *فبير* *pl. فبيرين* *Kyr, Ikyren* with the sense of *fontes* or *aquarum caput*, a very probable designation

because of the copious water-supply of the site (cf. modern *مزرعة* for the value of the first radical; and the Arab *عين شوت* as a designation for the site of Cyrene in which the locality is known because of its wonderful "Fountain of Apollo"). Under these circumstances it is merely absurd to attempt the mastery of this field without a scientific knowledge of the native population which the Greeks dispossessed of its heritage.

3. What has just been said applies with even greater force to the case of Carthage, on account of the vigor of her colonizing activities, her extensive use of mercenaries, the freedom with which her colonists intermarried with the natives, her trade with Libya Interior and along the coast, and to that strange racial sympathy which Duveyrier, Barth, Slouschz, and others have noted as existing between the Berbers and the Semites. Some features in Carthaginian sociology, which were long considered very obscure, have received explanation at the hands of modern students of Berber institutions. The *soffetim* or *suffetes*, for example, have their modern parallels among the Berbers, and several fundamental features in modern tribal governments recall similar ones at Carthage. Here again, therefore, the student who sets himself to disentangle the Semitic from the Libyan elements in Carthaginian history will hardly fail to meet with a rich reward.

4. Every item which, either by a critical study of the ancient texts and monuments (Egyptian or classical), or by the comparative study of modern survivals, one is able to glean with regard to the pre-Islamic cultus, illuminates some point in Egyptian, Cyrenaic, or Carthaginian religion. The excellent work in this particular field of Toutain, Doutté, and other students in the brilliant new school of French scholarship, has set a high standard for these researches, but has not exhausted the field. Thus, the nature of the god "Amon" anciently venerated at Siwah has become clear to us only recently, and until last year the affinity between the bull-god Gurzil of Corippus and Mnevis of Heliopolis and similar conceptions, had not been pointed out. Many such elucidations remain to be made, not only with regard to the pagan divinities, but with regard to the saints of Northern Africa as well. In the field of African hagiography, for example, the work of Ewald Fall and Karl Maria Kaufmann at the desert sanctuary of St. Menas can not be called finished until critical study has determined how much that saint's popularity was due to the incorporation in his legendary acts of those pagan Libyan elements which survive in Berber Moslem stories of great local *sheikhs*.

The above are some of the topics for research offered by Hamitic North Africa. From the outset, as the subject has been so neglected, I may have suggested the objection that the field offers more in the way of problems than it does of sources of information which might

solve them. This is not so great a difficulty as to deprive the serious student of a reasonable hope of reward.

In the first place, a study of modern Berber dialects, which number over forty, will some day serve for a work on Libyan antiquity erected on lines similar to those of Schrader's *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte der Arier*, and I am of those who dare to hope that something of value will eventually be wrung even from the so-called "Numidian" inscriptions.

In the second place, the prosecution of Libyan archeology on lines more scientific than any which have yet been followed is sure to abolish the current indifference among students of the Minoan civilization toward North Africa. Eastern Libya, at least, lay well inside the Minoan sphere. The fertile Cyrenaica is situated under Crete, at only a short distance from that island; the Greek sponge fisher, bound for Tripoli or Alexandria, still makes his first landfall in Cyrenaica, then turning westward or to the east. Among the Cretan hieroglyphs which Evans has collected he has, in his *Scripta Minoa*, signalized one which is identical with the African silphium-plant as conventionalized later on Cyrenaic coins. On the two occasions when I have been in Cyrenaica I have seen Minoan objects reported—in one case on authority certainly good—to have been found on the spot. The great rock-cut forts of the interior of the Sanjak of Barkah strongly recall similar structures in early Greece. These are some of the reasons for believing that the prospects for well-conducted excavation in Tripolitana or the Marmaric littoral will result in finds which will add greatly to our knowledge of the early Aegean world.

In the third place, in the matter of textual evidence the classical notices and those of the Byzantine writers are not so easily exhausted as would at first be supposed. African hagiography and patristic literature have, doubtless, still much to yield. New epigraphical material bearing on the Libyan question will soon begin to come in from Tripolitana and Morocco, while any day may see the recovery in Egypt of new documentary evidence. The Arabic sources, finally, demand a thorough ransacking, and an attempt should be made to trace the facts embodied in the later Arabic historians and geographers to their sources.

In conclusion, I would recall that one of the figures prominent in Berber studies shortly after their inception was an American, the consul Hodgson, whose name is still generously remembered in France and Algeria. It is to be hoped that, when the European reconquest of Morocco and Tripolitana are accomplished facts, and when these new fields of North African research are thrown open to investigation, American scholars will not be wholly insensible to the stimulus to Libyan studies which will result.

B. THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF COMMERCIAL HISTORY.

Read in the Conference on Modern History, by ABBOTT P. USHER, of Cornell University.

I should like to add a few words to Prof. Gay's remarks upon the international character of many of the larger problems of commercial history. We all recognize the simple literary virtue of unity when it is presented to us as a matter of abstract principle, but as usual the actual practice of the virtue is not easy. It is not always clear just what unity must be recognized. In much historical work, national boundaries set off the limits of the subject, and not infrequently some deposit of manuscript material will be so intimately connected with the subject that the most natural limits will be imposed and defined by the material available in that repository. In commercial history the relation of the subject matter to the source material is different. The subject is at times essentially international, although the source material is always affected by political boundaries and the character of the political organization of the various regions involved. It is in such cases that the practice of the most elementary virtue of literary composition becomes so difficult. It is hard to follow the subject wherever it goes, and to avoid the temptation of writing up particular masses of material rather than writing upon the subject.

Two illustrations of this difficulty come to mind: Prof. Gustav Schmoller's study of the Prussian grain trade in the "*Acta Borussica*," and the problems involved in the history of the bill of exchange. In both of these instances the subject is distinctly international, but in each case attempts have been made to approach the problem from a national point of view.

The official character of the great series of "*Acta Borussica*" naturally confined Prof. Schmoller to the limitations of a Prussian point of view, but in the study of the grain trade the limitation was singularly unfortunate. The Prussian State before and during the reign of Frederick the Great was in the peculiar position of having the most important grain-producing districts of northern Germany just outside its borders. Mecklenburg on the north and the cereal districts of Poland to the east were the most considerable sources of supply. The Magdeburg district alone was within the boundaries of the Kingdom. Under these circumstances, the controlling facts

of grain-trade policy lay in the relation of these outlying sources of supply to the needs of Prussia, and in the interference of Prussian policy with the trade between Poland and the Baltic ports. Furthermore, the partitions of Poland exerted a profound influence upon the whole commercial situation by altering the relation of some of these cereal districts to political boundaries. The subject is thus decisively international and the essential unity is that of the whole commercial movement.

The history of the bill of exchange presents a similar difficulty. It can not be written from the archives of any single country. One can not limit researches to the repositories of Italy as Goldschmidt has done, nor confine one's attention to a single fair system like Des Marez with reference to the credit instruments of the Flemish fairs. The study must pass in review the various forms of credit instruments in all the important financial centers of the different periods. The bill must be followed from Italy northward. Parts of the legal history of the instrument will be written from Italian and French archives. Much of the history of the rise of regular dealing in bills will be written from French, Flemish, and English archives. In such a subject national boundaries count for little and unless the cosmopolitan character of the problem is frankly recognized nothing of permanent value will be accomplished. Research under these conditions is difficult but the rewards are correspondingly great, for few subjects will throw so much light upon the history of modern commerce.

C. SOME NEW MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF MODERN COMMERCE.

Read in the Conference on Modern History by N. S. B. GRAS, of Clark College.

Two points in Prof. Gay's paper appeal to me as of prime importance—commercial stages and new sources, the former being the fundamental need in the history of commerce and the latter holding out some prospect that the need may be met. Probably few have been satisfied with the stages of Schmoller and Bücher, which are so largely political in character. Most would perhaps accept the two first stages, village and town economy, as distinct in commercial history. But what comes next? Is it territorial or national economy? I prefer to hold that it is neither the one nor the other but metropolitan economy. Just what national economy is in the history of commerce I have no clear conception apart from political organization. National economy seems to be, as far as trade goes, a matter of potentiality rather than of reality.

What I have to add to the discussion to-day chiefly concerns the subject of the new sources which may be utilized by him whose ambition it is to reap a harvest in the fields of the history of trade and commerce, and I may add, by him who has the courage to enter and the pertinacity to continue the work.

The particular sources in question are the English customs records which contain detailed information for the study of modern trade. In general there are five groups of such sources, corresponding to the following five periods:

- 1066–1204, only a few documents remain;
- 1204–1275, only summary accounts are extant;
- 1275–1565, a splendid set of detailed accounts;
- 1565–1800, the Port Books;
- 1800–present, practically only summaries.

It is chiefly to the newly discovered, or the rediscovered, documents of the period 1565–1800 that I wish to call attention. Though mentioned in early official reports, and though long known to a few Record Office officials, they were made available only last winter. Their present accessibility we owe very largely to the zeal of Mr. Hubert Hall.

In point of bulk the Port Books are to be reckoned only in cartloads, and in point of numbers only in thousands, probably 25. They are all in book form but vary much in size, from the blank volume of a petty outport to the ponderous tome of the metropolis with its 500 odd skins. On the whole, this series, in spite of many vicissitudes of fortune and change of residence, is in a good state of preservation, though often so closely written as to make reading tedious. Probably, however, the student would be more repelled by mere bulk. That this is unfortunate will, I think, appear from an account of the kind of information locked up in their uninviting covers.

Since only formal differences divide the series of Port Books from the earlier series of Customs Accounts above mentioned, what is said of the former will equally apply to the latter. In each entry are found the following matters:

Date of month and the year;

Name of the ship and at times its tonnage;

Name of the master and shippers;

Destination in case of export and place of shipment in case of import;

Amount and kind of goods, and sometimes the value;

Customs and subsidies paid.

Thus not only is the student furnished with plenteous material but he is given very precise information upon subjects of great moment. This makes possible a statistical analysis of English trade which is apparently unique. Just as in the earlier Customs Accounts we find considerable information about the dealings of the Staplers, so in the Port Books we are supplied with sources for the study of the joint stock companies hitherto unused. Just as in the earlier series we are able to trace the incoming of new luxuries, so in the latter we can follow the increase in the exportation of home-made articles of ever increasing fineness and value. In the former documents we see as early as the fifteenth century, the exportation of the products of a nascent domestic system, such as coverlets, caps, shoes, and iron-wares (otherwise unknown to us), and in the latter the exportation of the products of the later stages of the same domestic system. But of greater importance still, we are furnished with materials of service in any effort to solve what Prof. Gay has said to be of great importance, the development of the middleman and the widening of the market.

But for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries there is a further source as yet unknown and inaccessible to the student of English commerce. I refer to what may loosely be called Coast Bonds. Destruction of these documents, which are to be numbered only in the hundreds of thousands, has been contemplated, but it is to be hoped that this will not be carried out.

These Coast Bonds are small slips of parchment recording coast shipments, and valuable for the history of the development of local industries as well as for the indication they give of the decrease or increase in the trade of specific ports and districts; but most of all will they be of service to the investigator of the development of the domestic market.

In conclusion I have but three remarks to make. The subject of prime importance which needs investigation is the evolution of commercial stages. Material of great value in this connection is to be found in the above-mentioned sources for the period 1275-1800. And lastly, it would be of inestimable service if some one would list and characterize the manuscripts dealing with trade to be found in the various European, and especially the English, archives.

D. THE STUDY OF SOUTH AMERICAN COMMERCIAL HISTORY.

Remarks in the Conference on Modern History, by CHARLES LYON CHANDLER,
Department of State.

There are few fields of historical study more neglected to-day than the commercial history of South America. There are few arms of the great sea of historical investigation which have been so unexplored; almost no part of it has been the subject of critical historical research by our scholars. I will confine myself to merely indicating a few of the more important topics that could be worked up into useful theses.

Why, for instance, should Lima have 87,000 people and Buenos Aires 46,000 in 1810, while a hundred years later the Argentine capital had 1,200,000 people as compared with the Peruvian capital's 160,000? Was the so-called monopolistic system of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial governments really so exclusive? Think what an interesting comparison could be drawn between the Guipuzcoan Company in Venezuela and the British East India Company and other great chartered companies. The history of slavery and of the slave trade in colonial South America is another fascinating topic. What became of the 20,000 negroes who were in Buenos Aires in 1810? How many of them, after slavery was abolished in 1813, perished in the crossing of the Andes in San Martin's negro regiments in January and February, 1817?

To come down to more modern times, interesting studies might be written on the development of shipping between South America and the rest of the world from the foundation of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company by a Massachusetts man, William Wheelwright, in 1840—or even from Capt. Uriah Bunker's voyage from Nantucket to Brazil in 1774—to the present time; or on the reasons why South America makes six-sevenths of her purchases from Europe, and only one-seventh from the United States, in this year 1912.

For those who continuously decry the absolutism of the Spanish colonial régime, a study of the various consulates or chambers of commerce that existed in the larger Spanish colonial cities will be interesting and profitable. What indirect influences did the one established at Buenos Aires in 1791 have on quickening the spirit of freedom and economic independence therein? That of Lima,

which existed from 1619 to 1821, deserves especial study. The ordinance of the Viceroy Prince of Esquilache, of December 20, 1619—not long after the first House of Burgesses had met at Jamestown, Va.—gave the “Consulate of the Merchants of this City of the Kings, of the Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru, Tierra Firme and Chile, and of those who may transact business therein with the Kingdoms of Spain and New Spain,” jurisdiction over all commercial matters and lawsuits between merchants, partners, brokers, and agents; in short, almost complete control of everything relating to commercial matters, including disputes over wages between masters of vessels and seamen. On the 2d of January of each year the “business men or merchants, married or widowers, over 25 years of age, with their own business houses, not being foreigners or lawyers,” were summoned to vote for the members of this consulate of commerce. This body had an important and recognized position wherever it was established. Its indirect control over the finances often caused it to exert much influence over the policy and actions of the viceroys or others in authority, and it must be regarded, viewed in the light of the times in which it existed, as a strictly representative body exercising a direct influence on the administration of the government of this important Spanish colony. Thus the Calle Mercadores in Lima, the Street of the Merchants, where these merchant-electors mostly lived, may be considered the cradle of representative institutions in South America.

E. ON THE ECONOMICS OF SLAVERY, 1815-1860.

Remarks in the Conference on American History, by U. B. PHILLIPS, University of Michigan.

In Prof. Dodd's paper, which all must agree is highly suggestive and admirable, I must, however, take issue with the assertion that slaves offered the most profitable investment for capital in the ante bellum South. If the statement were applied only to the periods when slave prices were very low, it might be unexceptionable; but when made sweepingly it may easily be refuted. The closing of the African slave-trade and the development of cotton production drove up the price of "prime field hands" from an average of about \$300 a head in 1790 to an average of from \$1,600 to \$1,800 in 1860, and simultaneously drove down the price of cotton from a range of 20 to 40 cents a pound about the beginning of the nineteenth century to a range of 10 to 12 cents in the decade of the fifties. The prices of both slaves and cotton fluctuated actively through the whole ante bellum time, and their fluctuations for brief periods were often parallel. But in the long run slave prices went up tremendously while cotton prices went down. Now the production of cotton was by far the chief employment of slave labor, and between 1820 and 1860 no great changes were made in the system of cotton culture nor, so far as one may judge, in the per capita output by the slaves employed in the industry. We are driven to the conclusion that in the later ante bellum decades slave prices were so high that the investment could be made to yield even a moderately good return only through the most efficient management and in the districts most favorable for the production of the plantation staples. As an index to the situation it may be observed that several railroad companies which bought slaves to constitute their track gangs in the thirties became convinced in the forties and fifties that hired labor was the cheaper, and with one accord sold off their slaves. The fluctuations of the slave market gave occasional opportunity for profitable speculation, but seldom—virtually never after the twenties—did slave labor in the United States permit industrial investment with large rates of profit.

On the general subject of the ante bellum period, a principal need in my opinion is the study of economic and social conditions district by district throughout the country, from all discoverable unconscious as well as conscious material, and the study of political policies

and campaigns as induced by these economic and social conditions. As between economic and social affairs, I think the former have recently received the greater attention, but the latter are in many connections the more important. In a recent work, for example, Prof. Dodd draws an analogy between the position of the pro-slavery men and that of present-day champions of the protective tariff, strictly on the ground of vested interests. He here neglects the principal factor in the situation. Whereas the North in general was considering only the institution of slavery, the South was confronted with the problem of racial adjustments as its paramount consideration. The two sections did not face the same issue, nor, so to say, did they speak the same language. Their arguments never met, but constantly glanced past one another. The historian who would give a sound exposition of the great issues must be critically cognizant of all the doctrines influential in the period of which he treats; he must view them all as phenomena and be dominated by no one of them. The subservience to the abolitionist tradition, for example, which has characterized most of the writing of American history to the present day, vitiates much that has been printed and necessitates new studies with broader interpretations.

It is probable that every important political group in American history has put forward as many false issues and arguments as it has true ones. Whether John Quincy Adams really thought that the "sacred right of petition" was endangered by the Atherton resolutions; whether the abolitionists believed that slaves in the South were driven to death for the greater profit of their masters, or that emancipation in the British West Indies did not prostrate industry; whether the pro-slavery leaders really thought that there was an economic need for the extension of slavery into California or Kansas; whether William L. Yancey in advocating the reopening of the African slave trade was prompted by a belief in its desirability and feasibility, or whether he merely raised the issue in order to produce a new sense of southern grievance and thereby strengthen the movement for southern independence—all these and many similar questions are interesting, and some of them vital. But most of them, and most of the vastly larger questions of sectional divergence and conflict, as well as many questions of nonsectional character, require for their understanding a knowledge of every sort of historical material bearing upon them, and require also a familiarity with the country to be gained only by travel and sojourn.

F. ON THE HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1815-1860.

Remarks in the Conference on American History, by P. ORMAN RAY, The Pennsylvania State College.

The history of Pennsylvania between 1815 and 1860 furnishes a number of profitable subjects for investigation. I would suggest (1) a careful study of Pennsylvania politics between 1815 and 1828. Such a study would cover the contest between Findlay and Hiester for the governorship, the bickerings and influence of the Irish editors, John Binns of the Democratic Press and William Duane of the Aurora; the beginnings of the convention system of nominations, the early movement for high protection and internal improvements, the decline of the commercial class and the rise of the manufacturing interests, and the growth of Jacksonian Democracy in Pennsylvania.

(2) While much has already been written on the economic history of Pennsylvania, much remains to be written, and to the ambitious student in this field of historical work I would especially commend the financial history of the State.

(3) The contest for free schools, culminating in the enactment of the school law of 1834 and the attempt to repeal it at the next session of the legislature, has been treated on its formal documentary side in Wickersham's "History of Education in Pennsylvania." It remains, however, for some one to correlate this great struggle with the contemporaneous political, economic, sectional, and denominational interests.

(4) To the list of biographies suggested by preceding speakers, I would add a life of Stephen Girard, the founder of Girard College and possibly the greatest financier of his day. There is said to be a vast amount of Girard's correspondence, now in the possession of the trustees of the Girard estate, which has not yet been drawn upon by any biographer.

(5) One of the most famous and important contests in the Pennsylvania Legislature occurred in 1845-46 over the right to construct a railroad from Philadelphia or Harrisburg to Pittsburgh. The contending parties were the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company and the company which soon became the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. The struggle between them is important not only as a phase of the rivalry between Philadelphia and Baltimore for the

trade of the West, but because it serves to suggest a profitable subject for investigation in the field of practical politics in other States as well as in Pennsylvania. Such a study might be entitled "Early Railroads and State Legislatures." The investigation should include not only an examination of the legislative proceedings which preceded and attended the granting of early railway franchises and the enactment of other legislation incidental to the construction and growth of railways, but should also include the connection of railway companies with local and State politics, particularly as related to the choice of members of the legislatures.

(6) In the period we are considering, a number of State constitutional conventions met. The proceedings of these conventions would furnish the basis for a series of profitable investigations. I would suggest an analysis of the debates and votes in the several conventions (a) upon the subject of the qualifications for voting and holding office, (b) upon the limitations to be placed upon the legislatures, and (c) upon the subjects of canals, railways, and banks.

(7) The movements for the abolition of imprisonment for debt and for an elective State judiciary seem to be suitable subjects for investigation; also, the agitation for and against the enactment of a prohibitory liquor law in the early fifties. From an extended examination of newspapers for these years in connection with work upon another subject, I was much impressed with the amount of space devoted to this phase of the temperance question at a time when the slavery question is commonly supposed to have been uppermost in politics. I am inclined to think that careful investigation would show that the liquor-law agitation was a factor in breaking down party lines in the North between 1850 and 1856, second in importance only to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The thorough treatment of this subject for the entire country would, it seems to me, be rather too large an undertaking for a single investigator. I would recommend a series of studies, each study limited to a small group of States.

(8) Finally, I would suggest a series of intensive studies in the different presidential campaigns occurring between 1815 and 1860. In view of what has already been done in his own seminary along this line, our chairman is in a better position than I to express an authoritative opinion regarding what may be accomplished in this field. I, for one, hope that the day is not far distant when we shall see the publication of a series of carefully prepared monographs covering all the presidential campaigns prior to 1861.

G. HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN THE FAR WEST.

Read in the Conference on American History, by KATHARINE COMAN, Wellesley College.

When by the Louisiana Purchase and the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the United States Government trebled its territory, there were added to the national domain, not only vast resources—agricultural, mineral, and commercial—and area for the making of 22 States, but powerful social and political forces. The exploration, exploitation, and civilization of the Louisiana Territory summoned American citizens to deeds of courage, endurance, and self-sacrifice. The deeds of those men of the westward migration, Jedidiah Smith, Marcus Whitman, Gov. Robinson, and scores of other influential leaders have been duly chronicled. Conscious that they were working for posterity, many of these frontiersmen kept journals, some of them ill-spelled, scrappy, and often in error as to latitude and longitude, yet they give the essential facts. Timothy Flint first saw the importance of preserving these “human documents.” Not content with recording his own experiences and observations along the Mississippi and Arkansas Rivers, he edited and published the *Pattie Narrative*. Elliott Coues brought out an important series of journals, including those of Zebulon M. Pike, Lewis and Clark, Jacob Fowler, Charles Larpenteur, and J. W. Powell. But the historian of the Far West is above all indebted to Reuben G. Thwaites, 23 of whose 30 volumes of “*Early Western Travels*” present the journals of men who knew the land beyond the Mississippi. The several fur companies, too, did their part in writing history. The Missouri Fur Company, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, above all, Astor’s creation, the American Fur Company, kept records and letter files that contain much of lasting import. These musty papers, together with personal letters and newspaper files from frontier towns, have been thoroughly searched by Maj. H. M. Chittenden, and his “*History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*” affords firm treading for the student who would understand this pioneer industry.

Fortunately local patriotism has fostered the keeping of historical records. Hardly was a State organized and its political boundaries delimited, when a State historical association was formed. Notable among these local bodies are the Oregon Historical Association and the Oregon Pioneer Association, the latter having published a series of *Transactions* that covers 40 years and includes such papers as

Mrs. Whitman's Journal and the McLoughlin Document. The State historical associations of Washington, Missouri, Kansas, and Texas have achieved results hardly less significant. One might mention a score of individual historians, laymen, and professionals, whose labors in the western field have been zealous and fruitful. The Nestor of the chroniclers of the Far West is Hubert Howe Bancroft, president of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association. The 35 volumes of his "History of the Pacific Coast States" constitute a mine of information on which all subsequent historians must rely for suggestion as to the course of events and direction as to sources.

The Bancroft Collection, now in the library of the University of California, is the most considerable private collection of books, manuscripts, and transcripts, notably the Vallejo papers, but the number of original documents at Santa Fé and the Latter Day Saints' Historian's Office at Salt Lake City is of no less significance. The public library of Los Angeles has gathered a large number of authenticated copies of the journals of Spanish explorers, but its most important original document is the report of the "Mercury" case, the only record of the proceedings of a Spanish court against Yankee smugglers represented in any American library. The State library at Sacramento has little to illustrate the Mexican period of California history, but for the American period its collection of files of newspapers and magazines, State documents, biographical sketches, etc., is unrivaled. The "Index of Economic Material" (1849-1904), compiled by Miss A. R. Hasse under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution, has rendered this material easy of access.

There is a vast amount of interesting data still extant, but in highly perishable form, e. g., in the memories of living men whose partial but vivid knowledge of events should be written down before it passes beyond our reach. The reminiscences of such men as J. J. Warner, Josiah Belden, J. B. Chiles, J. Minto, William Jennings, etc., are among the most important manuscripts in the Bancroft Collection. Equally in danger of destruction are the letters and family papers, business records, and book collections that remain in private hands subject to all the chances of fire and flood, neglect, and personal whim. Gov. Abernethy's papers, of much value to the historian, are still in private hands.

The San Francisco fire swept large collections, both public and private, into oblivion. The Public Library lost 140,000 volumes, including complete files of early newspapers, the California Star, the Californian, and Alta California. The European portion of the Sutro Library went up in smoke, but the Spanish-American material, largely manuscripts of Mexican origin, escaped. The Spanish archives, records, and land grants gathered from the missions and

presidios of Upper California were in charge of the United States surveyor and were housed in an inner room of the land office on Montgomery Street. The Library of Congress had made an unsuccessful effort to have these irreplaceable documents removed to Washington. There was sufficient delay in the burning of that section of San Francisco to have made possible the saving of the contents of the Land Office, but no one was at hand who seems to have felt responsible for the task. The loss was irreparable. There are considerable transcripts in the Bancroft Collection, but the authentic data for a history of land titles in California are lost. Another mass of undigested history destroyed in this conflagration was the records of the Alaska Commercial Company, successor to the Russian-American Fur Company. Another collection of even greater interest were the carefully kept records of the Wells-Fargo Express Company. For the 20 years during which mining was the leading industry of the far West, the Wells-Fargo was the *sine qua non* of success, since their pack trains furnished the only means of getting the gold or silver or copper to market. The history of this great company is replete with adventure, and was soon to have been written up, but flames swept away every vestige of the material. So that the early history of the Wells-Fargo Express Company can never be written.

Highly commendable is the zeal of the students of western history to utilize all material that remains and to discover its true meaning. Prof. Joseph Schafer, for example, spent a year rummaging through the Hudson's Bay Company's records in London and published some of the results in the American Historical Review—the correspondence of Sir George Simpson, a series of letters that must radically modify the previous interpretation put upon the policy of the Great Company toward American settlers in Oregon. The Hittells, Theodore H. and John S., have spent their lives on the history of California with admirable result. The Academy of Pacific Coast History has printed a series of scholarly translations of the journals of the Spanish explorers. The journals of Jedidiah Smith, the well-known fur trader, have been in good part recovered, and a biography based upon all available data is ready for the press. The Champlain Society of Canada is to publish the journals of David Thompson, pioneer geographer, who so clearly foresaw the political significance of the Columbia River to Great Britain.

The material is steadily accumulating, but the philosophical history of the Far West remains to be written. No one has undertaken to discover and adequately estimate the forces, social, political, and economic, that have transformed the materialistic and individualistic creed of these frontier communities into an organized demand for a better civilization than has obtained "back east."

X. PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON MILITARY HISTORY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON MILITARY HISTORY.¹

The meeting was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m. The chairman, Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, said:

This conference, ladies and gentlemen, has been called at the instance of several people, military and civilian, who feel that the science of military history has entered upon a new aspect, that the point of view towards military events and their relation to civil history and to the destinies of the Nation has somewhat altered and that it is to the advantage of the American people that there should be a more intelligent understanding of military history, with a view to the protection of the Nation in the future. Armies used to be destructive, and when they had gone through a campaign they left a wilderness behind them. The armies of to-day are defensive; their part in the present day in maintaining civilization is to prevent such fearful catastrophes as those which overtook all the elder civilizations down to one thousand years ago. We are here, further, to join in a conference between civilians and military men. I take it that the main purpose of this meeting is, by an exchange of views, to come upon some plan by which the furtherance of military history in the proper sense shall be facilitated. The civilian present who has most acquaintance with these data, these details, is my colleague, Prof. R. M. Johnston, and I will ask him what he thinks may be done by such a conference and by the enlargement of such a science.

Prof. Johnston said:

Whatever my preferences may be, I feel I can not evade at the outset a question that will undoubtedly present itself to many of those here present. The issue had better be met frankly, or else our position will remain uncertain and assailable. The study of military history is at the present moment under a cloud. There is more than a disposition to frown it down, to taboo it as being in some way antagonistic to the call of pacifism which holds the public ear. The study of war in the minds of many would make us accessories to putting back the clock of civilization.

Now what is the answer to that? Perhaps the best answer we could make on the present occasion would be to point to the president of the association, Col. Roosevelt. Who could prove more conclusively by his public acts that a man whose courage and fighting

¹ Report derived from that printed in the *Infantry Journal* for January-February, 1913.

instincts are almost excessively developed may yet be the strongest and most rational advocate of peace? I allude, of course, to the treaty of Portsmouth. But there is perhaps a better reason. Are we not, as scholars, entitled to say to the pacifists: If you wish to put down war, surely you should wish to ascertain what are the facts of war, otherwise how can you present a case? And our object as students of history is simply and dispassionately to set out facts; we will leave it to others to argue from them. But for myself I prefer to rest our case on even stronger ground. I prefer to say that at a moment when so much false sentimentalism, uninformed flabbiness, and gush are the fashion and we hear so little about those ancient virtues of which military courage is the strong and secure rock, little enough harm will be done if a few of us at least cultivate a subject which is largely concerned with them.

The subject of military history presented few difficulties in the days, not so long passed, when history itself was considered merely a branch of polite literature, not to say rhetoric. The historian's solicitude was concentrated on the flags and the drums, on the roar of the guns, and the awful carnage; and he made extremely vivid and completely false pictures out of it all. Within a very few years past we have changed all that, just as in pure literature Capt. Bluntschli and his invaluable chocolate have rapidly superseded Capt. d'Artagnan and his overworked rapier.

In ordinary political history we have prosaically got down to the documents and to a close and unrheterical examination of facts as facts. So in military history we have abandoned the drum and trumpet and begun to analyze the psychology of generals, on the documents critically examined, and their tactical and strategical methods as seen from a technical point of view. And it may be said, not unfairly, that to judge from the innumerable bad books and few really first-rate ones produced the subject is one of extreme difficulty.

Of late years military history has received growing attention in Europe, and in a large sense the lead in this movement may be ascribed to Germany. It was largely by a technical study of her campaign against Austria in 1866 that she succeeded in improving her army in such a way as to make secure the result she obtained in the war against France in 1870. She continued on the same path after that war, and other countries followed, making the historical study of war the basis for the efficient organization of their national armies. In other words a present necessity, an actual military problem, has inspired much of the best work that has been done.

It would exceed the limits of the time at my disposal to review the condition of military historical studies in Europe; I will confine myself to pointing out a few of the facts, and to contrasting them with those in this country. Most of the great European nations

have, as one of the essential parts of their general staff, an historical section. In France and Germany these bodies stimulate much valuable work and make possible the publication of much documentary matter. They are stronger, however, on their technical than on their scholarly side, and their work often suffers from being written too near the event. In those same two countries are published several first-rate journals and magazines devoting themselves wholly or in part to military matters and history. In a recent quarterly number of the "*Historisches Jahrbuch*" of the Görres Gesellschaft, which pays little attention to military history, I counted in the current bibliography over 20 titles for the Franco-Prussian War alone. With us, while we have several excellent service journals, the editor of one of which we are fortunate enough to have with us to-day, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that military history plays no part in them.

Then there is the academic side. In England, where military history is not nearly as much developed as in France and Germany, Oxford has a chair of military history filled by Prof. Wilkinson. In addition, the university has in Prof. Oman one of the foremost military historians of the day, while Prof. Firth has produced at least one quite remarkable book in the same field. In Germany there is a famous seminar in military history, that of Prof. Delbrück at Berlin. In this country a half-course, which I give intermittently at Harvard is, so far as I know, the only thing of the sort to be found in our universities, though our military institutions pay, as is natural, some attention to the matter, as the welcome presence at this meeting of Maj. McAndrew and Capt. Conger demonstrates.

And yet we have all the necessary elements for this study ready to our hands. In the Civil War and the mass of printed documentary material which the government has published, we have the most admirable field imaginable for seminar work, for the production of a whole library of first-rate military histories. The society of which we are the appreciative guests to-day has shown the way in publishing excellent material for military history, and occasionally strategical and tactical studies of real value. We have produced much military history of a minor character, especially memoirs. A past member of this society established a notable reputation as a military historian, and we have among us to-day those who are following in the footsteps of the late John Codman Ropes. Among young men at college are many, I believe, who would gladly take up this work if only a lead were given them.

What then are we to do to further our purpose? That is precisely what we are here to discuss, and I do not wish to anticipate what others may have to suggest. But this much it is at all events safe to say. If we can get experts in scholarly methods and experts in

military science to extend the friendly hand of cooperation; if we can obtain more recognition for historical work at army headquarters; if we can establish seminar work in our universities; if we can find or found a journal in which military history would obtain recognition; if we could found a national society for military history—by all or by any such steps we should certainly further the cause of this deserving study.

Capt. Arthur L. Conger, of the Army Service School, at Fort Leavenworth, said:

Why is it that military history is to-day a discredited subject among scholars, and why are such military histories as we have so unsatisfactory and misleading?

It is a remarkable fact that Germany, which has given us our historical method and our modern conception of war, should have failed to combine the two and set a standard for the writing of military history. Yet, though the historical section of the German general staff publishes an increasing number of volumes yearly, the contents of these volumes shows not only that the writers are not acquainted with the principles of historical method, but that the direction is imbued with Napoleon's conception of official history—a point of view promulgated by the government for its own purposes. Thus we may see how wide a gap in the matter of history exists between the official military world and the world of scholarship as represented by the German universities. Nor are the universities given access to the war archives, as that could only result in overthrowing the official view.

The historical section of the German general staff is indissolubly connected with the name of Von Moltke, who as chief of staff organized it and gave close supervision to its work. While Von Moltke had no training in historical method, in the modern sense, yet his large experience enabled him to appreciate the value of first-hand evidence, and he brought to the investigation of the wars, the historic materials for the study of which were under his control, a certain ripeness of judgment and practical knowledge which saved him many errors.

The war of 1866 with Austria was the first important war in which Prussia had been engaged for more than a half century. It was thus manifestly of prime importance for Von Moltke, and indeed the whole army, to study the history of that war in detail in order to ascertain the good as well as the bad features of Prussian training and tactics, to clear up beyond question those points which needed improvement to insure success against a more formidable foe than Austria.

The facilities for a review of events in campaign in the German Army may be appreciated when it is known that every evening each battalion and higher commander makes a report of the day's events.

Should he desire to change his report subsequently he can not have the original report back, but may forward as many supplementary reports as he pleases, to be filed with the original. Anyone who has worked with our own Civil War reports, many of them written months after the events described, can not fail to appreciate the relatively easy task history writing would be were this wealth of data available, by subordinates as well as principals and all written the same day.

Take in connection with the above the methodical trained habits of the German staff officer: He sets his watch each morning with the official time piece at headquarters; at each important occurrence during the day, be it the time of opening artillery fire or the time the column reaches a certain crossroad, he consults his watch and, not trusting memory, jots down the event with the precise time in his note book. Some note books of this character have been published in facsimile,¹ and one can readily see that with records of this sort kept and turned in to the historical bureau, historical writing may become a matter of far greater precision than has hitherto been possible.

The manner in which Von Moltke dealt with the materials of the war of 1866 may best be appreciated by a study of the memorial of July 25, 1868,² presented to the King proposing certain changes in and additions to the regulations. From this we may see that almost no detail of tactics was too small to escape his notice. The causes of success as well as of failure were examined and the proposed changes in the regulations were all based on a careful study of actual occurrences.

Thus the spirit of the study of the war of 1866 was one of investigation in which Von Moltke and the general staff are seeking to know, and so far as practicable to promulgate the truth about the war. After 1870 various causes combined to produce a change of attitude. The quarrel between Bismarck and Von Moltke in front of Paris, the undesirability of allowing the French or even the Germans to realize by how narrow a thread success had often hung in the balance during the war, and the growing friction between the states of the newly formed German Empire pointed to a policy not only of suppression but, where desirable, of conversion of facts, and the employment of the official historical bureau to promote certain political aims soon became adopted as a fixed policy.

The work of preparing the official account of the war of 1870-1871 was completed in 1873 and bears the imprint of the master mind of Von Moltke, whose cunning hand is visible again and again in artfully concealing the truth without becoming too deeply involved. It was soon recognized, however, that certain statements in the official history explaining the reasons for the concentration on the Rhine,³

¹ See, for example, "*Lebenserinnerungen von Gustav von Schubert*" (Leipzig, 1909), p. 320.

² "Moltke's *Taktisch-strategische Aufsätze*," published by the Great General Staff on the centenary of Von Moltke's birth (Berlin, 1900), p. 73.

³ 1870-1871, I, 84-88.

implying that the movement of troops to the frontier was only begun after the completion of the mobilization and asserting that the concentration was carried out to the last detail on a prearranged plan without friction,¹ were likely to prove misleading to German officers themselves and thereby injure the efficiency of the army in future campaigns. To correct these wrong impressions means were taken to give the army the real facts without, however, disclosing them publicly.

When it came to dealing with the causes of failure of the French Army in 1870 we find the official history stating:²

The internal state of the army labored under serious disadvantages. . . . The non-commissioned officers had lost their former high position. . . . The junior officers of the army did not devote their entire abilities to the service. . . . The prevailing favoritism extended even to persons of tarnished reputation very naturally disgusted them and opened out very little prospect for the future. . . . The same element of favoritism had also raised into high positions many men who were unequal to their duties, exercising its disastrous influence here as it ever will. Owing to the constant change in the form of government, that loyalty and attachment to a lineal dynasty which in other countries avert dangers to the public well being, had ceased to exist both in the army and in the nation.

The last sentence betrays the purpose of the whole, to build an argument in favor of a lineal dynasty by ascribing the failure of the French Army in a large measure to the fact that Napoleon III had not been born to the purple. The facts that conditions were reversed in 1806, and that probably no armies were ever more devoted to their leaders than were his later ones to Napoleon I, are overlooked.

One section of the German general staff concerns itself with writing monographs on wars in which Germany has not herself taken part. In these we find displayed the strongest partisanship, as well as every pretext made use of for justifying the German military system.

Thus we read in the monograph on the Boer war:

The British military administration can not be absolved from the severe reproach that it had not properly appreciated the tactical experiences of former struggles in South Africa.³

The regulations under which the army took the field in 1899 followed comparatively closely the lines of the German regulations. The unfavorable conditions of training, however, under which especially the infantry and cavalry suffered in the mother country, where exercises in varied terrain are almost an impossibility, prevented the materialization of the principles of training approved in Germany.⁴

A footnote quotes Lord Wolseley as saying that "Manœuvres on the Continental system were impracticable in England since they would unfavorably affect recruiting."⁵

¹ 1870-1871, I, 86.

² I, 22.

³ "Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelschriften," Heft 32, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

When we stop to consider what are the former struggles, lack of consideration of which is so severe a reproach, we find the episodes of Majuba Hill and the Jameson Raid hardly enough, it seems, to build a new system of tactics upon.

In view of the similarity between the German and English tactics, the general staff finds it necessary to explain why these tactics proved wanting in South Africa, and ascribes it to faulty training. No mention is made of the fact that the German tactics were found equally inapplicable to the conditions of warfare in Germany's own African colonies.

In the footnote we find the opportunity of justifying the German manœuvre system and conscription law eagerly taken advantage of; also the real objection to the manœuvres as conducted in Germany, namely, the hardship caused by quartering troops on the inhabitants, is skillfully lost to view.

But not content with casting slurs on the British War Office and system of training, the general staff history strikes further directly at the morale of the troops:

With the fruitless yet by no means especially costly attacks at Paardeburg there began to spread a nervousness of suffering loss, and of making an attack, which bore bad fruit far beyond the limits of South Africa, while one substantial reason for the long continuance of the war was, undoubtedly, the avoidance of striking any crushing blow at the Boers.

The account goes on to relate that it would have been easy (for the Boers) to penetrate through their (the English) thin firing line and for Cronje to escape but for the errors of De Wet and other leaders.¹

The injustice of this becomes apparent when we consider the heroic losses sustained by certain British organizations at Paardeburg without flinching, and that the failure of the attack must be ascribed to faulty orders of the high command resulting in undue dispersion and lack of coordination of the attacking troops rather than to losses or nervousness resulting from losses. From this time on we find further that the Boers were unable to make any effective resistance to the main British advance, which was everywhere successful. In the guerilla warfare which followed we find the Boers skillfully avoiding contact with main columns but descending in relatively overwhelming forces on lightly guarded convoys and small bodies of troops which often offered heroic resistance against overwhelming odds. In strong contrast with its arraignment of the British morale at Paardeburg the German official account credits the failure of the Boers—who throughout the war proved unable to take up and sustain a vigorous offensive—to an “error of judgment” on the

¹ “Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelschriften,” Heft 33, p. 71.

part of the Boer leaders, thus seeking to deprive the English of the credit of deserving even the successes which they actually reaped.

The British artillery also comes in for its quota of disparagement. The account says, referring to the lyddite shells:

In spite of the overwhelming fire . . . their effect on the well intrenched Boers was small. When they burst they usually made a most diabolical noise, but the fragments were very few in number, and the shells made holes in the sandy soil about 60 cm. (two feet) wide and 30 cm. (one-foot) deep.¹

The account goes on to quote from a participant:

The lyddite shells had, as a rule, no effect whatever on men lying down. I have been present myself when Boers had their clothes scorched by bursting lyddite projectiles but only had their skins scratched. The Boers had little respect for the British artillery, especially for its lyddite fire. . . . We were frequently not deterred thereby from getting out from under cover to make coffee under lyddite fire.

As a matter of fact a shell making a hole in sandy soil 2 feet wide and a foot deep is a shell of unusual power for a field gun. A high-powered shell is, however, not usually employed against troops, but to demolish particular objects, since their effect is highly localized. Here, as elsewhere, a quotation is introduced without reference to person, time, or place, for the very transparent purpose of instilling into the minds of German officers the belief that the British artillery is not to be dreaded, and also into the minds of the British that their artillery is not to be relied on for effectiveness, for it is well known that these monographs are promptly translated into English and perhaps more widely read and credited in England than in Germany.

Thus it will be seen how far from being calm, judicial, and critical investigations into the truth of history are the German official accounts. Nor is this one-sidedness confined to their dealings with foreign nations, such as France and England; it becomes apparent in their treatment of the troops of the minor German states.

It is well known that the crossing of the lines of march of the Prussian Guard Corps and the XII (Saxon) Corps, on the 18th of August, 1870, was not accidental, but was designed in order to bring the Guard Corps into what was believed to be the place of honor for making the decisive attack. It had, however, the opposite result. The Guard Corps had, it is true, full opportunity for the display of its fighting prowess, but the Saxon corps eventually was found to be in the place for bringing about the final decision at Saint Privat.

The official account published by the German general staff in 1873 glossed over to some extent the desperate situation of the Guard

¹ "Kriegsgeschichtliche Einzelschriften," Heft 33, p. 73.

Corps before the arrival of the Saxons, but rendered substantial justice to the Saxons:

Both (Prince George of Saxony and Crown Prince Albert) had the intention of first securing the occupation of Roncourt and then advancing to the attack of Saint Privat. However some of the Saxon leaders received direct information of the state of the battle at Saint Privat and, urged to participate in the furious struggle of the Guard at that place as soon as possible, turned in that direction.¹

Compare the above with the following taken from the study of the battle published by the general staff in 1905:

Lieut. v. Esbeck, sent to find out where the XII Corps was, met the Saxon infantry advancing west of the small wood between Roncourt and Montois la Montagne. . . . He reported to the regimental commander that the Guard urgently needed support in flank. . . . Through the efforts of Lieut. v. Esbeck a total of five and a half battalions turned out of the Saxon attacking line towards Saint Privat, while the remaining troops continued in the direction of Roncourt. . . . Lieut. v. Esbeck had no orders to divert the march of the Saxons towards Saint Privat. He acted independently under the impression that the left wing of the 1st Guard Infantry Brigade was not making headway north of the large basin towards Roncourt; it was anyway not his intention to draw the Saxons away towards Saint Privat but merely to hasten their advance on Roncourt which he believed to be still occupied.²

The contrast between these two views needs no comment. As an excuse for the divergence of the "study" published in 1905 from the history published in 1873 it has been alleged that much new material had been brought to light in the meantime, and especially that much of value had been gleaned from replies to question sheets sent out to participants. Anyone who has had any practice in historical criticism will readily appreciate the futility of the attempt to reconstruct a history, based on such reliable sources as was the official account of 1873, on the strength of recollections written 30 years after the event.

In speaking of the artillery preparation for the final assault on Saint Privat, the 1873 history says:

The combined fire of the Saxon artillery and the ten Prussian batteries, south of the Chaussee, was not long in showing its effect on the village (of Saint Privat) encumbered with French troops. . . . Practically at the same time the Saxons reached the north and north-west and the Guard the west and south of the burning village.³

Compare with the above the laborious effort of the 1905 study to show that the Saxon artillery did not assist in the fire preparation for the assault on Saint Privat:

When Crown Prince Albert . . . observed that his infantry in part proceeded towards Saint Privat, after Roncourt was in the hands

¹ "Der Krieg, 1870-71," II, 881.

² "Der 18 August, 1870," pp. 508-509.

³ "Der Krieg, 1870-71," II, 890.

of the Germans, he directed his artillery to turn against Saint Privat. This renewed change of position was made with great difficulty. The batteries south of the woods of Aboué had not yet fully deployed in their position there when it became necessary to limber up again. The movement came to a standstill, hampered by the infantry; from the north some few batteries hastened up and crowded into the newly gained firing position. By the time order had been fully restored and the batteries were all in position Saint Privat was already in the hands of the Germans.¹

The "study" goes on to relate that it was the Guard who made the charge on Saint Privat from the north as well as from the west and south, admitting that a few Saxon companies became mixed in the charge from the north with a Guard regiment, but offsetting this with the statement that as a matter of fact the troops charging from the south were the first to reach the village.

After thus robbing the Saxon corps of all credit of participating in the attack on Saint Privat, in a manner scarcely creditable to a press agent, the "study" awards the Saxons these few damning words of faint praise:

But from all this the conclusion should not be drawn that the envelopment by the XII Corps was entirely barren of results. A movement against a flank always has a certain moral effect on the defender, even if he has employed sufficient means to meet it; he still feels the threatening of his line of retreat.²

One unacquainted with German conditions will at once ask: Would the Saxon officers still living who participated in this battle remain silent in the face of these statements, even when made from an official source, were they not true? Reference to the Saxon newspapers of the years 1906-1907 will show that they were not allowed to pass unchallenged. The fact that the denials were mainly anonymous points to the fact that a German Army officer is not allowed to contradict the "official view."

This domination of the official view is further indicated by the storm of official protest and anger over the publication of the "War Letters" of Gen. Kretschman, edited by his daughter, Lily Braun. These letters mention certain plundering and excesses committed by German troops on the field of battle, but worst of all, from the official viewpoint, the fact that the now famous cavalry charges made on the 16th of August, 1870, were not undertaken willingly by the cavalry leaders, but only after stormy protests and every possible attempt to evade the order to charge. The editor tells us in the preface to the second edition, published in 1904, a few months after the first, that she had been publicly but falsely accused by her cousin, a lieutenant in the army, of having insulted her father in his grave by violating his written instructions to have his personal correspondence burned upon

¹ "Der 18 August, 1870," p. 524.

² *Ibid.*, p. 565.

his death, while so eminent an authority as Gen. Boguslawski, in reviewing the work, said that 25 or 30 letters should have been omitted for decency's sake, and quoted as applicable to the editor the saying of the Duke of Biron, as he stepped up to the guillotine, "I have been unfaithful to my God, to my king, and to my people."

Thus may be realized how serious in Germany is the offense of contradicting the official history. But, as a matter of fact, the higher officers understand quite well the lack of value of the official history as history and look elsewhere when they wish to study their own wars.

Time will not permit an examination of the work of the French general staff historical section. In some ways it is superior to the work of the German general staff, but it is still far from being satisfactory as historical work.

We have enough, however, to give an answer to the question why military history is in disrepute: it is because those in exclusive control of the main sources either do not know how to use, or for some reason will not use them intelligently, to write military history.

When we come to the field of our own military history we find a numerous bibliography rich in pretentious and controversial work, but singularly lacking in works of merit, because no one equipped with a working knowledge of historical method and the necessary technical knowledge of war has yet presented us with any considerable work on our own campaigns.

Much can be done by the American Historical Association, by our universities, and by the establishment of a magazine devoted to military history to remedy this situation; but I do not believe a real solution of the problem can be found which leaves out of consideration the establishment of an historical section of our General Staff. Certain fundamental work, such as the establishment of the basic data relative to the strength, organization, and armament of armies, as well as the preparation of reliable maps, can only be accomplished in this way.

To argue that the establishment of such a section would give rise to additional works of partisanship is inadmissible, because the section could have no possible reason for such partisanship. Nor could our government have any possible objection to a clear statement of the whole truth of every period of our own military history as well as that of other nations.

It is, of course, possible that incompetent officers might be assigned to this work, but against that the best safeguard would be the close cooperation and interest of the American Historical Association in the work, which would make the assignment of such an officer "for political reasons" an impossibility.

Mr. Oswald Villard, editor of the New York Evening Post, said:

As I have listened to the discussion here the question has come to me as to whether we were not discussing two separate things, whether

the ideals that some of us have in view are not so different from those of the military gentlemen who are present as to make it impossible for us to unite. Is there not a different conception of ideas on the part of gentlemen like Capt. Conger? Do they not confine in their minds the study of military history to the technical purpose of preparing military men to take command in the field? Is their desire not to write history from the point of view of instruction in tactics and strategy and eulogy, whereas those of us who are interested in the study of history as a purely historical study are interested from the broader point of view of the national life, of the setting forth of the actual occurrences of the past, with less attention to detail? In Mr. Roosevelt's remarkable address last night he appealed for a broader view, a more interesting treatment, and more vital treatment of history. Can we expect from official sources at least that treatment of the general subject of history in which I think most of us will agree Mr. Roosevelt is the leader among our historians? Take the question of the preparation of American history by the American General Staff. That, it seems to me, would invariably lead to the writing of history from one particular point of view, perhaps from a predetermined point of view. I am probably at the other extreme from Capt. Conger; I am a peace man and almost a peace-at-any-price man; I am not one who can subscribe to the doctrine that war is necessary in the future or that we must produce soldiers in order to prevent it. Heaven forbid! Is it not a fact that gentlemen who are engaged in the military profession and who are most honorably inspired with zeal to improve that profession, to elevate it in this country, to dignify it, would necessarily, from their very position in the military profession, have a bias? Will they not necessarily develop their history from the point of view of proving that the country needs to do this or that in order to defend itself, in order to avert this threatening degradation that may come to us if some other nation should impose its will upon our will? These are matters that I would like to have submitted to you for your consideration.

The General Staff is a comparatively new institution. Lest you think that I am unfriendly to it I would like to make the personal statement that I believe I was the first editor in this country to advocate the establishment of a general staff, more than 20 years ago, and I have always been friendly to the idea. The fact is, however, that the development of the General Staff has disappointed many of its friends, and that is not so much due, it seems to us, to the men who have composed it, who have been the flower of the service, as to certain conditions under which they operate. Congress has felt somewhat dissatisfied with the way it has been conducted; at least, one may deduce that from the fact that in the last session of

Congress the General Staff was decreased and may be still further decreased. It has shown a certain tendency to mix in with political affairs, to lay down the law to Congress, whether rightly or wrongly, it has seemed to do so, and Congress has resented it. The future of that institution therefore is obviously open to question. It is a fact in military history that Gen. Sherman found it necessary, because of his relations with the politicians and Congress, to transfer the army headquarters from Washington to St. Louis. Conditions in the War Department had become so intolerable as to make that necessary. It is not an impossible thought that at some future time it may be advisable, both from the point of view of the politicians and of the General Staff, to transfer the activities of that body away from Washington, perhaps to Fort Leavenworth or some other army school, like West Point.

The detail to the General Staff is, as you are aware, for a period of four years. Under the recent law passed by Congress at the past session that law is being rigidly enforced and no man can serve again with the General Staff unless he has spent a certain amount of time with his regiment or corps, as the case may be. That in itself would, it seems to me, make against the writing of scientific history in the War Department.

A section of the General Staff, it has always seemed to me, interested in the preparation of history, the writing of history, can perform a very great service by developing the instruction at the service schools, as it is already doing at West Point particularly, in the teaching of the men in the service how to write. That, after all, is the fundamental thing. Prof. Johnston has pointed out in his paper that certain qualifications are necessary to the military student as to the historian, and one of those is that he shall learn how to write. Now the service has produced certain great writers, even in recent years, without referring again to Sherman or Sheridan or Grant. I might point more particularly to Herbert Sargent and others and John Bigelow, jr., who have shown that they can treat this subject; but the mass of the men who come out of West Point are not as well equipped even to record their observations as they ought to be.

Finally, I sincerely hope that out of this conference there will grow a civilian national society for the study of military history, free from any violence, from any prejudgment. I think that if I should attempt to write history from my peace-loving point of view I should reflect discredit upon Prof. Hart, from whom I have learned what little I know about historical writing. That, it seems to me, is not the right way to go at it, any more than it would be to start off with the theory that we have got always to carry on war or that we must demonstrate that present conditions are not what they ought to be, from our individual point of view. History is history,

and the recording of facts precisely as we see them, and the culling of truths is, after all, what historians are after. I hope we can form a society which will raise a structure, which will teach those of us who are moving in that direction how we may proceed, which will lead to an interchange of ideas, and which will have as its members the distinguished military gentlemen who are here to-day; and they can help us, I am sure, as I think we can help them.

Col. T. L. Livermore, retired, United States Army, said:

It was a great pleasure to me to know that the meeting was to be called here in this hall, this hall which Mr. Ropes established for the purposes of military history. Most of us know that 20 or 30 years ago the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts was established and for a long time met at his house, where he was in the habit of inviting once a month some distinguished Confederate or Federal commander, and, after a jovial dinner, they would read papers and we would all discuss them there at his house. Afterwards this hall was built, mainly at Mr. Ropes's expense, and dedicated to this purpose. . . . In these meetings, although we didn't always arrive at the exact truth, we learned more than we probably could have learned otherwise from the way in which the subjects were viewed by many of the principal actors and of what they thought of the motives that prompted the movements and the results of those movements. In the memoirs of the society many of these were published and furnished valuable contributions as material for military history. . . . It is therefore peculiarly appropriate that a conference which has for its object cooperation in writing military history should have its meeting here. I am also very glad indeed to see officers from the War College and from the service schools present here and taking an interest in the subject.

For more than 30 years I have urged strongly upon the War Department and upon the generals commanding the Army the establishment of a general staff, and especially of a military historical section of such general staff. Afterwards, when the General Staff was about to be organized, I recommended informally a military historical section to that body. What we have heard from these papers to-day tends to confirm what I thought then of the importance of the subject. Military history is not only one of the most important branches of military science, but it may be regarded as the basis of military science. The rules of strategy and grand tactics are either based upon or checked up by military history in its broadest sense. To know what we can do under certain circumstances we must know what other men did under similar circumstances before. Considering what has been said in the papers that I have heard and from what I have learned of the purposes of this meeting, with which I am in general agreement, I think I can express my views better by

reading a few extracts from the introduction to a volume which I am now publishing in continuation of Mr. Ropes's "Story of the Civil War."

A large part of all the history that has been written relates in some way to military operations. In the opinion of many historians to-day, the condition of the people, their physical, intellectual, moral, and industrial development, especially in time of peace, are the only subjects worthy of their consideration. Under the present conditions, however, peace, compatible with the demands of prosperity, honor, and morality, can be maintained only by due preparation for war. The one great object of war is peace. If the history of 3,000 years does not show that no lasting peace is worth having that is not based upon the ability to fight, at least half of such history has been written in vain. Warfare is barbarous. It may be inhuman. All nations should disarm, but in proper sequence. When all are armed and prepared in the proportion in which we would wish them to prosper, let all be disarmed in the same proportion and as promptly as possible.

The present period is one of rapid development. In the struggle for existence, great nations are crowding upon each other. Universal peace will not be possible until conflicting interests shall have been adjusted. All nations but our own are preparing for defense. By neglecting to bear our share of the burden, we are insulting the rest of the civilized world upon whom we now rely for our safety in the hope that each nation will hold the other in check, and save us from all trouble and expense. . . . If we take the proper measures for self-defense, weaker nations will gather around us and add to our strength.

The history of the Civil War is useful in keeping alive the military interest of the present generation so that the next may have some civil history to record. It shows that our armies, on both sides, endured as much and fought as bravely as any in the world. The troops showed, perhaps, more self-reliance and more capacity for the individual action demanded by the warfare of to-day than those of any great army of ancient or modern times. The Federal armies were finally victorious; but hundreds of thousands of lives and incalculable privations and sufferings would have been spared if the nation had been prepared for war, if the Federal armies had been better trained and their operations more skillfully conducted. The lack of training and discipline was not so apparent, because both armies suffered from it, though perhaps not always to the same degree. With regard to the conduct of grand operations, it must be remembered that the military training of the generals had mainly been confined to the life in a small post with one or two companies; perhaps they had never expected to take part in a greater war than that just concluded with Mexico. In almost any war whose operations can be thoroughly analyzed it will be found that much is lost from bad troop-leading which could have been saved if the same attention had been given heretofore as now to practice in time of peace, on the map and in the field, of the application of military principles to the varied exigencies of a campaign and a battle.

From the history of the campaigns and battles of our Civil War, one can learn much, not because those campaigns and battles were always well conducted, but because they gave rise to so many mili-

tary situations, each one of which offers a useful field for the study of military problems. We are more concerned now in learning what should have been done in each case than in deciding who was most to blame for not doing it.

Nearly half a century has passed since the Battle of Gettysburg; 24 centuries since the Battle of Marathon. In many respects the art of war has changed more from Gettysburg to the present time than from Marathon to Gettysburg. To study the dispositions and movements of the Battle of Gettysburg with a view to copying them now might prove to be a fatal error. To draw up an army of 85,000 men on open ground on a line of 3 or 4 miles in length with an average depth of 9 or 10 solid ranks, and in the presence of a hostile army of nearly equal strength, would be to deliver it over to captivity or slaughter. The human factors, however, have not changed; and even the forms are not so different as the dimensions. . . .

In Prof. Johnston's paper he comments upon the fragmentary nature of the knowledge in regard to the Civil War and says, for example, "Who knows what was done? Who knows what was done when Grant made his campaign around Vicksburg?" and he speaks of several other instances. I have had in mind to point out that error, in this volume which is just appearing, and in describing the campaign at Vicksburg I have given a map for the movements of the armies for each and every day when there was any considerable movement, from Grant's first movement until the Battle of Champion Hills. In the Battle of Champion Hills I have shown the position of every regiment every hour and sometimes every half-hour until the engagement was finished. The same thing is true of the Battle of Big Black Ridge. In the assault on Vicksburg I have shown on the plan where each regiment was at each stage of the assault. This I have tried to do for all the operations, and it is in this way especially, it seems to me, that the General Staff could be of material advantage, material help, to historians of the country at large. There are, as we have learned from the other papers, many civilian historians all through the country, who would be glad to write of the Civil War if they only knew what they were writing about, if they only knew where the troops were.

I don't at all agree with the last speaker if he meant to imply that military officers couldn't write history without taking one side. I think I may have misunderstood the purport of his speech, but in any event I am sure that they could, and it is quite possible for them to furnish not only that information which is so valuable, and to which Capt. Conger referred, but also all these data as to the position of troops from time to time, the strength of regiments, and so forth, which would serve as a foundation for historical writing by civilians.

Now, as regards the general purpose of this meeting, I am decidedly in favor of the formation of a military historical society, a national

military historical society. I think the interest is great enough in it and I think our people are waking up to the necessity that they will have to take a livelier interest than they have been taking in military matters, and I am very glad to see that it has taken its start here.

Prof. F. M. Fling, of the University of Nebraska, said:

It seems to me that we are confounding some things here that should be kept apart. I can't see that this question as to whether we are peace men or war men—I am a peace man myself and might disagree with my good friend Capt. Conger, because I think peace is within practical reach—I can't see that that has anything to do with military history. History has to be of the past and not of the future. And whatever we may think of the future there is no question that there has been a great deal of fighting done in the past. The business of the historian deals with the entire past. The idea of the older generation was that it was to deal with political history, but that has been pretty well exploded since Freeman's day. Fighting has been a large part of the history of the past and we are obliged to deal with it.

Now the question is, it seems to me, if we are going to deal with it: Who is to deal with it? And you will note that Capt. Conger gave a great deal of time and attention in his paper to the official histories. I think that was misunderstood by some of you here. His purpose was to show how it was done by the official bureau, and to show that it may be an unwise thing at the present time—perhaps at any time—to put the writing of history into an official bureau; and his illustrations, it seemed to me, taken from the work of the German staff or its historical section, were rather convincing. On the other hand, I don't think he intended to convey the idea that history should not be written by military men. I believe it should; I believe that it should be written by a man who is a military man, who knows what war means technically, who has been through enough experience to know what it is like, and at the same time has had a training technically and historically. That, I think, is the weak side of a good deal of military history. It is not sufficient for a man to know his subject matter. I think, again, that on the other hand, civilians make a mistake when they think that history can not be written by the army man, because the army man has in mind the application of things. You can't apply a thing effectively until you know it. Now, the man who is properly trained as a military man and as an historian knows that if his military history is to be of any use to him whatever he must approach it from an independent point of view with the effort to discover exactly what took place. When he knows that, he can consider what use he can make of it. If he approaches it simply from the point of view of utilizing certain things he never really gets at the truth. First let us know what the truth is and then the military man can understand what he can do.

This idea of pragmatic effort—and I think there has been a good deal of that suggested this morning—is really an outgrown stage. The teaching of history is a thing which we may concern ourselves with if we know what history is. Teaching is not good for much unless we approach the subject from a scientific, unbiased point of view, determined to know the truth, whatever it may be. It may be useful or it may not, but that is not the question.

Now there is no doubt that we have got a large chance to write military history in this country. I am not a specialist in United States history or the history of the Civil War, but I know enough about the situation from my own reading and conversation with military men who have been doing some work upon it to know that we are hardly at the beginning of the work, and the real trouble has been that for the most part, no matter how good our men have been as military men, they didn't know how to write history, they didn't know how to review it, didn't know what the historical process was. That is the first point.

Now men have attempted to write a history of the Civil War; even one man has attempted it, and about all one man could do in his lifetime would be to write in a successful way the history of one campaign. That is the trouble with our historical writing; it isn't peculiar with military historical writing, but it is the trouble with history from beginning to end. Men have been writing the history of the French Revolution, and we haven't a decent history of the French Revolution to-day, though it was more than one hundred years ago, because men were not satisfied to do what they could do and lay a foundation for a synthesis, or to undertake exhaustive work upon the topic that might lay a foundation for a synthesis.

The attitude of the public is a discouraging one; it is constantly discouraging scientific work, constantly discouraging detail work. We can't have a sound general history until we have established a reliable foundation upon which the details can rest and on which the men who can use the synthesis can build their structure. But until those foundations are laid, those books written, no one can write a large synthesis. I don't believe that good historical work can ever be done in a practical way of the Civil War until a group of well-trained men—first of all, to my mind, military men who know the subject matter and know what the details must mean—have got together.

In the second place, in order to write history it must be handled independently; the material that we have been working upon must be handled independently upon the details, independently upon the different campaigns, in order to make this larger synthesis possible. The question is, How is that to be done? I don't believe the universities are going to do very much of that. I am interested in this

thing, and I had hoped that Capt. Conger would say something about the work being done at Fort Leavenworth. It has been interesting to me ever since they started in to train army men there in historical research, studying the campaigns, putting the sources right into their hands, and showing them how to work it up. I have been interested ever since they started, and I have been down there and seen the work they are doing, and I think there is a most promising beginning there with that big group of the finest kind of men. I talked to a class one morning upon historical matters, and it was a real inspiration to get before 24 or 25 men like that who fixed their eyes upon you when you started and kept them there for an hour. Picked men of that kind can do something yet, if we can get those men into Leavenworth under a competent instructor and give them two years of that kind of thing. If the Army is simply a defensive instrument, and the men have plenty of idle time on their hands, it is a splendid thing to work at training them up as historians and let them take all the points you are working up, and in a comparatively short time you will have the foundation of a valuable history of the Civil War, and I think you can get those results by the right kind of teaching.

I know the work being done, and I know the broad scale of it, and I think from the men I have met that I shouldn't ask a finer type of men, men who had approached the question of war from an historical point of view and such a well-balanced way as these men are getting at Leavenworth, and I think if we can push that thing along and give them a free hand, if we give them a chance to do it in that way, historical research will take care of itself.

Maj. J. W. McAndrew, of the Army War College, said:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, we thank the gentlemen of the American Historical Association who have made it possible for us to present at this conference the views of the Army on the proper methods of writing military history and of awakening in our people an interest in its study. The Army owes a debt of gratitude particularly to Prof. Johnston for his interest in this work. What he has said and written shows such a clear insight into the subject from the Army's point of view that we are willing to trust our case in his hands and to follow the path he has already blazed.

This is an age when science directs its efforts to the prevention rather than to the cure of the ills that mankind formerly accepted as inevitable. The medical profession aims to make disease of the body impossible, and no longer waits for the disease to appear before taking up the fight against it. Our best mechanical skill is directed toward preventing accidents to life and property rather than to quick repair of the damage done. The statesman aims at a stable govern-

ment founded upon the happiness and prosperity of its people and not at one founded upon force and repression. All this is in line with the progress of the human race.

The greatest aid to science in its efforts wholly to eradicate disease is the study of the history of the disease and of the warfare waged against it in all its progressive stages. By such study previous mistakes are avoided and only the most promising line of action need be followed.

If war be a disease, it would serve the happiness and prosperity of the human race far more to prevent it than to contend with it only after its advent. It can be emphatically stated that, contrary to a widespread belief, neither the Army nor the Navy desires war, nor looks forward to war as an ideal condition for even the profession of arms. There is no more earnest advocate of universal peace than the soldier who has seen war. His abhorrence of this diseased condition of the political body arises not from mere sentimental theory, but from an adequate conception of the horrors of the battlefield, and of the frightful toll war exacts in property as well as in life. As a practical man, however, the study of his profession teaches him that wars can not be avoided by doing away with armies and navies any more than that crime can be prevented by abolishing the police forces of our cities. So long as the disease of war is latent among nations, we believe in having at hand, the moment the disease breaks into virulence, the remedies and means to apply at once the treatment that will bring it to a swift and sure conclusion. If we are not prepared to do this, the ravages of the disease are multiplied indefinitely.

Were the question of war or peace, then, to rest with the Army and the Navy alone there could be no question that peace would be chosen. But if we read our history aright we must see that with us the Army and the Navy have no voice in the making of war, and that, on the contrary, war has been entered upon by our nation against the counsels of our best soldiers. Even the government that at the time controlled the affairs of the nation can not be held responsible for the wars that have come upon us. It was the American people as a whole that forced our officials into action. And can we even hope that unbiased historians will find that our cause was always just? We recognize, then, the fact that when the people will it, war must come, and that in the excitement of the moment no stop is made to consider whether we are prepared or not, or what the appalling cost of unpreparedness is to be. The lessons that might have been learned from previous wars are lost to our people because they have not learned aright the history of such wars. Could we but educate our people on the darker side of this history we would have a guaranty for continued peace that all the peace societies of the world can not give us. It is the only way to prevent the nation from lightly entering upon war.

Less than 20 years ago public clamor almost forced us into war with a strong nation far better prepared for war than we were and far less vulnerable. The wisest counsels in the Army and the Navy were on the side of peace, since they fully recognized what the appalling cost of such a war would be—a cost immeasurably greater because of our unpreparedness. But it was not this unpreparedness that averted war at that time. We know how lightly many of our people entered into war with a foreign power in 1898. And we know that, in a similar state of the public mind, war would have been forced upon an unwilling administration of our government though our antagonist were one of the strongest world powers and not one, as fortunately for us was the case at that time, as unprepared for war as we were.

We of the military recognize this danger. Since we are not in a position to insist upon a continuance of peace, it is a matter of patriotism with us to endeavor to have our country prepared for war. The danger will be always with us until the American people are taught aright the military history of their country. So long as history teaches only a part of the truth, the lessons are lost to them. The American boy grows up to believe that we need not fear to go to war with any nation on earth, and that success must come to us without preparation for the test of war. He has reached this belief through the teachings of a history that has magnified our successes in the past and minimized or passed over our reverses; a history that told nothing of the awful cost of entering upon war unprepared; of the untold suffering and privations that such wars brought to our people. He has seen only the glory of war, and is led to believe that for our country there is no dark side to the picture. And when the boy becomes a man he is ready to clamor for war when, in a time of public excitement, he mistakes frenzy for patriotism.

Military history of our country, if written and taught aright, must bring home to our people the following facts: That we have never been prepared for war; that unpreparedness has not served to turn our people from war with even the strongest nations; that failing to develop our military resources in time of peace, we have been compelled to squander them ruthlessly when war came; and that the country has paid in every war an appalling cost in blood and treasure. This, despite the fact that we have never yet waged war against a first-class military power, except in 1812 when, fortunately for us, our antagonist had her attention diverted from us by the progress of events nearer home. It would teach us, moreover, that undeveloped military resources, no matter how vast, do not fit a nation to wage successful war any more than the undeveloped material for a football team in a large university would enable it to compete successfully on the gridiron with the highly trained football team of a smaller college.

Military history, to be most profitable to our people, may minimize our successes in past wars if it will; but it must bring out clearly the

other side of the picture in order that we may recognize the reasons for our reverses and profit by the mistakes we then made.

In recent years there is a decided improvement in our school histories in that they teach nothing false. The trouble is that while telling the truth they do not tell the whole truth. Let us take the histories of the War of 1812 as an example. No one can learn from them even by inference the facts that in that war our reverses far outnumbered our successes, that in numerous instances our hastily formed volunteers behaved disgracefully, and that they proved generally unreliable; or that we enlisted 10 men to 1 that our antagonist could bring against us. That, after all, we did not conquer peace; that the best we can claim for our side is that the issue was undecided; and that had England not had her attention so fully occupied at the time in Europe the issue would surely have been against us—are facts scarcely deducible from many histories of that war.

In recent years the nations that are best prepared for war have given much time and attention to the preparation of critical military histories of the wars in which they have been involved, and have even extended their studies to include the wars of other nations deemed worthy of study. This is now considered of importance secondary only to the work of preparation for possible future wars. It is essentially the work of the general staff of an army, and we are among the very few first-class powers that have not taken up the work. The fault of the omission does not lie wholly at the door of our General Staff. It is only 10 years since the law gave us a general staff. At first its efforts were directed to finding itself, to determining what was its proper sphere, and then to doing all that could be done to make up for the neglect of years in preparing for possible future wars. Just at the time when our General Staff might have taken up the critical study of past American campaigns, the reduction in the number of officers assigned to general staff duty again deferred the work. But our General Staff must in the near future assign a section of its best equipped officers to this important work, since it is realized that every day sees the loss of valuable material for research, and that errors once accepted as facts are difficult to eradicate. Moreover, the professional fitness of our officers is best advanced by a study of a correct history of our past campaigns in war. In the meantime our War College is devoting part of its time to a study of the principal campaigns of our Civil War, a study conducted according to the accepted methods of modern historical research. This work is necessarily slow, and it will take years to get in this way a complete history of our campaigns because the War College has other work to do, and but one year is allotted to the officers taking the course there. But it has already produced some valuable critical studies of the campaigns of 1861 to 1865, all that we have that are of any real value to us.

Of course much of this work is of technical value only, and is intended to advance the professional knowledge of our officers and not as a history for the public. It is doubtful if the public generally would show any interest in such purely professional studies, since the officers who prepared them were not historians in any sense of the word. The professional historian may, however, accept the facts brought out in these studies and weave them into the general history of the time.

Of the four qualifications enumerated by Prof. Johnston as necessary for the equipment of the writers of military history, viz., technical knowledge of the military art, erudition, critical skill, and literary skill, two may be looked for among soldiers and two in general among civilians. It may be considered hopeless to expect to find them all combined in any one man. It would seem, then, that our military histories must be written by both soldiers and civilians, since either class alone can not reach the desired result. There must be collaboration.

We must confess that we are not prepared to say just how we can bring about this result. We hope that this discussion will bring out some practicable working plan. The General Staff of the Army will welcome your cooperation in the matter, and the present chief of staff and his assistants stand ready to further, as far as the law will permit, any practicable plan that may be advanced.

We do not come here asking for your assistance in adding a single regiment to our Army nor a single battleship to our Navy. But we do ask your earnest cooperation in the work of putting before the American people a full and correct military history of our country, one that will bring home the lesson that while war may be a calamity under any circumstances, its cost in blood and treasure is multiplied many times when we enter upon it unprepared.

We believe the education of our people in our military history will be the best guaranty of continued peace when the question rests with them whether there shall be peace or war; and that it will teach the lesson that when war is unavoidable, when it is forced upon us by other nations, or when the life or honor of our country demands it, the only way to minimize its horrors, to bring it to a swift and, for us, favorable conclusion is to be prepared for war. We believe the history of nations for the past century teaches the lesson that the best deterrent against war is adequate preparation for war.

Let me again impress upon you the fact that the Army and the Navy do not stand for war, that they do not want war, and that they have no voice in bringing about war. War is either forced upon us by other nations or is entered upon by the will of our own people. The danger in the first contingency can be reduced to a minimum or wholly removed by adequate preparation for war in time of peace.

In the second contingency, the best way to keep our own people from being carried away by an excess of patriotic fervor, and, in the excitement of the moment, entering upon war lightly, or from entering upon war at all under any conditions except where our national life or honor demands it, is to place before them, and educate them in, a correct military history of our country, one that will give all the truth and be absolutely free from bias or prejudice. Surely this is a work that patriotism demands of us, and one that will do more to bring continued peace to our country than could any work heretofore done or proposed by our peace societies. We even invite the cooperation of such societies, since here is a field wherein we all can work toward the attainment of the same desired end. Educate the people in our military history and then let them decide whether the United States can best insure peace and reduce the cost and the horrors of war to a minimum by preparation for war in time of peace or by doing away with armies and navies. We of the Army and Navy will confidently leave our case for decision in the hands of a people who know the military history of their country.

Prof. William A. Dunning, first vice-president of the American Historical Association, took the chair.

We will now listen to a paper by Maj. George H. Shelton, of the United States Army, editor of the *Infantry Journal*.

Maj. Shelton said:

Not so long ago an American woman educator suggested that there be a united effort to destroy all the tin soldiers and the toy cannon that are now among the playthings of our boys, on the theory that these things instill into the young the military spirit and the love of war, and that they provoke all the evil consequences of militarism. Now it may be, if war is the mere illusory consequence of an unhealthy mental condition of a people, as some profess to believe, that this suggestion is not without psychological weight. But presuming for the moment this view of war correct, it still would seem that there might be danger to us in the literal administration of the suggested remedy, even if as potent as its advocate believed. Wholly to destroy the military spirit and to discourage all thought of war in the youth of this country while the military spirit is still developed elsewhere in the world, and the idea of war, if not encouraged, is at least recognized, might mean our destruction some time in the future through inability to protect ourselves from aggression. But there is another consideration more closely related to our present subject. Suppose also for a moment, that war is not an illusion due to a perverted mental state, but on the contrary a natural condition of man in his present state of development. Would the destruction of military toys, in which the boy seems to find much delight, serve then the purpose planned? Would the destruction of all the dolls in the

world, let me ask, kill the spirit of motherhood in the future woman? Dolls do not provoke motherhood; they respond to a natural demand. What if tin soldiers are no different? But these two things, you may say, are not to be compared, and, saying this, you may of course be right, but also you may be wrong; for I hold that there is no one yet that has proved or even attempted to prove that these things do not come from exactly the same cause—the mere struggle for existence.

No one pretends to deny continued necessity for this struggle on the part of the individual. The man driven to hunger, no matter what his moral training or his moral strength, will even commit crime to appease his appetite—which is one reason for the continued existence of police. Are we sure yet that we can properly deny that the same instinct works in men collectively? Unless we be, there is reason for the continued existence of armies. Nations are men collectively, as well as men divided. The starving nation may struggle, may even commit international crime, to avoid what seems worse. It is a common argument of those who hope for the passing of war that the poverty of a nation must serve to prevent it entering upon war. Those who employ this argument are ignorant of history. Are the Balkan allies in Europe now among the wealthy nations of the world? Where in the world's money markets could they have borrowed money for war six months ago? Can anybody believe that it would not be easier for them to borrow money now to continue war than it would have been to borrow but a few months ago to begin war? Was Japan, in 1903, wealthy as nations go? Were the Boers nationally wealthy when they fought England? Was Spain wealthy in 1898? Was Prussia wealthy in 1866 when she could not borrow money at 10 per cent? Was she wealthy when she faced France four years later? Yet would anyone have suggested 10 per cent interest to Prussia after Metz? Search the past and the same questions and the same answers stare out from every corner. The world little likes the oppression of the poor by the rich—even though it is slow to prevent oppression. It little likes aggression by rich nations. But it applauds always successful resistance whether by the individual or the nation. Is this anything less than recognition of the moral right, if not the necessity, of both to struggle for existence?

Now, if I am correct in my judgment that no one has undertaken seriously to establish any difference between tin soldiers and wax dolls, it seems to me a very singular fact. For whatever may be the purpose of the future, war has been a factor of world development since the beginning of recorded time. Not only this, but it has been by far the most important factor. Most of the records of the world's history are accounts of the world's wars.

It is a common thing now to decry war as an unnecessary evil; yet if war is an unnecessary evil to-day, it must always have been

an unnecessary evil. Probably those who believe it both unnecessary and evil to-day believe the same thing of it in the past. But no one has so proved it nor attempted so to prove it. No one, in short, has studied war in the abstract sufficiently to be able to declare convincingly whether or not war as a factor in world development has meant on the whole evil or good. I am not here to plead the cause of war; but it seems to me if I am correct in this that there is a tempting field still open to the investigator.

It is certain that we can know accurately little of what war has meant in our own national life until we have some knowledge of what war has meant in world development. Moreover, those who decry war as unnecessary under all circumstances are believers in peace under all circumstances. Those who believe that the military spirit can be killed by the destruction of toy soldiers believe that peace, like war, is the simple result of a state of mind. The patriotic fervor which sweeps a whole people into defense of its hearthstones must then be made impossible. But to do this something more than soldiers of tin, even soldiers of flesh and blood, must be got rid of. The soldiers of history must be forgot. In other words, if we follow arguments of this kind to their logical conclusion, and we may find plenty of them to follow in the utterance of many earnest advocates of the cause of peace, is it not clear that they rest for admission upon the denial, or, at least, upon the suppression of the facts of history? It is not worth while to inquire now whether the facts of history can be permanently suppressed, so long as there remains the possibility of their discovery; but it is within our province, I think, to ask whether the advocates of any cause who fear the truth can hope ever to win, or, indeed, ever to do their cause anything but harm? Certainly those who hope for the day of universal peace can do nothing more likely to postpone it than to oppose the accurate recording of the days of war.

In our purpose now to seek the means whereby an accurate record of our own war history may be assured, it would seem then that, first of all, we should have supporting us every earnest advocate of peace. I hope we may; but my experience so far has given me little ground for expectation. It is unfortunate, but true, that earnestness and love of peace do not always betoken wisdom. Outside of this class, which ought to be wholly with us, but which will in fact be divided, and possibly quite largely in opposition, there are, so far as I can see, but two classes of our people likely to take active interest in our present endeavor. The first of these is composed of historians, historical students, and those interested in one way or another in historical research. I take it that this class is finely represented by the association under whose auspices this conference is assembled. The interest of this class, speaking generally, is indirect, lying as it must

simply in the broad purpose of attaining historical truth and avoiding permanent record of historical error. But this purpose alone should be sufficient to induce both sympathy and assistance; and before we go far I think it will be found that both are needed. The other and last class is the military services of our country and those interested with them in developing an efficient military system. Please mark that I do not say an efficient army and navy, but an efficient military system, a thing that this country has never had, but which, good or bad, with us must include much more than the few active forces ordinarily maintained.

Yet this system has a history antedating the history of the Nation, a history worked out at much cost in American lives and dollars, which no one yet has had the courage or the knowledge accurately to record. And the history of this system is the military history of this country. Where in war lives have been unnecessarily expended or dollars wasted in military extravagance it has been due to its faults. Where there has been real success in war it has been due to its virtues. But the trouble is that few of us realize all the waste and extravagance, and fewer still probably where our real successes have lain, or how much counted as success has in truth been failure. And we never shall know these things until we have an accurate record of our military history; and we never shall be able to create an efficient military system until this record has not merely been made available but has been studied and our military system established in accordance with the principles deduced therefrom.

Count me wholly selfish then, if need be, in confessing a greater interest now in the development of an efficient military system than in pure historical truths. Yet while counting me thus and making due allowance for corresponding prejudices, admit also, as I think you must, that the record of historical truths is not an end of itself, but a means to judgment of, and better preparation for, the future. Admitting this, I think we shall find ourselves not far apart.

From this you may judge that it is less a question with me concerning who shall write our military history than whether our military history shall be written. It may be said truthfully enough that the military history of the world has never been written—accurately—and this, notwithstanding that perhaps nine lines out of every ten recounting what purports to be the history of the old world are concerned with the deeds of war. It would be no less our duty to recount our own history accurately, if possible, were there nothing preceding it. Our national history, as history goes, covers a brief period of world time, but a period during which the arts familiar to us had early reached a stage where accurate account of all that has occurred ought to be the easiest of all records in the world to put in form. And yet I doubt, if the commonly accepted beliefs

of much of our national history be taken as a criterion, whether our history is any more accurately recorded than the history of ancient Greece and Rome. There can be but one reason for this. And this reason lies in the failure accurately to record, not our deeds in peace, but our deeds in war; since, notwithstanding the comparative brevity of our national life and the longer periods of peace intervening between wars, still war in its inception, its progress, and its results has made up by far the larger part of our history, as it has of every other history in the world.

The question, indeed, is not who shall write our military history but who can write it. So far, speaking generally, it has been written by the civilian. It is no criticism of the many fine accounts of detached military events that are a part of our literature to say that the civilian has failed in his task, if, indeed, he ever consciously undertook it. These accounts are of undoubted value, but they are of value not as military history but as sources of military history. On the other hand, it may be urged that since practically all that has been produced in the way of military history has been written by civilians, it follows that the military man can produce nothing, or, at least, nothing better. But this conclusion does not in fact follow. There has been so far no means by which our military history could be produced by men of military training. It is to find this means that we are seeking your assistance now.

Again, it may be said that in the brief textbooks of history which are all that the student in general can be expected to peruse, it is impossible to record more than the bare facts, and since the details must be omitted, it matters not whether the writer has technical knowledge of the military art or not. This is true provided that there be available stores of exact information and reasoned deductions from which the historical writer untrained in the military art can draw the facts to be recorded in histories of this kind. But where are those stores now? They do not exist. And the point I would like to make is that they can not be brought into existence until some one not merely trained in modern historical methods, but acquainted with the technicalities of the military art, has given the best there is in him to their production. In other words, our military history, if it is ever to be correctly written, either for the military or the civilian student, must be first prepared by the militarily trained historian alone, or by the militarily trained historian in collaboration with the untrained civilian.

Germany and France have, speaking in a large sense, recorded their military histories through the agency of a section of their general staffs. It is true that these histories have not escaped criticism. No history does, and probably no history should escape criticism. The best history is but an approximation of the truth.

But it is also true that the general staff histories of Germany and France have not escaped the serious criticism of suppression of facts and false deduction. Moreover, this criticism is undoubtedly just and it is all the more serious, since the suppression and false deduction were undoubtedly purposely made. There should be nothing but condemnation for this course, which, through its very failure to accomplish its purpose, has condemned itself. But the "official" histories need not be wholly outlawed on this account. Historical error purposely made may be worse morally than unintentional error, but the difference in results may favor the intended error, since it is almost certain to be discovered and disclosed. Furthermore, the incentive to greater accuracy in unofficial histories, as well as the new sources of information afforded through the official accounts, is not to be neglected.

But there is another object to be attained. War everywhere, of course, is conducted on much the same lines. It is the oldest of man's games. It is played by teams trained in much the same way. The rules are the same the world over. Yet no nation can blindly copy the methods of another in war and hope for success. War brings out the deepest there is in us, in the individual and in the nation. If there is anything of national unity, national thought, or national spirit, it appears in war. It is for this reason that military nations turn their attention to discovering what this national thing is that brings them victory and prevents defeat, and discovering this they write its principles into a doctrine which they endeavor to instill into the hearts and minds of their armies, and with which, so far as possible, to inspire the whole body politic. But it is even more important with us, without an army in any large sense and dependent upon the creation of armies after war is upon us, to learn what it is that has actuated the conduct of our troops and our people in the past, and to put the principles of this conduct into a consistent theory that may become an American doctrine of war. But this is only to be discovered through close study of our history and only to be formulated by men militarily trained.

Since generally where a nation's military history has been recorded and a doctrine of war formulated, it has been the work of its general staff, it at least seems likely that if our military history is ever to be recorded and a consistent theory of war evolved, it must be done by the same agency. This in no sense denies the vast aid that civilian individuals or associations may render in this work; but it does deny that civilians, untrained militarily, either alone or combined, can ever write our military history in a manner conducive to the greatest good. The foundation of a general staff properly constituted is its historical section. It may well be said, then, that our General Staff is not properly constituted, inasmuch as it has within its organization

as yet no such section. And very promptly I shall admit this truth. Our General Staff has been in existence now for nearly a dozen years. It has never yet met the expectations its friends built upon its organization, and it may not meet them for long years to come. It has rarely been understood by the public, the press, or the politicians. It has been freely criticised and undoubtedly it has made some enemies. As an organization it is still imperfect. But the General Staff has had many difficulties to contend against. It has had indeed unfortunately to struggle throughout largely for its own existence. Yet, notwithstanding the ignorance, bigotry, and selfishness against which it has contended, notwithstanding the imperfection of its organization, it still represents in its creation the greatest step forward ever taken in our military development, and its accomplishments, even in the brief period of its existence, mean more for development and efficiency in the future than all the military legislation that was put upon the statute books during the whole of our preceding national existence. Notwithstanding its enemies and its unpopularity in quarters where it should receive support, I have full faith in its capacity to work its way and our way out of the difficulties confronting us.

Nevertheless, I confess freely to disappointment over the General Staff's failure to establish some sort of an historical section at the outset and to still deeper disappointment over its continued failure to establish such a section thereafter. For I do not believe that until such a section is a part of the General Staff, until, indeed, it is its very foundation, this body can fulfill in any reasonable measure the functions properly pertaining to it. It is of course true that, as now organized, such a section, even if established, could not hope to attain real success. This is not merely because the General Staff is not large enough to meet the present demands upon it, not even because during the last session of Congress it was unfortunately reduced in number. The writing of our military history is its most important work, and if to do it other important work must be neglected, it should still not hesitate. Had the General Staff but two men within its organization, I believe that one of them should be constituted into an historical section. The real difficulty lies deeper. The General Staff as now organized is composed of officers detailed for tours of four years therewith. Frequently in practice these periods are much shorter. It would be impossible to attempt seriously the research and criticism and study essential to completing any part of our military history by a continually changing group of men such as this. In other words, the establishment of a section of the General Staff likely fully to meet our needs in this respect is dependent upon legislation that will give to this part greater freedom in the selection of its members and indefinite tenure of office to those assigned to it. I

believe, personally, that legislation should go much further and should give to this section of the General Staff authority to add civilian historians to its working membership, to collaborate with civilian writers in the work of production, and to purchase the product, when desirable, of civilian workers in the same field. The qualities required by the writer of military history, as has been well shown here, are such as are rarely wholly given either to the soldier or to the civilian. Nevertheless there are civilians capable of acquiring much intimate knowledge of the technicalities of the military art, just as there are soldiers capable of acquiring considerable erudition and some of the literary graces. Moreover, it happens not infrequently in military life that officers acquiring much technical knowledge in their younger days are forced through physical infirmities from the active pursuit of their profession. Qualities of mind are not always lost through the physical infirmities that prevent active service, and there is little doubt that, given the authority, the General Staff could develop a section composed of active officers when fitted for this work, of retired officers who could develop at least some of the required qualities, and of civilian collaborators and coworkers, which section I think would come in time to meet every necessity of the case.

Moreover, the General Staff would have certain advantages which civilians, alone or in combination, could not hope to secure. It would have not only the libraries of the War Department and the War College, probably the best technical collections available in this country, the technical studies of the War College classes, and the means for more readily performing the cartographic work and the press work, but it would have also the great advantage of immediate access to the archives of the War Department, which hold all there is of the official records of our military history.

It seems to me, then, that on all accounts our start in the right direction lies through the General Staff. Shall we not then frankly face the conditions as they are and do what we can, in spite of the opposition to the General Staff, laid in ignorance, to make a start in this field in the right direction? I believe that the encouragement of this association can do much to help us now in a time of serious need, that it can do much in the cause of national historical truth, much toward the creation of a sound military system, and much in the cause of peace, and believing this, so far as I can speak for the department I informally represent, I commit our case very gladly into your hands.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt, president of the American Historical Association, said:

When Prof. Johnston and Maj. Shelton asked me to come to this session I hesitated, because I do not know that you are willing to hear just the things that I think you ought to hear in connection with our

military history and the lessons to be learned from our military history. In essence, I have only to say "ditto" to the two gentlemen whose papers I have heard read since entering this room. But there are two or three things referred to by them on which I would like to lay additional emphasis. I don't believe it is possible to treat military history as something entirely apart from the general national history. I will go a little further than that: I think it is utterly idle to try to understand the German victories in 1866 and 1870 unless you study the German history from the time when Stein and Scharnhorst began the reforms until those reforms reached their culmination under Ruhl and Moltke. I don't think that any study of the last 60 days' military operations in the Balkans would help you to understand what was done if you didn't study carefully the history of the Balkan people for at least a generation previous to this war that we have seen going on before our eyes. I am perfectly clear that the military history must be written primarily—not entirely, but primarily—by military men, and for that reason I have felt that it should be written under the observation of the General Staff, but I feel that there should be the collaboration of civilians with the military writers, and if those civilian writers are of the proper type some of the most important lessons will be taught by them, and they will be among the most important lessons because they will be lessons that the military man can't with propriety teach. They will be criticisms of the American Government and the American people. I don't wish to see the military history written by the General Staff alone, because the General Staff can't with propriety tell the whole truth about the Government and about the people to the Government and to the people. For instance, any history of the Spanish War to be of the slightest value to our people in the future would have to deal for two-thirds at least with the utter lack of preparation of the American nation before it went into that war, and it would have to deal not with the faults of the Army but with the faults of a civilian administration of a previous generation and deal with those faults as committed not by wicked people in office on their own initiative, but because the American people hadn't waked up to the need of preparation, to the need of having whatever forces they did have efficient.

Infinitely more than a mere military question, a question of strategy or tactics, is involved in the proper military history of the United States. The attitude of the people must be corrected. If the Bulgarians had for 25 years been taught that questions of national honor and vital interest could be arbitrated and had believed such teachings, you couldn't have called a Bulgarian army together that could have fought—you couldn't have made them fight. If you teach a soldier that he can arbitrate a slap in the face, you have got a soldier that you can't trust to fight; and if you teach a nation so

that it really believes it can arbitrate a question of national honor or vital interest you have got a nation that won't fight. And there is another side: If you teach a nation that it can promise to arbitrate and break its promise, you are teaching it a bad lesson. If you teach a nation that to please 10 or 15 per cent of its people it can agree to arbitrate, make a promise to arbitrate a matter, with the certainty that it will repudiate that promise the instant that 15 or 20 per cent of the people wish it repudiated, you have entered upon a bad career from the national standpoint. And you can't act that way, you can't distort the national spirit, weaken the national sense of honor, without reacting to some degree upon its army.

A proper history of the Army must in part be written by the right type of civilian, because it must deal with our national shortcomings, not only governmental, but popular, and point out truthfully what those national shortcomings have cost us in the past when war came upon us. I very seriously doubt if there is any man in this country more genuinely an advocate of peace than I am; because if there was a war either I would go to it or my sons would go to it—that is, a serious war, not one of our police businesses—and I don't want to go to war, and I don't want my sons to go; so I have every personal interest in making as strong a plea for peace as any man can. But I know my fellow countrymen, and I know that no matter what general resolutions they came to in advance, no matter what the lack of preparations, they would go to war on the drop of a hat if ever the national honor or the national interest was seriously jeopardized.

The way to prevent the possibility therefore is to keep ourselves, our whole military system, the Army and Navy as part of the whole military system, in such a condition that there won't be any temptation on the part of anyone else to go to war with us. You can't do that unless you make our people wake up to the real meaning of our past history. The immediate past I suppose can hardly be written of sufficiently dispassionately, because to write it truthfully you would have to give great offense to so many good people, who simply happened unfortunately to be in positions where anyone would have done badly under the existing conditions, and who therefore did badly; and it would be hard upon them to hold them up to scorn or obloquy for what really wasn't their fault. In consequence it would be a very difficult thing to teach the lessons of history from what has occurred while the men who did the deeds are still living.

I shan't speak of the Civil War, but I shall speak of that little war, the Spanish War, in which I was. I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy at the outbreak of that war; it was part of my duty to help in making preparations during the three months intervening between the blowing up of the *Maine* and the actual going to war. My

experiences would have been comic if they hadn't been fraught with such tragedy. If I should ever write a history of that war I should have to write very harshly of many high officers of the Army and the Navy, especially the Army, gentlemen. The defects, for very obvious reasons, were much greater among the higher officers of the Army than among the higher officers of the Navy, and I should have to write with great harshness of the governmental system that had permitted those faults to grow up. It wasn't the fault of the officers of the Army and Navy; it was the fault of our system of the preceding thirty years. And I wish I could convey to you vividly an idea of the panic that prevailed along sections of the Atlantic coast. You ought to recollect it, some of you, yourselves. I don't know whether you do or not, but the panic that prevailed along sections of the Atlantic coast at the time of the outbreak of the war with Spain was very real. There was immense pressure, for instance, through Congress, through Representatives responding to the people behind them, to take the Navy and distribute it on the fine strategic plan of anchoring one vessel off each port down the seacoast, so as to insure even the Spanish picking it up in detail.

I don't want to give names, but I had these two or three experiences: Two very prominent Members of Congress, one of the two or three leading Members of the lower House and one of the two or three leading Members of the Senate, after having sufficiently bedevilled President McKinley, were shunted by him off on me with instructions to gratify them if I possibly could. They demanded a vessel to protect the harbor of the city in which they both lived. They were both very important Members of Congress and it was very difficult to do anything without their aid. I was told by the President to try to get them a vessel; their city demanded it. I got them a vessel; it was a Civil War monitor; it was armed with one smooth-bore gun about as effective as a culverin; it was manned by 21 naval militia, and it was towed by a tug. I sent it out there to that port and it completely satisfied them, completely satisfied those two statesmen, and that city. It was quite unfit to deal with any foe of modern times, although it might possibly have dealt with the Spanish Armada, though I am not sure. It was preposterous as an instrument of defense against any modern opponent, but it met the moral needs of the situation.

I had one request to send a monitor down to anchor off Jekyl Island. Now that seems an absurdity, but I was pressed to do it. I had quite an influential lady, the wife of an influential man, spend about half an hour of my time one day in beseeching me for a warship of some kind to be anchored in the neighborhood of the big summer hotel where she and her friends lived.

Now I am giving you actual experiences. You people who live here in Boston will remember that a great many of your business men

sent their securities up to the safe deposits in Worcester, and there was even a proposal not to allow the National Guard of Massachusetts to go outside of Massachusetts, so that it should be ready to protect Massachusetts from the imminent Spanish invasion. All those things happened right before our eyes. New York Harbor was strewn with torpedoes enough to have impeded all traffic—but for the fact that they wouldn't go off—so that we were freed from that danger.

In dealing with the Army and the Navy at that time I found that the Navy had this very great advantage over the Army—the higher officers of the Navy had been obliged to practice 80 per cent of their profession as it would have been practiced in time of war. A battleship going to sea is taken under service conditions necessarily. There wasn't a colonel in our Army who had a regiment which he took into the field under service conditions. A squadron of battleships at sea is necessarily manoeuvred under service conditions, nearly 90 per cent of service conditions. There wasn't the actual firing at that time that there is now, but almost 90 per cent of service conditions; but there was not a brigade commander, let alone a division commander, in our Army who had seen a brigade or taken part in marching a brigade under service conditions since the Civil War. The men who were with our Army in Santiago—the generals, the corps commanders, the division commanders, the brigade commanders—were men who had been gallant second lieutenants thirty-odd years before in the Civil War, while for a few years afterwards a certain number of them had had experience in Indian fighting, but who for over a quarter of a century had served in posts where there was one company or half a company and where the all-absorbing military question was the fight between the captain and the quartermaster as to how high to shave a mule's tail.

Now, you gentlemen of the Army, from your experience, can corroborate what I am saying. That was the training which the higher officers of the little American Army had had.

Of the summer when we ambled down to attack Santiago, do you remember what Mr. Dooley said? Mr. Dooley is a profound philosopher. He said that in the Spanish war we were in a dream but the Spaniards were in a trance. Now we can't always count upon our foes being in a trance.

In getting my regiment equipped I was very, very much helped by Secretary Alger. I shall always remember the way he helped me by cutting the red tape that had to be cut. There were certain bureau officials there also who helped me materially; for instance, Jack Weston—Jack Weston did everything he could to help us. But most of those worthy, high-minded heads of bureaus in the War Department were old gentlemen who were wholly unable to understand what modern warfare conditions meant. For instance, I had

to make a fight on this point: I was equipping my regiment, and it was near the time of the July issue of clothing. In July they issued the clothing for the following winter. Well, I had to fight all I knew how, to prevent them issuing the winter clothing for a tropic campaign in midsummer. Now, you gentlemen of the Army know that that is the kind of thing you are up against when you are dealing with the perfectly nice, high-minded bureau man.

I was bound to get brigaded with regulars. We were bound to get the Krag-Jørgensen, smokeless powder rifles. The head of a department, a fine old boy, did his best to get me to take black powder. He said the other was an experiment and, after all, black powder would hide us from the enemy.

One particular bureau chief I had this experience with: I had made a demand upon him and he pointed out to me the regulations and why I couldn't have, for instance, horses or wagons. They had to advertise 30 days for their horses—in which case we would have gone on foot—and they had to have the wagons built, and that would have taken three to four months, and so forth and so on. In a case like that I would go down and get Alger to override it and come back. Well, for about the fourth time he looked at the requisition I presented and said, "All right, you can have it; you can have it;" and he sank back into a chair and added: "Oh, dear! I had this bureau running in such good shape and along came a war!" He treated the war as an illegitimate interruption to the activities of the War Department. It was most natural that he should have done so, for the only way that a Secretary of War for the preceding 30 years could make a reputation was by economies; and the only way he could economize without breeding hostility locally was to economize as regards the efficiency of the Army under service conditions in the future, and that was the way he did it.

In consequence, when the Army went down to Santiago—I am speaking generally—the Army itself had excellent material in the ranks, notably among the noncommissioned officers; about 50 per cent were recruits, but the others carried them along; the non-commissioned officers were excellent; the junior officers of the line were excellent. There were exceptions in both cases, of course; but when you got above the rank of captain, even in the line, they were generally markedly inferior in their profession to the corresponding men of the Navy, not because they were not the same men, since they were the same men, but because they had been for 30 years deprived of every chance of practising their profession. Thirty years! You take any railroad president of to-day and omit the 30 years just before he became president and leave him only the practical training of the few years before that when he was a \$1,600 clerk at the outside, and how much of a railroad president would he make? He couldn't do anything. That is what happened in our Army.

Now I don't suppose that you can get the full and accurate history written of an event so close as the Spanish War. If you tried to do it, I doubt very much if you would produce the right effect, because there would be the able and industrious and persistent effort to misrepresent what was written, and the effect upon the people might be the direct reverse of the effect you want to produce. But we can write about, say, the War of 1812; that is far enough away to permit us to write about it truthfully. You can get a full statement of just what we did in that war. Such a statement ought to show the very extraordinary feats of valor and tactical efficiency of the small units among the regular forces, among the frigates and sloops, and we have every reason to be very proud of what they did. They did what no navy of any European power in the preceding 25 years had been able to do, that is, more than hold their own with the English frigates and sloops. We captured a greater number of ships in single fight from the English than all the nations of Europe combined had captured from them in single fight for the preceding 25 years—a fine thing; an excellent thing! On the Niagara frontier, after two years of humiliations, it was utterly preposterous the way we developed the Regular Army, which, under Scott and old Jacob Brown, did what the best troops of France had been unable to do under their best marshals, that is, meet on equal terms the British regulars in the open. At the Battle of the Thames there was one very noteworthy incident—the charge of the mounted riflemen under Johnson, and their use then as dismounted riflemen in a way that was not done in any European war at that time, and which prefigured what was actually done in the Civil War. And it was a very great triumph of Andrew Jackson and his volunteers at New Orleans—a very great triumph.

Now, all of those things should be shown. It should also be shown that we, a Nation of some seven million people at that time, proved unable to get into the field an army competent to do any serious offensive work. It should be shown that our failure to get ourselves any kind of an adequate navy resulted in such widespread pressure upon our Congress as to produce a strong secession movement in the northeast, pressure that resulted in a very small English force keeping the whole Atlantic seaboard in a condition of panic and landing and destroying the National Capitol after the resistance at Bladensburg, which it seems almost incredible to read of and to think that the men who ran at Bladensburg were the sons of the victors of Yorktown and the fathers of the men who fought at Gettysburg. It seems incredible that we should have failed when Washington was taken. The war had then been going on three years, and yet we hadn't the good sense to develop even a small regular army at that time. Now the lessons to be learned from our failures are clear. The prime lesson to be learned from the War of 1812 is that it is too late to prepare for war when war has begun. The next lesson to be learned—and it is

a very, very old lesson—is that all talk of a merely defensive war means simply to invite disaster. There is only one effective defense, and that is the offensive. There is only one way to win a fight, and that is by hitting and not by parrying. We had proceeded for years before 1812 on the theory that, as has been said by one of our Presidents, peace was our passion—and we showed it. It was a passion that wasn't shared by other people, and we paid the penalty for having it our passion when it wasn't shared by other people. There had been a little navy and we laid it up; we didn't have any regular army at all. We started to begin with "the Nation in arms"—that was an equivalent expression at the time to "our gallant volunteers." We got 4,000 men of my own State at Queenstown at the beginning of the war; there was a force of a thousand mixed troops on the other side, under a very competent general named Brock. Our 4,000 militia got together; 1,000 were ferried across and were attacked. As soon as the noise of the fight came across the river the remaining 3,000 men took refuge in a plea that the Constitution was being violated; they appealed to the Constitution in the true spirit of those who appeal to it for the purpose of shielding their own inefficiency. They had a mass meeting on the field and decided that there was no constitutional authority to take them outside of the borders of the United States, and with that belated reverence for the Constitution working in them they declined to go across to the assistance of the thousand men who were on the other side of the Niagara, all of whom were either killed or captured. A similar or rather worse incident occurred—well, not worse, because there is no comparative to a superlative—but as bad an incident occurred in the surrender of Detroit, and the Bladensburg business was not much better.

The little handful of frigates and sloops which had been built some 14 years before did admirably. If we had had 15 ships of the line as efficient, not only individually but as a fleet, as the *Constitution* and *Constellation*, as the *Hornet* and the *Wasp*, there would have been no war, and we should have been treated with profound politeness by both England and France. Our people—and I don't think you can blame the people, because you couldn't expect them to realize how things were—but our people believed that instead of battleships, instead of an army, you could rely upon an attachment to peace and such measures as an embargo, a "peaceful war," as it was called; and in consequence we had to pay in life and in treasure immensely during nearly three years of warfare, and we had to come within a measurable distance of a great disaster to the Union, and all because we didn't prepare in advance and because as a Nation we believed that our being peaceful in a world that was not peaceful would save us from war instead of provoking war.

Now, gentlemen, I believe most emphatically that we ought to have a proper history of the United States Army, a proper military history

of the United States. I believe it must be part of the general history of the United States, so far as that general history is concerned with the attitude of the Nation toward things military. I believe it should be written by the General Staff, but that it should be written in collaboration with civilians who can write with knowledge and frankness of those matters which it is impossible to expect even a good military man who is a historian to write of with knowledge and frankness. And I believe that it will be worse than useless if it doesn't tell the exact truth, if it doesn't tell our disasters and shortcomings just as well as our triumphs, because we shall have to learn from those disasters just as much as from our triumphs.

The following resolutions were adopted by the conference:

That in the opinion of this conference military history should be pursued in a more systematic way; that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to consider the best method of furthering the study and presentation of military history and of bringing into common action professional and civilian students.

That this committee have authority to call a further conference at such time and place as they may think suitable, and report their conclusions to that conference; that the American Historical Association be asked to appoint a special committee to cooperate with the committee above constituted.

Prof. Dunning announced the following committee in accordance with the resolution adopted: Prof. R. M. Johnston, chairman; Prof. Fred M. Fling, Col. T. L. Livermore, Maj. J. W. McAndrew, and Maj. George H. Shelton.

The conference then adjourned.

XI. PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1912.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NINTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The ninth annual conference of historical societies was held during the meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston, on the afternoon of December 28, in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was presided over by Mr. Henry Lefavour, president of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and was attended by about 100 delegates from various historical societies.

In his opening remarks the chairman welcomed the members of the conference to Boston and then speaking of the problems of the historical societies, urged that special attention should be paid to the function of making collections of historical materials. He also pointed out that societies should endeavor to combine in impressing civil authorities with the desirability of making accessible by publication the more important of the public records.

The secretary of the conference, Mr. W. G. Leland, stated that the council of the American Historical Association had voted to appoint a committee to consider the general subject of the historical activities of hereditary and patriotic societies and that at the next meeting of the council this committee would present a report which would be transmitted to the conference. He also stated that the council had voted to ask the conference to appoint a committee on program to cooperate with the program committee of the association.

It was voted that the president of the conference appoint a committee on program, whereupon the following were named: A. H. Shearer, chairman; F. H. Severance and W. G. Stanard. The report of the committee on cooperation among historical societies and departments was presented by Mr. Dunbar Rowland, as follows:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES AND DEPARTMENTS.

To the conference of historical societies of the American Historical Association:

Your committee submits the following report of progress during the year 1912 of the work of calendaring the French archives relating to the Mississippi Valley.

The report of the year deals almost entirely with the activities of Mr. W. G. Leland and his assistants in carrying out the plans of

the committee concerning this important undertaking. The report of Mr. Leland is as follows:

REPORT ON THE CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS IN FRENCH ARCHIVES
RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

Owing to the fact that the original fund of \$1,800 which was raised to carry on this work had been nearly spent by the 1st of January, 1912, it has been necessary during the past year to curtail the work considerably and to reduce the number of assistants. Three assistants were employed at the beginning of the year for this work and for the work of the Carnegie Institution, which is carried on at the same time. One of these was dismissed in May, but the other two—M. Doysié and Mlle. Rouyer—have been employed throughout the year, although the greater part of M. Doysié's time and a certain portion of the time of Mlle. Rouyer have been devoted to work for the Carnegie Institution. Since my departure from Paris in November, 1911, the work has been under the immediate direction of M. Doysié, who has displayed unusual aptitude for it, having a good fund of historical information, a sincere interest in the work, and great intelligence. Upward of 1,000 volumes or boxes have been examined during the past year, so that the total number of volumes or boxes examined to date is between four and five thousand. As these are selected with considerable care, they represent a very large part of the entire mass of material likely to bear in any way upon the history of the Mississippi Valley. The number of documents listed to date is estimated at about 15,000.

The status of the work as regards the different collections of archives is as follows:

In the National Archives most of the series which are certain to contain material of interest have been examined. Certain other very large series in which the material is widely scattered, such, for example, as the Archives of the Chatelet, remain to be dealt with. In such cases the work for the Mississippi Valley must necessarily follow after that for the Carnegie Institution.

In the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies all of series C 13, which relates exclusively to the Mississippi Valley, has been dealt with—some 55 volumes and boxes. This series contains the letters sent to France by the officials in the colony, and is the most important single group of material in the archives. The counterpart of this correspondence, in series B, offers greater difficulty because the letters relating to the Mississippi Valley are not segregated but are in the volumes of the letters relating to other colonies. Furthermore, especially for the earlier period, the same document frequently relates only in part to the valley and mainly to Canada. The same is true of series C 11, which contains the letters sent from the colonial offi-

cials of Canada to France. The publications of this material already made by the States of Wisconsin and Michigan, as well as the calendaring that has been done by the Canadian archives, will be of great service in the examination of these series. In the other series of the colonial archives, i. e., those relating to troops, to the service of officers, and to miscellaneous affairs, the problem is less difficult and the material can be treated with relative ease. It should be noted that our investigation in the colonial archives does not stop with 1789, the date at which the series deposited in the National Archives come to a close. Permission has been obtained to carry on the investigation of documents of later date that have been retained in the ministry itself, and the investigation of series B has extended at present to the year 1815.

In the Ministry of Marine the examination has been mainly of series B 2. In spite of the great number of volumes in the marine archives, it seems likely that we have already obtained most of the documents of importance for the history of the Mississippi Valley, and I am inclined to think that most of the work that remains to be done on this material will be readily accomplished as a by-product of the investigations for the Carnegie Institution.

In the Ministry of War the work in the main collection of historical archives has been completed as well as in the sections of artillery and engineering. There remain to be dealt with the administrative archives, in which, however, not much will probably be found, and the work on this material must follow the investigations for the Carnegie Institution.

In the Foreign Office all the material in the entire body of Memoirs and Documents has been examined, as well as the entire series of diplomatic correspondence with the United States. The correspondence with Spain has likewise been dealt with to a sufficient extent, although an absolutely complete examination of this series is not contemplated. It is not likely that any considerable amount of material will be found in any of the other series, and here again the work must follow upon that of the Carnegie Institution.

In the National Library the documents of interest are of course widely scattered. All of the volumes conspicuously likely to contain material have been dealt with. There remain a certain number of which a tentative examination must be made, but here too the Carnegie Institution is making the preliminary reconnaissance. Of the other libraries in Paris, that of the Arsenal, in which are contained the archives of the Bastille, is the only one in which I expect to find any considerable amount of material bearing on the Mississippi Valley. The archives of the Bastille contain of course the documents relating to the "Affair of Louisiana," which are numerous, but I can not as yet speak with certainty respecting their value.

This, then, is the work that has been accomplished to the present time. It is difficult to make any estimate with regard to what remains to be done. I judge, however, that at least 10,000 documents remain to be catalogued. Many of these will be found in obscure places, and many of them may not be of much value. In particular, we have yet to deal with the various collections of maps, especially at the Hydrographic Bureau, the Foreign Office, the National Library, and the National Archives. I also hope that we shall be able to see the consular archives, which are preserved in the Foreign Office. It is impossible as yet, however, to know what action the authorities will take in this matter.

It seems likely that an additional fund of \$2,000 will be necessary in order to bring the work to a satisfactory completion. If this fund were immediately available I could at once secure the services of several assistants and the work could be pushed with considerable rapidity, thus insuring its completion by the end of the coming year. It should be understood that all of the money thus far expended has been used directly for cataloguing. Very little of it has been devoted to mere preliminary search for material, only a few dollars have been spent for supplies, and nothing at all has been spent for travel or other incidental expenses.

The plan of the work is sufficiently explained in my previous reports. In general, it may be said that the catalogue is destined to take the form of a chronological list of documents in which each entry will contain all the data that will be needed by those who wish to have work done or copies made in the archives, or who wish to carry on investigations themselves. The contents of each document are described at some length, the notices varying from two or three lines to half a page. In many cases it will even be possible to use the catalogue as a source.

The question of extending the work to the collections of archives in other parts of France, especially in seaports, should perhaps be considered. It would, however, add greatly to the expense, and while it would make the catalogue more complete, I do not feel ready to recommend that it be undertaken.

When the actual work in the archives has been completed, there will remain the labor of editing the catalogue and putting it through the press. This I am quite ready to do myself, as a contribution to the work, if the committee so desire. The notes have of course always been taken in French, but I have assumed that the catalogue as printed will be in English.

The question of printing the catalogue should receive attention during the coming year. It will be too large a work, filling several volumes, to be published by the American Historical Association. Would it not be possible to secure its publication by Congress? If

the completed manuscript were presented to Congress, with the statement that all the money that might be appropriated would go immediately toward printing, and none of it toward editorial work, it seems not improbable that the proposal would be favorably acted upon.

Respectfully submitted.

W. G. LELAND.

DECEMBER 23, 1912.

In the beginning of this undertaking it was thought possible that the cost of calendaring the French archives concerning the Mississippi Valley might be approximated, and it was fixed at \$2,000. We know now that the estimate was much too low, and we are confronted with the problem of raising an additional sum of \$2,000 for the completion of the calendar. This additional sum, or the greater part of it, must be raised by the original contributors, and a persistent effort should be made to secure contributions from those historical agencies which have not heretofore aided in the work. We should not entertain for a moment the idea of allowing the undertaking to fail. It is too important and too valuable an enterprise for such an end.

In this connection we wish to commend in the highest terms of praise the work which Mr. Leland and his assistants have done for your committee. They have conducted the undertaking with unusual care and skill under very great difficulties, and the work thus far compares most favorably with similar work and is of most unusual magnitude.

In conclusion, your committee recommends that the sum of \$2,000 be raised as soon as possible, and that the work be pushed to a successful conclusion.

Respectfully submitted

DUNBAR ROWLAND, *Chairman.*

J. F. JAMESON.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

THOMAS M. OWEN.

R. G. THWAITES.

B. F. SHAMBAUGH.

E. B. GREENE.

The report was accepted, and it was voted to continue the committee, with power to raise additional funds. Subscriptions being called for, Mr. C. H. Rammelkamp stated that the board of trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library had voted an additional appropriation of \$200; Mr. Dunbar Rowland pledged \$100 from the Mississippi Department of Archives and History; and Mr. R. G. Howe, of the Cambridge Historical Society, stated that he would endeavor to secure \$250 from that society.

The two papers on the program were then read, as follows:

GENEALOGY AND HISTORY.

By CHARLES K. BOLTON, Librarian of the Boston Athenæum.

Some years ago a well-known citizen of Boston asked my permission to have a bust of his ancestor in the Boston Athenæum photographed, together with certain personal mementoes, for inclusion in his collection of family portraits. When the photograph had been made I was surprised to see that the ancestral bust represented that famous old Roman Cicero. In the language of irreverent boyhood, the citizen of Boston had wheels in his head; but, after all, did he not express a fact in human relationship which we are prone to forget? Too often the Roman world is history, far removed from kinship with us.

By placing side by side two statements from Prof. Robinson's recent work on "The New History" we may, like the spider, spin a thread between history and genealogy. He says that everyone has a pedigree reaching back to the beginning of life on the globe, and a little later he adds, "History may aspire to follow the fate of nations or it may depict the habits and emotions of the most obscure individual." History then may have to do with the individual, although to-day we have the growing habit of fitting that individual into his environment, making him a member of his family and his race, making him a link in the pedigree which stretches back through the Gallows Hill Skull and Neanderthal man to the very beginning. There is significance in the fact that a half-clad native in the trench at Nippur, taking a baked clay relic in his hand, can bridge an interval of 4,000 years by inheritance and tell Prof. Peters to what use it was put in Hammurabi's time because he, the native, uses an object of similar design to-day. And yet we have local historians here in Boston who refuse to consider traditional accounts of Paul Revere's signal lanterns displayed in the steeple of the Old North Church a hundred and fifty years ago. History, like life, must be constructive rather than destructive. To be constructive it must be sympathetic, human, generous. To be large and true it must reject life by feeling first the impulse behind the act. Sometimes history has gone thus far on the road to the ideal; genealogy never has.

Genealogy teaches life in its most momentous relations. Why, then, does not our subject appeal more generally to scholars? It is in fact a luxury to which few turn until they find the leisure which results

from prosperity or old age. I may also call it an art, the weaving of all the threads of life into a picture. The genealogist must know his atmosphere; he must have a "feel" for social distinctions even in the most rural community which he investigates; he must have an unerring instinct for probabilities. He must know his facts as does the modern writer of monographs, but he must know all the world of that period besides.

But why, I say, does the study of family history not appeal more strongly to scholars? Because it is not often treated as a science, is perhaps the best answer. Genealogy as it is customarily studied or developed does not closely ally itself with other fields of serious research. In this, genealogy is weak. If it is to receive honor from the historian, the anthropologist, or the sociologist, it must contribute something to the sciences into which these men delve. For every true science does contribute to every other true science. Genealogy has done much to make people happy, a little perhaps to make people better. But in so far as it merely contributes to vanity and self-satisfaction, it is unworthy to rank as a science. The honest student, however, finds much to make him ponder as he traces life histories, much that gives him the judicial calm of the court and the larger view of the social worker. There comes to be little of mere vanity and not very much to regret. Many a good lady of our acquaintance would look upon Elizabeth, daughter of William Tuttle of New Haven, as of a type akin to the Purple Cow—that is,

"She'd rather see than be one."

For Elizabeth was divorced by her husband for adultery. Her sister murdered her child, and her brother also was a murderer. Yet our American culture would be poor indeed had Elizabeth Tuttle never lived; Jonathan Edwards, God's elect in colonial New England, was her grandson; two Presidents, Grant and Cleveland, were among her host of famous descendants, and there were scholars, warriors, and clergymen innumerable. Elizabeth's husband married again, but the second wife gave nothing of genius to *her* descendants, although this second wife came from a distinguished Connecticut family.

We admire genius, but in our study we rarely go beneath the surface. We say, for example, that Mr. Blaine represented Maine and its policies for many years in the Senate. Did we ever study the Pennsylvania environment of his boyhood? His was a Quaker setting, with that hybrid ancestry of Presbyterian Scotch from Ireland transmuted into Roman Catholicism through the Gillespies. And what was the effect of this on the Maine farmer, resulting in history on a momentous scale in this country, and all of it due to a chance meeting between young Blaine, of Pennsylvania, and a Maine school-teacher in a Kentucky town?

The vicissitudes of families conceal the very sources of political and economic history. An historian rarely turns to a genealogy, and if he did he would often be disappointed, to the shame of the genealogist.

A few family books tell of political events contemporary with the lives depicted, although too often they give much space to descriptions of wars and to the parts played in them by the members of the family. Did these soldiers never have political views? Were their lives never influenced by current events, by an inflated currency, a shortage in the bread supply, a scarcity of maid-servants? Does our genealogist never say that in such a year "Paradise Lost" or Addison's "Spectator" first was discussed at the village lyceum or sewing circle, and that his family led in the discussion? I might even ask how often the *biographers* draw from this fountain. A large library frequently receives books and newspapers of early date which bear familiar names written on the flyleaf or margin. The books of the Mathers, traced with such diligence by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, are in themselves footprints to the intellectual life of the colonies.

Our ancestors did have their books and papers. Does a genealogy mention what books long-ago members of the family owned or read as they sat about the hearth in the fitful light of the evening? Shall we not some day find a great-great-grandson who will take more pride in the fact that his log-cabin ancestor owned a copy of Shakespeare than that he fought at Louisburg? Shall we not, conversely, find an historian who will some day lay more stress on the curriculum of a little red schoolhouse than upon the result of Pickett's charge? I remember my surprise as I watched Prof. von Halle, the German writer on economic conditions in the South during the Civil War, handling a railroad time-table with the touch of a bibliophile. To him it spoke of the life of the southern people during a momentous period.

We hear a great deal about the reduction in stature in France since the days of Napoleon's soldiers. It would be more instructive on this side the water could we know what interest was shown in the Napoleonic wars by our rural towns, as indicated by the naming of children after men of that epoch. Mr. Matthews has said that in a decade or so before the close of the Revolution Boston boys were baptized by the names of William Pitt, Oliver Cromwell, Paschal Paoli, George Whitefield, Samuel Adams, George Washington, Charles Lee, Henry Knox, and Benjamin Franklin. He adds: "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, were other material lost, the history of our country might be reconstructed from Christian names."¹ The names of children chosen from the saints and heroes of all the ages are a sure index to the education and ideals which prevailed one

¹ N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., LX, xvi.

and two centuries ago in our country. If we can deduce the curriculum of a fourteenth-century university in England from the books in a library of that period, the more accurately can we learn of the tastes and training of our ancestors from purely genealogical fields.

The historian and the genealogist are both sifters of material as well as searchers for new and significant facts. Both have at times become professionally cold toward romance and tradition, until their writings are sometimes as soporific as an English pipe roll. For this attitude they have had the sanction of Thucydides, although it is to-day a national reaction from the historical novelist and from the lady bent on breaking into ancestral society. It may be, however, that the modern school has gone too far from tradition in the search for sure foundations. It is, for example, a far cry from the poor mountain white of Kentucky back to cruel Claverhouse in Scotland, but the most ignorant mother supported by the fruits of an illicit whisky still may even now be heard to use the viscount's name to frighten her unruly baby when she says, "Be good, or Clavers will get ye!" There is both history and genealogy in the exclamation..

The Rev. Dr. Butler, of Wisconsin, described in the *Nation* a family tradition handed down from his ancestor who was born at Boston in 1665. This ancestor would never eat roast pork, because its odor brought back to him a sickening whiff of wind from a woman he had seen burned alive at the stake on Boston Common when he was a 'prentice boy. The tradition, so difficult to believe, refers to a negress named Maria who, according to Increase Mather, was burned to death in 1681. Equally incredible and equally true are traditions of our treatment of Indians in Sullivan's campaign of 1779.¹ While we should not lose our sanity of vision in dealing with tradition, let us not forget that the mythology of ancient Greece has risen to the dignity of history since Evans uncovered the palace of Knossos in Crete.

If there is truth in tradition there is more in the revelation from environment. What is the effect of environment on a man of action? Is there any biography which gives a map of the houses near the birthplace of the hero and a study of the traits of the neighbors? I once asked a local historian if the leading man in *his* town was like *our* chief citizen, who ruined his thumb by inserting it in every glass of rum which he sold, until it showed evidence of pickle. "No," said the local historian, "neither the historian nor the genealogist has had the courage to picture the old days as they were. It would not do to say that prominent Mrs. Brown was famed for her ability to hold the keg on her knees while she drank from the bung." And yet that was no mean achievement.

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., XLII, 193.

But I must hurry on. The great contribution which we can make to history is along the line of heredity. Where so surely may the student expect to find his basic facts as in the family history? And yet the biographical dictionary is almost his sole reliance, although this source gives him a picked class only on which to base his conclusions. If he had half a dozen scientifically prepared genealogies, describing old stock, what a mine of information would be his! One good family, and several of a criminal bent, have been described in books; and recently a lady at my suggestion traced the personalities of the 19 hopeful children of a man bearing the name of Smith. They needed personalities to carry them on to a bewildered posterity.

In order that we may write pleasant genealogy or entertaining history are we to omit all that might aid the student of heredity? If your family is composed of saints, add to the study of saints by writing a scientific genealogy of them. If it is not, canonize your inner circle, but do not canonize the whole family.

In the study of factors which go to make up environment, there is comfort in the conclusion reached by Mendel, the great Austrian monk, whose researches pointed the way to the only sure foundations which we have for the study of heredity. His disciple Bateson, says that "whereas our experience of what constitutes the extremes of unfitness is fairly reliable and definite, so that society may work to eliminate the unfit strains," any attempt to distinguish certain strains as superior and to give special encouragement to them would be unsafe, since we have as yet so little to guide us in estimating the qualities for which society has or may have a use. So elusive is the origin of what we call genius!

Few books of the kind we have under review speak much of physical inheritances. At every point I find that scientists differ as to the significance of the facts thus far made available, perhaps because so little evidence is to be had. Do you find long lines of descent bearing light hair and blue eyes, with other lines of dark eyes and hair? In England the upper classes tend to light hair and eyes. Does it follow that as stock improves through several generations the color of hair and eyes tends to lighten? I fear no family history can tell us. Do certain diseases run in certain lines? Read Dr. Davenport's brilliant and suggestive book on heredity, published last year. Is it not for genealogy to furnish much of the material for which both science and history call in the further study of these problems? It is yet too early for barbaric Peter the Great and his friends to have had their definitive biographies written. Dr. Woods, however, has already made a beginning in the study of royal personages.

The law of heredity laid down by Galton and partially confirmed by observation should interest every historian. He says that half of

the sum of our inheritances is from our parents and one-fourth from our grandparents. Nevertheless, slight as the thread of descent becomes back of one's grandparents, a woolly head or a deformed hand may reappear in each generation for two centuries. So also a germ plasm which produced a sculptor now may a century hence improve on the pattern. This being true, we may with equal hope of success look for the persistence of a valuable inheritance through many generations. I have always felt that the Wolcott family, with its major generals, its signer of the Declaration of Independence, its senators, and its governor in each generation, owes its success to one ancestral girl, Martha Pitkin, whose merits were so evident that her possible departure out of the colony became, it is said, a matter of general concern. And yet we have known absolutely nothing of Martha Pitkin, this maker of American history, until Miss Talcott, of Hartford, published last year the results of her researches. Martha's father was the master of the Free School of King Edward VI at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, and the daughter was bred to learning.

This transmission of habits and mental endowments must prove of interest to every one of us. The Puritan is called sober-minded and hardy, the Scotchman witty and thrifty, the Irish immigrant adaptable and ambitious. These and other conceptions of race peculiarity seem sure. What, then, of the inheritance of the individual?

It seems that the average family in England consists of about five children, although some statistics put the number as high as six. The largest families are found among the Protestant clergy, the Jews, the Roman Catholics, the laboring classes, and the feeble-minded. In families where there is abnormal ability the average number of children rises from six to seven. The same tendency to raise the average is observable in criminal stock also, showing that genius and degeneracy appear to be allied and that size of family may be significant. Has any genealogist ever found the average size of family in his book and then examined those children where the family group exceeds the normal to see whether the group tendency is toward genius or degeneracy? The biographer has ever the same field for his research.

Again, the oldest child has a much greater likelihood of a distinguished career than his brothers and sisters. Next to him in importance comes the youngest child. Is this theory, which is deduced from lives in the English "Dictionary of National Biography," true in America? Benjamin Franklin waited upon the arrival of the youngest son in each generation for several generations for his own opportunity to exist. Before these mysteries of heredity and genius we bow in awe and as yet in comparative helplessness, although by no means in discouragement.

There are other interesting phases of that border country which unites history and genealogy—the theater of the individual, however obscure. The romantic side of marriage may throw light on social standing as between races and on family rise and decline. In the middle period of our immigration, where the foreign-born resident was so unusual that he had none of his kind in the neighborhood, marriage with a Yankee girl gave indication of the decline in the girl's family. To-day an Italian who can win an Irish girl for his wife has found distinction in the eyes of his friends. He becomes connected with an older race in the land. On the other hand, to the Irish young woman it means alliance with temperance and thrift. These Italians are peopling our farms, and in the old rural mansions are tending to that permanence of domicile which, as President Eliot has pointed out, leads to a superior stock.

The latest investigators give us little hope of noticeable improvement in stock except through alliance with superior stock in each and every generation. The records of the past have given us no better material for the study of a family in this process of evolution than the six volumes of correspondence of the Paston family, illuminating as a vision of slow growth to eminence, and of swift decline—a drama all enacted before the white man came to our shores. As Prof. Robinson says, there is no more fascinating scientific problem than to trace the thread of slow change through lives and ages now gone.

A family may choose to be called aristocratic, but statistics seem to indicate that *ability* is democratic. It goes to the man who uses his hands almost as often as to the lawyer to bestow its laurels; oftener indeed to the farm than to the army or to the medical school. The two great sources of ability, says Havelock Ellis, have been the church and trade. What changes will our new environment bring forth? The church no longer seems to dominate the town, and trade, once the cherished vocation of the proud squire's younger son, is now less admired. Are the law and medicine to have their day in nurturing the world's leaders? We who come of New England stock, have a right to be interested in the distribution and inheritance of ability, for John Winthrop's company, with many others of our early ancestors, came from Norfolk and Suffolk, the east-county land of England, which has produced more great men than any other part of the British Isles.

In this country we are in the first flush of pleasure over the discovery that time has given us on this side the Atlantic something which we may call history. The chronicler of local events and the family historian can, if they will, collect and sift and build for the historian who is to have the firmer grasp and wider vision. We bow to his wisdom and his verdicts. But we ask him to place the laws

of life and the aspirations of men and women above mere records of wars, yes, even above the theories of government. The historian must demand of his coworkers greater reasoning and more thorough study of facts, a closer contact with the great motives of life, but in return the historian must give us something better worth while than much of the bloodless stuff which now by courtesy passes under the name of history. He must give history life because it pictures *past* life. But let us remember that this life now past is repeating itself with infinitesimal change in our day and will continue to do so as long as the sun rises.

In discussion of Mr. Bolton's paper Dr. Hendrik W. van Loon, of Washington, spoke as follows:

I see that our good secretary has put me down to talk about "Instances in European History of the Value of Genealogy." I am afraid that, on that score at least, I shall have to disappoint you, for I really do not know of any striking instances where genealogy, like modern medicine, has interfered and has benefited the modern body politic to any great extent. And this for the simple reason that a well-organized official genealogy has been for many years the very basis upon which most of our European States have been built.

Nowadays we ask very little of our ruler except at least this one fact, that he be the next lineal descendant of the ruler who has gone before—a principle to which we stick with such fidelity that, in case of the most unfortunate death of the Queen of Holland or her small daughter, a perfectly unknown prince of the smallest German principality would be the next heir and successor, merely because in a most intricate way it has been established that he is the nearest descendant of William, the great-grandfather of our present Queen.

It was this demand for absolute accurate genealogies of the reigning families which gradually did away with the absurd and fantastic medieval genealogies, and which has made modern genealogy a science as exact as the pharmacopeia of the medical student. In this branch of official history, at least, mere exactness of fact and date are the only two requirements which are desirable or even permissible, for here the lofty imagination of one single individual can do more harm than the painstaking work of twenty successive scholars can ever hope to undo.

As a matter of plain economy, as a saving of time and money and all sorts of disagreeable things, an exact genealogy has always been of the greatest benefit to the reigning houses themselves—principally in the combating of the claims of false pretenders. One only needs to read the history of Russia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to know how profitable and well patronized the industry of the pretender can at times be. Three or four pretenders in one year was nowise exceptional. Their claims to be legitimate

or illegitimate descendants of the house of Rurik or Romanov were often of the most absurd sort, and such as any decent genealogy would have shown to be an impossibility. Of course the case of Russia is an exception, for even the most scientific princely genealogy will do no good where 94 per cent of the subjects are not able to read or understand it.

But in the other European countries the reigning houses have to be continually on the guard against pretenders (very often ladies) who come with rather spurious claims, often hardly discernible from plain blackmail, and unless these families are fully prepared for such emergencies they may suffer great difficulties and scandal before they get rid of these claimants.

In this field of scientific genealogy, as in so many other minor departments of history, the German scholar, that most patient camel of the dry historical desert, has threaded his way through the dreary wastes of uninteresting details and has given us a score of excellent official genealogies. For more than a century now the "Almanach de Gotha" has in a general way provided an excellent handbook of genealogy, almost as correct in its way as a mathematical table.

But when we descend from these high regions to the lower ones we find that genealogy in Europe does not play a very important rôle. Those families which have enjoyed prosperity for some generations usually possess a genealogy as well and as carefully kept as their bank account. Unfortunately when the bank account stops, the interest in the genealogy is apt to stop too.

The more humble brethren who are only emerging from obscurity and are founding families often evince a taste for a family tree. To grow this ornamental plant is in Europe a comparatively simple matter. People, however obscure, must be born and must die at some stage of their earthly career, and in the western countries of Europe, except in some rare instances where a fire has devastated all archives, records of births, deaths, marriages, and sales of land and houses have now been kept for many centuries. To facilitate this sort of research our professional genealogists have established a little magazine in which a "lost and found" list of local genealogy is published. For example, a family called A traces its ascendants until it comes to a great-grandfather who died in Z, in the year of our Lord 1600, aged nearly 90. Now it is plain that A has probably come to Z, at some time of his life, from some other city, and the question is "From where did A come?" The genealogist who has the case in hand now advertises, "Who has information about A, who died in Z, in 1600, aged 90 years?" and then adds an offer of \$20 or \$30 or whatever amount the family think that grandfather is worth. The little magazine is then spread broadcast and free of charge to all the secretaries of the communes and all the keepers of

local registers all over the country. Since these gentlemen for their excellent services are habitually underpaid, the offer of a reward makes them sharp observers, and since they spend the greater part of their lives in the archives of their city or village they are fairly familiar with all the names that usually occur. In this way, it is a very great exception when any grandfather remains hidden for more than a few months or half a year. For the modern genealogist is very much like the anthropologist. Give him the slightest clue on which to work and he can scientifically reconstruct very wonderful things.

Now the principal thing which I wanted to say is that this achievement is only possible where archives are carefully kept. For the benefit of all it is most imperatively necessary not only that a register of births and deaths and marriages should be kept, but also that it should be kept carefully and with great accuracy. If any genealogist ever wishes to hear a story of woe he should visit one of the great foreign consulates in New York or one of the American consulates in Europe in those countries from which many natives emigrate to make themselves a happier life in the New World. Not a day passes but the consular officials are called upon to decide complicated questions of international inheritances of families spread over the two continents. Questions of vast import to poor families often can not be decided because the registers of some small city have been kept badly or because names have been written down so carelessly that they are absolutely unrecognizable. Here in Massachusetts, where you do things efficiently and take pride in doing insignificant things with as much care as important ones, you can not imagine in what way the records of registry of births and deaths are often kept in out-of-the-way places. The local official who has to look after those things is often a man utterly incapable of performing the task to which he has been called by popular election, and he is careless, so that whenever a name comes up that is a bit hard to spell he spells "any old thing that will look like it," as I was once informed.

A private genealogy is a delightful thing, which many of you can afford and in which you will take pride; but in a practical way the official genealogy of all people, a well organized system of registration of the most important facts concerning the inhabitants of a village or county, can often be of the greatest benefit to our poorer brethren. And the more these humble and uninteresting records of the lives of commonplace people are kept with that care which is shown privately by your Massachusetts genealogical societies, the more in their dry statement of fact they resemble the blue prints of Mr. Roosevelt's sewer system, the better it will be for those unfortunate people who are now often the innocent victims of the inefficiency of careless officials.

Dr. Frederick A. Woods, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, spoke of the broad field offered by genealogical study, and especially from the point of view of heredity. He urged that the scientific investigator should commence with the individual and work back, devoting especial attention to the female side. In an investigation recently carried on of the relationships of personages who had been selected for the Hall of Fame a chart had been made of ascendants and descendants, and it had been found that the degree of interrelationship of these personages was far above normal, thus tending to justify the choices made by the electors, for it is generally recognized that the degree of relationship among individuals increases with the degree of distinction which they attain.

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

By WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Let us give a glance at the conditions for the writing of history in 1790. The War of Independence had broken the continuity of what had been planned or commenced in colonial times. Of the small number of historical essays of that rather barren period, the "History of Massachusetts," by Thomas Hutchinson, serves as a good example. Its completion was prevented by the political disturbances in the colony. The war, it must be borne in mind, also scattered many libraries and drove from the States a large number of men of intelligence, property, and position—the Loyalists—who would have been the proper agents for cultivating the writing of history and for constituting the natural market for historical product. What took their place was not so well adapted at the time for fulfilling this necessary function, and so the writing and publication of history received a check. Some years must pass before the histories of Smith (1747) and Colden (1727), Smith's "New York" (1757) and Smith's "New Jersey" (1755), could be matched. The volumes of Ramsay and Gordon were among the first evidences of a reawakened historical energy. When we find Jefferson, in 1790, recommending for historical reading Kennett's "History of England," Ludlow's "Memoirs," Burnet's and Orrery's histories, Robertson and Voltaire, we realize how restricted the field was

It does not follow that would-be historians did not exist, men who had the correct method in dealing with historical material. I like to picture Ebenezer Hazard, assistant postmaster general of the Confederation, employing his odd hours in his tours of inspection gathering the material for his two volumes of "State Papers," still a work of authority. In Massachusetts he made one of his best discoveries—the records of the New England Confederation, 1643–1679, and copied them when writing paper was \$3 a quire, and wretched stuff at that. He sought original material, and in that pursuit he had his trials, rebuffs, and disappointments, the opposition of politicians and, what was harder to bear, misunderstanding of his intentions on the part of those who should have been his most efficient supporters. In close sympathy with him was Jeremy Belknap, a clergyman, buried alive at Dover, N. H., but hard at work upon a history of New Hampshire, for which he needed original documents. That history has never been

superseded by any later work, and to Belknap is due the Massachusetts Historical Society. His labors in original sources of history, his wide interest in the history of America, and his eagerness to make the sources available to others led him to establish a society which should advance the study of history and serve as a depository of historical material. No such place of deposit then existed.

It does not follow that this idea was original with him. John Pintard, a merchant of New York, visited Boston in 1789 and mentioned his wish to form a Society of Antiquaries—an American Antiquarian Society. The American Magazine had adopted, one year before, the practice of publishing State papers and historical manuscripts, each monthly issue to contain 48 pages of such material, printed in such a way that these historical pages could be detached from the magazine and bound by themselves. Just 12 months after Pintard's visit, five gentlemen of Boston—William Tudor, Rev. John Eliot, Rev. Peter Thacher, James Winthrop, and Rev. Jeremy Belknap—prepared a plan for an antiquarian society, to consist of not more than seven members. Five months later the new society was instituted, named the historical society, with a membership not to exceed 30 resident and 60 corresponding members. January 24, 1791, was the date of the birth of this new species of combination. In 1794 it was incorporated by the State as the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the resident membership limit was raised to 60. At this figure the limit remained until 1857, when it was again increased to 100. It has not been altered since that time. In its life of 121 years the society has taken in 475 resident members, or about four a year.

What were the objects of this society? In brief, to collect, preserve, and communicate historical material and information. The articles of incorporation recite: "Whereas the collection and preservation of materials for a political and natural history of the United States is a desirable object, and the institution of a society for these purposes will be of public utility," a scope sufficient to make one gasp over the ambitious scheme until it is recalled that the United States then meant the States as restricted by the peace of 1783—before the acquisition even of Louisiana. The territory was still that of the colonial period. Any materials for a complete history of that country and any accounts of valuable efforts of human ingenuity and industry from the beginning of its settlement would be welcome. Certainly the foundations were laid broad and deep, and from time to time certain activities have been cut off, either as inappropriate to an historical society or as better performed by a specialized society of later institution. For example, the fauna and flora of New England, its minerals and industries, formed cabinets which in due time were transferred to other institutions. Printed and manuscript material, portraits, and historical objects came to be the main objects

of accumulation. Whatever change has occurred since 1794 in these objects has been in the direction of restriction, and this tendency is still active, as will be shown.

It is seen at once that while the society has objects in common with historical societies elsewhere, it differs radically in the point of membership. The number of resident members (confined to citizens of the Commonwealth) is limited; elsewhere it is unlimited; here there are no dues of any kind exacted; elsewhere annual and generally initiation dues are paid, contributing to the expense of the society. It is a private society, exercising some public functions, and selecting its own members because of their historical knowledge, interest, or performance. Membership is thus a recognition of whatever quality may advance the study of history; and the list of members since 1791 indicates with what care that necessary feature of the society has been safeguarded. Some changes in the quality of this membership it would be interesting to study, for they would mark the changes that have occurred in historical study and writing in more than a century. For example, in the first 10 years of the society 58 members were elected, and of these just one-third were clergymen; in the last 10 years, of 59 members elected only 1 was a clergyman. There are at present 5 of that profession in the full hundred members. The cause is not far to seek. In the first 10 years there was chosen no representative from Harvard College or from any institution of learning in Massachusetts. At present more than one-fourth (29) of the total resident membership is actively or passively (emeritus) connected with such institutions. The trained and specialized historical worker has taken the place of those who engaged in the writing of history as a secondary occupation.

Membership, even of a high quality, is of little effectiveness without good leadership, and here again the society has been fortunate. Eight presidents have been selected in its life and each has contributed liberally in time, product, material, and above all personality, for that is the most important. To be oneself productive, and to call out what is in another, are qualities not easy to find united in one person. The traditions of the society are rich in exhibitions of this personality. The acid comments of James Savage, the courtly dignity of Robert C. Winthrop, and the incrustated conservatism of Dr. Ellis have each supplied a chapter. Indeed, it has been said that on one occasion the president in meeting damned an historical personage of colonial Massachusetts, and the members felt a new thrill of vast future portent. Often has there been an interchange of opinion, snappy, sparkling, and direct, but the two disputants were equipped with courtesy as well as learning, and the atmosphere soon cleared. Personality, too, has sometimes been so exerted as to exclude individuals well deserving an election. That is inevitable—

a sign of strength and not of weakness. At present the society is directed by one who has not only inherited historical traditions, but is an historical writer himself—Mr. Charles Francis Adams.

To communicate historical intelligence—the third of the purposes of the society—how? The newspaper of this time was out of the question, for it had neither the space nor the educational zeal required for maintaining an historical column. Four magazines were bidding for popular favor, but failing to get support. The managers were willing to take historical matter so far as their speculative existence would permit, but even then a paying public must be cajoled into buying, or a paying society into subsidizing the publication. The problem was attacked by encouraging the establishment of a new magazine, some pages of each issue to be devoted to historical essays and documents. Success did not follow the experiment; there was no public interested in the historical department, and the wholesome lesson was early learned, that the society must support its publications, and could not hope to derive any profit from them. Publishing has been the leading activity of the society for a period of 120 years. The early volumes of its "Collections" have been reprinted, some of them more than once. To provide for the issue of the papers presented at the stated meetings, another series of volumes began in 1859, the "Proceedings," and the "Collections" ceased to be of a miscellaneous content, each volume being devoted to a particular collection. It would take one too far afield to name the more notable publications appearing in these two series. It is enough to point to the use made of them, and the frequent reference to them in works of standard character. Sixty-eight volumes of "Collections" and forty-five of "Proceedings," besides catalogues and indexes, stand as proof of the activity and policy of the society. The recently issued Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation" indicates a new departure—the first of editions of the foundation stones of New England history, issued in a form intended to be definitive. Yet with all this activity the society has not more than begun to use its great and ever increasing mass of historical manuscripts.

This policy has led to a specialization in amassing material other than manuscripts. The position of the society in this is somewhat peculiar, and advantageously so. It has never sought to hold a general collection of printed books and pamphlets, but has passively accepted what has come to it as a gift. Its members have been generous, and the library contains a large number of valuable imprints, valuable by reason of their rarity, oddity, or historical content. Like any library which grows by gifts, it contains much that is little suited to its purposes, and is wanting in much that would confidently be looked for. Its weakness is as unexpected as its strength. It is now easy to say that a small annual expenditure

for a century would have produced good results and contributed materially toward completing the lines in which the library should be strongest; but the funds were not to be had, and books could not have been purchased without crippling the publishing activity of the society. The policy has been consistently followed of developing the printing function. In the event this policy has been fully justified, for collections of printed material have grown in neighboring institutions, possessing the means and the special purpose of collecting. In Harvard College, the Boston Public Library, the Athenæum, the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, and the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester—to name only a few—the society may find what it does not possess. It may claim an altruistic motive in thus abstaining from competing in purchases, for it does not force prices to a higher pitch, and it enables the book to go where it can be far more useful than as another copy stored in or near Boston. It should have a good working or reference library on history, and this it is building up; it is still receiving gifts from its members and others, and possesses a notable collection; but it has no jealousy of the bibliographical wealth of its sister institutions, confident of being able to command the use of any rarity should occasion arise. It seeks not to accumulate, but to advance the study and use of material—to serve as an active influence, not as a burial place of accumulation. Here the earnest investigator should be welcome, for what is here is intended to be used.

Last month a gentleman came in, a stranger, and with the air of proper timidity which marks those who ask in the expectation of being denied. His question was, "What are the restrictions and what the privileges in making researches here?" My reply was, "There are no restrictions and there are all privileges." I saw him blink, as if I had tapped him lightly between the eyes; but he soon caught my meaning, explained his wants, and in 10 minutes had the pleasure of making some unexpectedly rich discoveries of material on his subject. My point is this: In nine cases out of ten the inquirer does not know what he wants; no catalogue will help him; no general phrases will satisfy him. He must dig out his facts as he goes along. To question him closely, suspiciously, and with jealousy, is the wrong tack; invite his confidence, put him in touch with what may help him, and leave the rest to his industry and judgment. This is especially true with pamphlet and with manuscript material.

The future policy may be forecast in the light of past experience and whatever gift of prophecy that experience may cultivate. No one can have followed the auction sales of books and manuscripts in the last 40 years without being bewildered by the prices obtained in certain lines of collecting. What once fetched a few shillings now

sells for hundreds, even thousands, of dollars. What was common has become rare, and with an unwontedly lavish expenditure by wealthy collectors there is as striking a generosity in gifts. It is still possible to collect on moderate means, and we are often surprised by the good results of modest purchases in a special direction. The collegiate and public libraries are growing rapidly all over the country, and notably east of the Mississippi and west of the Rocky Mountains, and this is a natural tendency. Compare the situation of the student in the past as to available books. In colonial days the minister at the North and the cultivated planter at the South formed his library according to his needs or his taste. But who would house, save as a curiosity, the library of Cotton Mather or of William Byrd? The collection of Thomas Prince would appeal to the antiquarian, and the library of John Adams to the student of law and political institutions; but the working student would not have space to keep them by him. Our fathers collected general histories—like Robertson, Hume, and Bancroft; they may have bought the best writings on the subject; such collections have become largely dead material, a burden to carry. The student of to-day demands material of a different nature, and it is material which few would wish to collect because of the mass, the cost, and the comparatively little use. Collections of laws, legislative journals and documents, official correspondence, the publications of societies, local histories, biographies, and genealogies—these are the necessary tools for the student of history, and the individual is simply appalled by the quantity. He turns to the public library and expects that institution to see that the material is there. It is no longer necessary for the individual to collect; here it is not necessary to duplicate collections over and over.

Four or five great and active institutions accumulating books in a neighborhood like this should be sufficient; let New York, Chicago, or San Francisco obtain the sixth and remaining copies of a rarity. It is unnecessary for an institution like the Historical Society to compete; it has its special field as clearly marked out as the medical or natural history society. It will remain a publishing society, and its collections will be incidental, consciously developed in lines where other institutions are weak, in acquiring what has been described as the "rare and the worthless." It will continue to encourage the study of history by recognizing historical performance and by affording the opportunity for its members to meet and give out what in history interests them. It provides a center for workers in history and a medium for publishing the results for others interested in the same line. In this it seeks to maintain a high standard; let its aims be judged by the results.

Now for the prophecy. I look forward to the time when, in this process of specialization, material will be distributed geographically

where it will have its highest utility. I would not come to Massachusetts to write the history of Georgia any more than I would go to Georgia to write the history of Massachusetts. Theoretically all that is needed for Georgia history should be in Georgia, and what is wanted here should be here. This distribution is automatically being made in printed books, and local collections of great strength may be found in each State, like those of Durrett, Ayer, and De Renne. In another direction the movement is not so marked, and in this the historical societies have an opportunity. They become the custodians of much that is curious and valuable—the flotsam and jetsam of the collecting world. Public archives have been looted or have been scattered by want of care; the book borrower has wrought much damage; war has shot relics of libraries and archives into strange and far out-of-the-way places. If I have here a volume known to be of State records or a manuscript known to have come from a State archive, why not return it for a like courtesy from the receiving State? The proposition is confined to what had once been public property, but it is capable of being applied in other cases. Our historical societies would thus act as clearing houses of original material which had gone astray. Stipulations might be made that a photographic or some other form of reproduction of the more valuable documents should be returned to the ceding society. The archives of no State have escaped loss through dishonesty and carelessness, and such a plan would do much to bring lost material to light and to place it where it belongs—that is, where it would naturally be first sought. I admit this is a counsel of perfection; yet I look upon it as among the possibilities of future development.

APPENDIX.

REPORTS OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1912.¹

ALASKA.

Alaska Historical Library and Museum (Juneau).—President, the governor of Alaska. Income derived from fees for admission to the bar and commissions of notaries public, about \$1,000 annually. Housed in the governor's office. Collections. 15,000 books; increase, 1,000; a large collection of Eskimo ethnological specimens.

ARKANSAS.

Arkansas Historical Association (Fayetteville).—President, A. C. Millar; secretary, J. H. Reynolds. Membership, 80; decrease, 28. Income derived from dues and sale of publications. Publications: *Arkansas Historical Association Publications*, Vol. III. The publications are printed by the State.

CALIFORNIA.

Historical Society of Southern California (Los Angeles).—President, George F. Bovard; secretary, J. M. Guinn. Membership, 85; increase, 5. Income derived from dues. Housed in the Museum of History, Science, and Art. Publications: Part 3 of Vol. VIII, annual for 1911. Collections: 2,500 books; 250 MSS.; 600 museum objects. Society is cataloguing its collections.

California Genealogical Society (San Francisco).—President, Henry B. Phillips; secretary, Sarah L. Kimball. Membership, 117; increase, 38. Income derived from dues. Publications: Membership list. Collections: 300 books; increase, 200; notable acquisitions, 100 American biographies, and the Doe genealogies. Society is urging family associations to meet in San Francisco in 1915, and is attempting to have the State library moved from Sacramento to San Francisco.

CONNECTICUT.

Acorn Club (Hartford).—President, Lucius A. Barbour; secretary, W. J. James. Membership, 25; increase, 3.

Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford).—President, Rev. Samuel Hart; secretary, Albert C. Bates. Membership, 418; decrease, 8. Funds: \$25,000 invested; society receives \$1,000 from the State, which is expended on publications. Publications: Annual report; list of family genealogies in the library. Collections: 70,000 books and pamphlets; increase, 871; 50,000 MSS.; notable acquisitions, papers of William Samuel Johnson and a letter of Sir Richard Saltonstall.

DELAWARE.

Historical Society of Delaware (Wilmington).—President, Rev. Joseph B. Turner; secretary, J. Danforth Bush. Membership, 340; decrease, 6. Funds: \$8,000

¹ In accordance with the usual custom, requests were sent to about 400 historical societies in the United States and Canada to furnish information designed to show their present status, activities, and progress during the year, under the general heads of membership, funds, equipment, collections, new enterprises, organizations, and relations with State, county, or town. The returns made by the 102 societies responding to the request are here summarized.

invested; \$300 received annually from the State. Publications: *Reminiscences of Dover, Delaware*, by George P. Fisher. Collections: 3,500 books; increase, 40; notable acquisition, "The Laws of Delaware, 1789-1800." Society is raising \$70,000 for a new building, \$20,000 of which has been secured.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Washington).—President, Mrs. Matthew T. Scott; recording secretary, Mrs. Howard L. Hodgkins; corresponding secretary, Mrs. William F. Dennis. Membership, 75,353; increase, 7,327. Publications: *American Monthly Magazine*; D. A. R. Reports to the Smithsonian Institution; Vols. 33 and 34 of the *Lineage Books*. Collections: 6,000 books; increase, 300.

ILLINOIS.

Swedish Historical Society of America (Evanston).—President, D. Nyvall; secretary, C. G. Wallenius. Membership, 200. Income derived from dues. Housed in the building of the Swedish Theological Seminary. Collections: 2,500 books; increase, about 100; 4 MSS.

Peoria County Historical Society (Peoria).—President, E. S. Willcox; secretary, Mrs. Helen Wilson.

INDIANA.

Cass County Historical Society (Logansport).—President, J. Z. Powell; secretary, Charles H. Stuart. Membership, 150. Income derived from dues. Publications: *History of Cass County* in preparation. Collections: 140 books. County council has authorized \$5,000, with which it is hoped to have a building.

Grant County Historical Society (Marion).—President, I. M. Miller; secretary, R. L. Whitson. Membership, 30. Income derived from dues. Housed in the city library. Society held an anniversary meeting Dec. 18.

IOWA.

Linn County Historical Society (Cedar Rapids).—President, B. L. Wick; secretary, Luther A. Brewer. Membership, 100. Funds: \$300. Collections: 500 books.

State Historical Society of Iowa (Iowa City).—President, Euclid Sanders; secretary, Frank E. Horack. Membership, 540; increase, 140. Funds: \$16,000 from the State; \$2,000 from other sources. Publications: *Biography of George W. Jones*, by John C. Parish; *The Hollanders of Iowa*, by Jacob Van der Zee; *The History of Road Legislation in Iowa*, by John E. Brindley; *The History of Work Accident Indemnity in Iowa*, by E. H. Downey; *Applied History Series*, Vol. I, by Benjamin F. Shambaugh. Collections: 39,730 books; increase, 775.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society (New Orleans).—President, Alcée Fortier; secretary, Pierce Butler. Membership, 400; increase, 150. Income derived from dues. Publications: Vol. VI, *Report of the Celebration of the Centennial of the Admission of Louisiana into the Union*.

MAINE.

Maine Genealogical Society (Portland).—President, Frederick O. Conant; secretary, George S. Hobbs. Membership, 300. Funds: \$3,400 invested. Housed in the Portland Public Library. Collections: 3,650; increase, 106; 2,940 pamphlets; increase, 28.

MASSACHUSETTS.

- Beverly Historical Society* (Beverly).—President, George E. Woodberry; recording secretary, Annie M. Kilham; corresponding secretary, Rev. B. R. Bulkeley. Membership, 106; increase, 19. Collections: Catalogues not yet completed.
- Billerica Historical Society* (Billerica).—President, Rev. J. Harold Dale; secretary, Mrs. Clara E. Sexton. Membership, 35; increase, 5. Funds: \$300. Housed in the town library building. Collections: 150 books; 250 MSS. and museum articles.
- Bostonian Society* (Boston).—President, Grenville H. Norcross; clerk, Charles F. Read. Membership, 1,125. Funds: \$52,000 invested. Housed in the Old State House. Publications: Annual Proceedings, 1912; *Bostonian Society Publications*, Vol. VIII; a volume of pictures relating chiefly to Boston. Collections: 5,000 books; increase, 100; 2,500 MSS.; increase, 100. Society receives \$1,500 from the State for the maintenance of the Old State House.
- Club of Odd Volumes* (Boston).—President, Henry W. Cunningham; secretary, James P. Parmenter. Membership, 65. Income derived from dues. Housed in leased building which provides a club house and library. Publications: Yearbook for 1912; Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Writer, and Collector, with a Bibliography of the Books printed by Isaiah Thomas, by Charles L. Nichols; Catalogue of an exhibition of Waltoniana, from the library of Daniel B. Fearing, held at club house, April, 1912.
- Military Historical Society of Massachusetts* (Boston).—President, Col. Thomas L. Livermore; secretary, William R. Trask. Membership, 205. Publications: Military history. Collections: 4,000 books.
- New England Methodist Historical Society* (Boston).—President, John L. Bates; secretary, Rev. George F. Durgin. Membership, 196; decrease, 5. Funds: \$3,158 invested; also income derived from dues. Housed in a new building. Collections: 8,132 books; increase, 200; a number of MSS. and photographs. Society is preparing minutes of the New England Annual Conference from 1766 to 1844; and data of work among foreign-speaking people in Massachusetts, in 1912, by the Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Old South Association* (Boston).—President, Charles W. Eliot; secretary, George A. Goddard. Funds: \$23,000 invested; also income derived from rent of the Old South Meeting House and lands around it. Publications: Old South Leaflets. Society exempted from taxes by the State.
- Scottish Historical Society* (Boston).—President, R. A. Douglas; secretary, John C. Gordon. Membership, 109. Publications: The Scottish Quarterly. Collections: 5 books; 10 MSS. Society has been organized in the last year.
- Dante Society* (Cambridge).—President, Edward S. Sheldon; secretary, F. N. Robinson. Membership, 106. Income derived from dues. Publications: Twentieth Annual Report. Collections: 2,850 books and MSS.
- Shepard Historical Society* (Cambridge).—President, Dr. Alexander McKenzie; secretary, Miss Marion F. Lansing. Membership, 50. Collections: 400 books.
- Dedham Historical Society* (Dedham).—President, Julius H. Tuttle; secretary, Charles E. Mills. Membership, 150. Funds: \$5,700; increase, \$4,500 by bequest; income also derived from dues. Collections: 6,000 books; small number of MSS. Society has a half interest in the Dedham "Powder House."
- Fitchburg Historical Society* (Fitchburg).—President, Ezra S. Stearns; secretary, Ebenezer Bailey. Membership, 150; increase, 70. Income derived from dues. Housed in a new fireproof building. Collections: 2,600 books; increase, 1,200; 804 MSS.; increase, 22; 100 museum objects; increase, 95.
- Haverhill Historical Society* (Haverhill).—President, E. G. Frothingham; secretary, Mrs. Mabel D. Mason. Membership, 300. Funds: \$5,500 invested; income also derived from dues. Housed in "The Buttonwoods," made famous in Whittier's

- "The Sycamores;" also owns the John Ward House. Collections: 160 books; a large number of letters, deeds, and other papers; 3,500 museum objects.
- Hyde Park Historical Society* (Hyde Park).—President, Charles G. Chick; secretary, Miss Jennie P. Stone. Membership, 100. Income derived from dues. Housed in the public library. Publications: *Hyde Park Historical Record*, Vol. VIII. Collections: 1,000 books; large number of MSS.
- Lexington Historical Society* (Lexington).—President, Alonzo E. Locke; recording secretary, Miss Mabel P. Cook; corresponding secretary, Miss Barbara MacKinnon. Membership, 316; increase, 118. Funds: \$30,000 invested. Housed in the Hancock-Clark House, which the society owns and manages, as it does also the Munroe Tavern. Publications: *Proceedings*, Vol. IV; *A History of Lexington*, 2 vols. Collections: 1,200 museum objects.
- Littleton Historical Society* (Littleton).—President, Joseph A. Harwood; secretary, Miss S. F. White. Membership, about 16. Income derived from dues. Housed in the public library. Collections: 50 books; small number of MSS.; about 150 museum objects.
- Malden Historical Society* (Malden).—President, Charles E. Mann; secretary, George W. Chamberlain. Membership, 200. Funds: \$600 invested. Housed in the public library. Publications: *Malden Historical Register*, Nos. 1 and 2. Collections: Books not yet completely catalogued; the Cory Collections of China.
- Medford Historical Society* (Medford).—President, Henry E. Scott; secretary, George S. T. Fuller. Membership, 194; decrease, 8. Income derived from dues. Publications: *Historical Register*, Vol. XV. Collections: 500 books; about 300 museum objects.
- Methuen Historical Society* (Methuen).—President, Joseph S. Howe; secretary, Miss Elizabeth B. Currier. Membership, 115; increase, 4. Collections: 202 books; small number of MSS.; 412 museum objects.
- Milton Historical Society* (Milton).—President, Nathaniel T. Kidder; recording secretary, Miss Eleanor P. Martin; corresponding secretary, Miss Alice C. Breck. Membership, 243; increase, 4. Funds: \$267.68 invested; income also derived from dues. Housed in the public library. Publication: *The Annual Report*. Society celebrated the 250th anniversary of the incorporation of the town; is marking historic sites.
- Berkshire Historical and Scientific Society* (Pittsfield).—President, Joseph Peirson; secretary, Harland H. Ballard. Membership, 108. Housed in the Berkshire Athenæum. Publications: Vol. III.
- Roxbury Historical Society* (Roxbury).—President, Oliver D. Greene; secretary, Walter R. Meins. Membership, 287; decrease, 7. Funds: \$3,500 invested, transferred to this society from the Joseph Warren Monument Association. Society is marking historic sites.
- Essex Institute* (Salem).—President, Gen. Francis H. Appleton; secretary, George F. Dow. Membership, 614; decrease 6. Funds: \$193,181.14 invested; \$126,717.19, building. Publications: *Historical Collections*; *Annual Report*; *Vital Records of Newburyport*, Vol. II; *Vital Records of Tewkesbury*; *The Holyoke Diaries*; *Catalogue of Emilio Collection of Military Buttons*. Collections: 108,551 books; increase, 2,031; 376,941 pamphlets; increase, 10,258. Society has restored and furnished a house built in 1684, which is now open to the public.
- Somerville Historical Society* (Somerville).—President, Frank M. Hawes; secretary, Ella R. Hurd. Membership, 143. Income derived from dues. To be housed in a new public library. Collections: Not yet catalogued.
- American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester).—President, Waldo Lincoln. Membership, 175; increase, 9. Funds: \$305,000 invested. Housed in a new building. Publications: *Proceedings for October and April, 1911*; *Proceeding of 1812-1849*. Collections: 35,000 MSS.; notable acquisition, original Record Book of the Council for New England, 1622-1623. Society celebrated its centennial in October, 1912.

MINNESOTA.

Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul).—President, William H. Lightner; secretary, Warren Upham. Membership, 440; increase, 15. Funds: \$98,000 invested; annual appropriation from the State, \$20,000. Housed in the State capitol. Publications: *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. XIV, by Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap; *Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849 to 1875*, by Rasmus S. Saby. Collections: 109,500 books; increase about 4,200; 5,000 MSS.; increase, 300; 28,000 museum objects; increase, 300. Society is working on "Minnesota Geographic Names" to be published in a volume of collections. On the executive council are six State officers as ex officio members.

MISSOURI.

State Historical Society of Missouri (Columbia).—President, William Southern, jr.; secretary, F. A. Sampson. Membership, 1,254; increase, 93. Funds: \$8,000 biennial legislative appropriation. Publications: *Missouri Historical Review*, issued quarterly; Circulars 10 and 11 of the society; biennial report to the general assembly. Collections: 136,503 books and pamphlets; increase, 32,510; notable acquisitions, files of Missouri newspapers; county assessors' tax lists; State archives from Jefferson City. Society has enlarged its quarters and has completed a card index of its possessions.

Kansas City Historical Society (Kansas City).—President, John B. White; secretary, Mrs. Nettie T. Grove. Membership, 227; increase, 30. Income derived from dues. Housed in Allen Branch Library. Collections: 250 books; increase, 25; 200 MSS.; 2,000 museum objects; increase, 250. Society keeps museum open three afternoons a week.

Pike County Historical Society (Louisiana).—President, Jefferson D. Hostetter; secretary, Dr. Clayton Keith. Membership, 75; increase, 10. Income derived from dues. Housed in the Carnegie public library. Publications: *Memoirs of the Watson Family*; republication of *Centennial History of Pike County*, by Edwin Droper; *Memorial to Rev. J. W. Campbell*.

NEBRASKA.

Nebraska State Historical Society (Lincoln).—President, John Lee Webster; secretary, Clarence S. Paine. Membership, 900; increase, 100. Funds: \$19,720 appropriated by the legislature in 1911. Publications: *Collections*, Vol. 16; *Constitutional Conventions*, Vol. 3. Collections: 43,000 books; increase, 1,000; 165 MSS.; increase, 15; 65,000 museum objects; increase, 500. Society has cooperated in marking the Oregon Trail across Nebraska; has prepared an exhibition representing aboriginal Nebraska life.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord).—President, Frank W. Hackett; secretary, Henry A. Kimball. Membership, 362; increase, 127. Funds: Todd fund for purchase of books, \$18,385.85; Tappan fund, \$590.19; permanent fund, \$16,972.28; current fund, \$3,530.34. Housed in new, fireproof building. Publications: *Dedication of the Building of the New Hampshire Historical Society*. Collections: 18,000 books; increase, 569. Society is being reorganized, administration being placed in board of trustees. It receives small annual appropriation from the State.

Manchester Historical Association (Manchester).—President, William P. Farmer; secretary, George W. Browne. Membership, 200. Housed in public library. Publications: *Collections*, Vol. 6. Collections: 600 books; increase, 50.

NEW JERSEY.

- Hunterdon County Historical Society* (Flemington).—President, William Bellis; secretary, H. E. Deats. Membership, 47; increase, 2. Housed in public library.
- Bergen County Historical Society* (Hackensack).—President, Matt J. Bogert; secretary, Burton H. Albee. Membership, 115; increase, 4. Collections: 100 books; 25 MSS.; 250 museum objects; increase, 50. Society has recatalogued all collections.
- Princeton Historical Association* (Princeton).—President, M. Taylor Pyne; secretary, E. C. Richardson. Society is simply a publishing association.
- Monmouth County Historical Association* (Red Bank).—President, John S. Applegate; secretary, Edward S. Atwood. Membership, 276; increase, 25. Funds: \$1,000 invested; \$1,789.51 general. Housed in rented room. Collections: 100 books; 82 MSS.; 195 museum objects.
- Salem County Historical Society* (Salem).—President, Edward S. Sharpe; secretary, George W. Price. Membership, 72; increase, 3. Income derived from dues. Collections: Indian relics, geological specimens, portraits, maps, etc. Society took part in the exhibition of the Gloucester County Historical Society in May.
- Somerset County Historical Society* (Somerville).—President, James J. Bergen; secretary, John F. Reger. Membership, 75. Publications: Somerset County Historical Quarterly.
- Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society* (Vineland).—President, Rev. William M. Gilbert; secretary, Frank D. Andrews. Membership, 41; increase, 4. Funds: \$2,500 received from the Charles K. Landis bequest. Housed in new building. Publications: Annual Report. Collections: 8,700 books, notable acquisitions, portraits, and furniture.
- Gloucester County Historical Society* (Woodbury).—President, John G. Whittall; secretary, Dr. T. E. Parker. Membership, 259; increase, 30. Room for the museum repaired. Collections not catalogued. Society held a loan exhibition; marked spot where the pioneer settler is buried; and purchased one of the oldest houses in town.

NEW YORK.

- Buffalo Historical Society* (Buffalo).—President, Henry W. Hill; secretary, Frank H. Severance. Membership, 650; increase, 42. Funds, \$33,800 invested; also income derived from dues, sale of publications, city appropriations, and invested funds. Publications: Publication, Vol. XVI; Vol. XVII in press. Collections: 34,440 books; increase, 803; MSS. and museum objects not numbered. Society has increased its space by finishing rooms in the basement, has added a steel filing cabinet, has erected three bronze tablets in its building, and has celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, May 20, 1912. It receives \$100 annually from the State library fund.
- Livingston County Historical Society* (Geneseo).—President, W. N. Stewart; secretary, W. A. Brodie. Membership, 280. Income derived from dues. Publications: A pamphlet of Proceedings. Collections: Now being catalogued. Society has a log cabin containing historical relics.
- New York State Historical Association* (Glens Falls).—President, Grenville M. Ingalsbe; secretary, Frederick B. Richards. Membership, 803. Publications: Annual Proceedings, Vol. XI. Collections: 675 books; increase, 75. Society is designated by the State as the custodian of the Crown Point Reservation.
- Johnstown Historical Society* (Johnstown).—President, Harwood Dudley; secretary, A. M. Young. Membership, 75. Income derived from dues and the Dudley fund. Collections: Not yet catalogued. Society is designated by the State as the custodian of the Sir William Johnson mansion.
- American Jewish Historical Society* (New York City).—President, Cyrus Adler; secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg. Membership, 343; increase, 30. Funds: General

assets, \$3,250; publication fund, \$5,150. Housed in the Jewish Theological Seminary. Publications: Publication, No. 20. Collections: 1,513 books; increase, about 200.

Holland Society of New York (New York).—President, Henry L. Bogert; secretary, Edward Van Winkle. Membership, 995. Funds: \$17,502.96 invested; \$5,946.90, balance on hand. Publications: Year Book, containing the baptismal register of Bergen Church, 1666–1788. Collections: 5,000 books; increase, 100; 3,000 MSS.; increase, 20; notable acquisitions, German Lutheran records; Manorton records; Churchtown records; Hillsdale Dutch Reformed records; Loonenburg Church records. Society is erecting a statue of William the Silent.

New York Historical Society (New York).—President, Samuel V. Hoffman; secretary, Fancher Nicoll. Membership, 1,043; decrease, 8. Funds: \$224,500 invested. Housed in fireproof building constructed in 1908. Publications: Collections, 1905; volumes for 1906, 1907, and 1908 are in press. Collections: 119,238 volumes; increase, about 1,500 books; museum objects are mainly early New York prints and relics.

Suffolk County Historical Society (Riverhead).—President, Rev. Willard P. Harmon; secretary, Ruth H. Tuthill. Membership, 263. Funds: Treasury balance, \$300. Publications: Yearbook, 1911–1912. Collections: 2,000 books.

Schenectady County Historical Society (Schenectady).—Secretary, De Lancy Watkins. Housed in public library. Collections not catalogued.

Oneida Historical Society (Utica).—President, Rev. E. Huntington Cally; corresponding secretary, William M. Storrs; recording secretary, Donald McIntyre. Membership, 211. Income derived from interest on invested funds and dues. Publications: Yearbook, 1912; An Annotated List of the Birds of Oneida County. Collections: 7,600 books; increase, 124; catalogue of MSS. not completed; museum objects, 726; increase, 16. Society has marked numerous historic sites.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Trinity College Historical Society (Durham).—President, W. K. Boyd; secretary, C. R. Davis. Membership, 25. Income derived from dues and sale of publications. Publications: Memoirs of W. W. Holden; Historical Papers, Series IX. Collections: 2,475 books and pamphlets; increase, 125; 5,000 MSS.; notable acquisitions, several collections of correspondence, including that of several governors; museum objects not numbered.

OHIO.

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio (Cincinnati).—President, Joseph Wilby; corresponding secretary, Charles T. Greve; recording secretary, John F. Winslow. Membership, 85; decrease, 3. Funds: \$66,000 invested. Publications: Quarterly, Vol. VII. Collections: 24,589 books; increase, 162; MSS. and museum objects not numbered.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Lehigh County Historical Society (Allentown).—President, George T. Ettinger; secretary, Charles R. Roberts. Membership, 166. Income derived from dues and an annual appropriation from the county commissioners. Collections: 200 books; 280 pamphlets; increase, 54; 12 MSS.; 25 museum objects. Society is compiling a history of Lehigh County.

Pennsylvania-German Society (Allentown).—President, Benjamin F. Fackenthal, jr.; secretary, George T. Ettinger. Membership, 518; increase, 6. Publications: Proceedings, Vol. XXI. Society has a committee at work on a Bibliography of Pennsylvania-German Literature and another one on Pennsylvania-German imprints.

- Hamilton Library Association* (Carlisle).—President, C. F. Himes; secretary, W. E. Miller. Membership, 110. Income derived from dues and an annual appropriation by the county commissioners. Collections: 800 books; 500 MSS.; 300 museum objects.
- Delaware County Historical Society* (Chester).—President, A. Lewis Smith; corresponding secretary, Charles Palmer; recording secretary, H. G. Ashmead. Membership, 104. Income derived from dues. Collections: 220 books; 50 museum objects.
- Site and Relic Society of Germantown* (Germantown).—President, Charles F. Jenkins; secretary, William E. Chapman. Membership, 777. Income derived from dues. Publications: *The Old Germantown Cricket*, by George M. Newhall; *Early Physicians of Germantown*, by Dr. I. Pearson Willits. Collections: 850 books; 1,425 pamphlets; 9 maps; 1,490 broadsides; 1,120 MSS.; between 3,000 and 4,000 museum objects. Society's tablet committee is erecting tablets to mark various old streets and lanes.
- Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies* (Harrisburg).—President, Herman V. Ames; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 32 societies. Income derived from dues and a State appropriation of \$2,000. Publications: *Acts and Proceedings*, 1912.
- Lebanon County Historical Society* (Heilman Dale).—President, W. M. Guilford; secretary, S. P. Heilman. Membership, 190; increase, 20. Income derived from dues and from an occasional appropriation from the county commissioners. Housed in the county courthouse. Publications: *Annual number*, No. 9, Vol. V; *Lebanon County Soldiers in the British Prisons During the War of the Revolution*, No. I, Vol. VI. Collections: 5,000 books, pamphlets, and other objects; increase, 200. Society is planning to celebrate the formation of Lebanon County, Feb. 16, 1813.
- Lancaster County Historical Society* (Lancaster).—President, George Steinman; secretary, Charles B. Hollinger. Membership, 260; increase, 24. Publications: 10 pamphlets. Society has provided an historical lecture open to the public; has participated in four historical celebrations; has held an historical study and public exhibition illustrating the evolution of portraiture in Lancaster County; and is preparing a bibliography of the county.
- Snyder County Historical Society* (Middleburgh).—President Jay G. Weiser; secretary, George W. Wagenseller. Membership, 12. Collections: 300 books.
- Moravian Historical Society* (Nazareth).—President, Rev. W. N. Schwarze; secretary, F. H. Martin. Membership, 344. Funds: Cash and investments, \$5,915.48. Publications: *History of Graceham, Md.*, by Rev. A. L. Oerter. Collections: Not listed.
- Historical Society of Montgomery County* (Norristown).—President, Joseph Fornance; corresponding secretary, Mrs. A. Conrad Jones; recording secretary, Frances M. Fox. Membership, 347. Income derived from dues, an appropriation from the county, and rentals. Publications: Vol. IV about ready. Collections: 2,596 books, pamphlets, and newspapers; 50 MSS.; 810 museum objects; increase, 63. Society keeps its rooms open to the public for certain specified hours; shared in an historical pageant in the town centennial; marked historic spots in the town, and has taken charge of the tomb of Gen. W. S. Hancock.
- Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia).—President, J. Granville Leach; recording secretary, Edward S. Sayree. Membership, 294. Funds: \$5,500 invested. Publications: Vol. V, part I. Collections: 280 MSS.; increase, 5.
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia).—President, Samuel W. Pennypacker; secretary, John B. McMaster. Membership, 2,300. Publications: *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXV.

- Numismatic and Antiquarian Society* (Philadelphia).—President, Charles E. Dana; corresponding secretary, John W. Townsend. Membership, 58. Funds: \$3,600 invested. Collections: 3,866 books; increase, 62; 4,800 museum objects.
- Pennsylvania History Club* (Philadelphia).—President, Herman V. Ames; secretary, Albert E. McKinley. Membership, 58. Society has studied "gaps" which exist in the published records of the State.
- Presbyterian Historical Society* (Philadelphia).—President, Rev. Henry Van Dyke; secretary, Rev. Joseph B. Turner. Membership, 243. Funds: Endowment, \$11,700. Publications: *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, quarterly. Collections: 20,000 books; 60,000 pamphlets; notable acquisitions, minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1799–1870; minutes of various presbyteries.
- Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh).—President, William H. Stevenson; secretary, B. S. Patterson. Membership, 425. Corner stone for a building was laid Oct. 28, 1912.
- Historical Society of Berks County* (Reading).—President, Louis Richards; secretary, William Fegley. Membership, 226; increase, 22. Funds: \$1,200 invested. Publications: *Proceedings and Historical Papers*. Collections: 2,473 books; increase, 304; 20 volumes of early newspapers; 390 MSS.; increase, 44; 273 museum objects; increase, 95. Society receives an annual appropriation from the county.
- Washington County Historical Society* (Washington).—President, Boyd Crumrine; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Helena C. Beatty. Membership, 300. Income derived from dues and an annual appropriation from the county. Housed in the county courthouse. Publications: *Washington Centennial and Old Home Week*. Collections: 2,000 books; MSS. not numbered; 232 museum objects.
- Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society* (Wilkes-Barre).—President, Irving A. Stearns; secretary, Rev. Horace E. Hayden. Membership, 390. Funds: \$53,000 invested; appropriation from the county. Publications: *Proceedings and Collections*, Vol. XII. Collections, 20,000 books; 45,000 museum objects.

RHODE ISLAND.

- Newport Historical Society* (Newport).—President, Daniel B. Fearing; secretary, Robert S. Franklin. Membership, 301; increase, 30. Income derived from dues and an annual State appropriation. Publications: *Quarterly Bulletin*. Collections: MSS. not yet catalogued; 12,000 museum objects.
- Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association* (Providence).—President, Thomas W. Bicknell; secretary, Carolin A. P. Weeden. Membership, 268. Housed in a new lecture room. Publications: Addresses at historical celebrations. Collections: 2,500 books; increase, 2,000; MSS. and museum objects not numbered. Society has organized an associate historical society at Westerly, R. I.; has erected a tablet to Myles Garrison, Swansea, Mass.
- Rhode Island Historical Society* (Providence).—President, Wilfred H. Munro; secretary, Amasa M. Eaton. Membership, 384; increase, 28. Funds: \$53,000 invested; annual State appropriation, \$1,900; dues, \$1,150. Housed in society's building. Publications: *Proceedings*; quarterly news sheet. Collections: 27,000 books; increase, 400; 40,000 pamphlets; increase, 600; 70,000 MSS.; increase, 100; 2,500 museum objects; increase, 100. Society has marked numerous historic sites; has begun to photograph the letters of Roger Williams; has begun to re-catalogue the library; has increased the genealogical catalogue; and has catalogued its Rhode Island maps.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

- South Carolina Historical Society* (Charleston).—President, Joseph W. Barnwell; secretary, Mabel L. Webber. Membership, 230. Income derived from dues and sale of publications.

VERMONT.

Vermont Antiquarian Society (Burlington).—President, W. J. Van Patten; secretary, G. H. Perkins.

VIRGINIA.

Virginia Historical Society (Richmond).—President, W. Gordon McCabe; secretary, W. G. Stanard. Membership, 758. Funds: Invested, \$11,100. Publications: *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XX. Collections: Books, increase, 535; 65 topographical maps.

WISCONSIN.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison).—President, Lucius C. Colman; secretary, Reuben G. Thwaites. Membership, 810. Funds: \$80,000 invested. Publications: *Annotated Catalogue of Newspaper Files*; *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* (Draper series, III); several bulletins of information. Collections: 360,000 books; increase, 12,000; 2,000 bound volumes MSS. Society is investigating material in archives at Washington and Ottawa, dealing with the upper Great Lakes. Society is a trustee of the State.

Wisconsin Archeological Society (Madison).—President, Ellis B. Usher; secretary, Charles E. Brown. Membership, 450; increase, 40. Publications: *Wisconsin Quarterly*. Society has conducted archæological surveys in Wisconsin.

Manitowoc County Historical Society (Manitowoc).—President, Emil Baensch; secretary, R. G. Plumb. Membership, 35. An auxiliary of the State society.

DOMINION OF CANADA.

NOVA SCOTIA.

Nova Scotia Historical Society (Halifax).—President, W. J. Armitage; secretary, Harry Piers. Membership, 294. Publications: *Collections*, Vol. XVI. Society has marked various historic spots.

ONTARIO.

Kingston Historical Society (Kingston).—President, Rev. Canon Starr; secretary, W. L. Grant. Membership, 80. Funds: \$550. Society is trying to secure the building in which the first Parliament for Upper Canada sat, in order to establish a museum in it; has marked numerous historic spots.

Niagara Historical Society (Niagara-on-the-Lake).—President, Miss J. Carnochan; secretary, John Eckersley. Membership, 220; increase, 30. Income derived from dues, sale of publications, and government appropriations. Publications: *Annual Report*; pamphlets, No. 22 and 23. Collections: 259 books; increase, 56; 265 MSS.; increase, 22; 5,301 museum objects; increase, 85. Society has restored Navy Hall, where Parliament met in 1792, and has celebrated the centenary of the Niagara Light Dragoons, and of the Battle of Queenston Heights; is a branch of the Provincial Ontario Historical Society.

Champlain Society (Toronto).—President, Sir Edmund Walker; secretary, George M. Wrong. Membership, 464; increase, 75. Income derived from dues. Publications: *Lescarbot's History of New France*, Vol. II, by W. L. Grant and H. P. Biggar.

OTTAWA.

Woman's Canadian Historical Society (Ottawa).—President, Mrs. Thomas Ahearn; secretary, Mrs. Braddish Billings. Membership, 200. Publications: *Annual Report*, 1911-1912. *Transactions*, Vol. V.

DELEGATES ACCREDITED TO CONFERENCE OF HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.¹

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.—Mrs. William F. Dennis, Miss Elisabeth F. Pierce.

IOWA.

State Historical Society of Iowa.—Benjamin F. Shambaugh.

LOUISIANA.

Louisiana Historical Society.—Alcée Fortier.

MAINE.

Maine Genealogical Society.—Albert R. Stubbs.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Beverly Historical Society.—Miss Katharine P. Loring, Rev. B. R. Bulkeley, Miss A. M. Kilham.

BillERICA Historical Society.—J. Harold Dale, Edward Dickinson, J. Frank Lyons, C. Sexton, Dr. C. E. Hosmer, Dr. Warren Stearns.

Bostonian Society.—Grenville H. Norcross, John W. Farwell, Ernest L. Gay.

Massachusetts Historical Society.—Worthington C. Ford, Charles K. Bolton.

New England Methodist Historical Society.—Rev. George Whitaker, Rev. Seth Cary, Rev. George S. Chadbourne, Rev. James Mudge.

Scottish Historical Society.—R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, John C. Gordon.

Cambridge Historical Society.—Archibald M. Howe, Mrs. Silvio M. Gozzaldi, Henry H. Edes.

Dante Society.—A. C. Coolidge.

Shepard Historical Society.—Frank G. Cook, Herbert Saunders, Miss M. F. Lansing.

Dedham Historical Society.—Charles E. Mills, Frank Smith, Walter Austin.

Haverhill Historical Society.—Ira A. Abbott, Arthur T. Chase, Leonard W. Smith, Mary W. Johnson, John W. Tilton.

Hyde Park Historical Society.—Charles G. Chick, William A. Mowry, Frederick L. Johnson, James S. Mitchell.

Medford Historical Society.—Benjamin F. Fenton, Miss Eliza M. Gill, George Fuller.

Milton Historical Society.—Philip P. Chase, Mrs. Frederick M. Hamlin, Miss Eleanor Pope Martin.

Roxbury Historical Society.—Oliver D. Greene, Capt. Isaac P. Gragg, Walter R. Meins.

American Antiquarian Society.—Clarence S. Brigham.

MISSOURI.

State Historical Society of Missouri.—F. A. Sampson, J. Viles.

Pike County Historical Society.—Robert A. Campbell, Miss Elizabeth Whittier.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Manchester Historical Association.—Frederick W. Lamb, George W. Browne.

NEW JERSEY.

Bergen County Historical Society.—Matthew J. Boyert, Burton H. Albee.

Monmouth County Historical Association.—Edward D. Adams, Mrs. Edward D. Adams, Mrs. Henry S. White.

Salem County Historical Society.—Arthur Adams.

¹ This is the list of delegates appointed; not all attended.

NEW YORK.

Buffalo Historical Society.—Frank H. Severance, Henry W. Hill.

New York State Historical Association.—Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Frank H. Severance.

American Jewish Historical Society.—Lee M. Friedman.

Holland Society of New York.—Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Van Allen.

New York Historical Society.—James Benedict.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania History Club.—Herman V. Ames.

Presbyterian Historical Society.—Rev. Joseph B. Turner.

Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania.—Rev. S. S. Gilson, Albert Bushnell Hart, John K. Lacock.

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association.—Thomas W. Bicknell, Henry A. Reynolds, Mrs. Albertus Hussey.

WISCONSIN.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—Reuben G. Thwaites.

Wisconsin Archeological Society.—Reuben G. Thwaites, W. K. Moorehead.

CANADA.

Kingston Historical Society.—Rev. Canon Starr, William L. Grant.

Ontario Historical Society.—Clarence M. Warner.

Woman's Canadian Historical Society.—Madame Le Boutellier Fauvel.

XII. THIRTEENTH REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.
WITH APPENDIXES.

DECEMBER 30, 1912.

HERMAN V. AMES,
University of Pennsylvania.
CHARLES M. ANDREWS,
Yale University.
VICTOR H. PALTSITS,
New York City.
ROBERT D. W. CONNOR,
North Carolina Historical Commission.
GAILLARD HUNT,
Library of Congress.
JONAS VILES,
University of Missouri.
EUGENE C. BARKER,
University of Texas.

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REPORT OF THE PUBLIC ARCHIVES COMMISSION.

DECEMBER 30, 1912.

To the Executive Council of the American Historical Association:

The public archives commission of the American Historical Association submits the following report of its work for the year 1912:

As was stated in the commission's report of last year, it has been found increasingly difficult to secure reports upon the archives of the States that have not already been presented in previous years. It was stated at that time that there remained some 10 States from which it is highly desirable that archives reports should be secured. The reports upon two States, on which work has been in progress for some time, have been completed and are herewith submitted, and will appear as Appendixes B and C of this report. These are as follows:

1. Report upon the archives of Louisiana, by Prof. William O. Scroggs, State University, Baton Rouge.

2. Report on the State archives of Montana, by Mr. Paul C. Phillips, State University, Missoula.

Considerable progress was also made upon the report on the State archives of California by Prof. H. W. Edwards, of Berkeley, but owing to his illness it proved impossible for him to complete the report.¹ Work on the archives of Wyoming has been temporarily suspended, owing to the fact that Prof. James F. Willard, of the University of Colorado, has been abroad, but he is expecting to resume this work during the coming year. Mr. A. S. Salley, jr., reports some progress on his report on the archives of South Carolina.

Although efforts have been made with a view to securing reports upon the archives of the remaining States, the commission realizes that its work in this field has largely been accomplished, at least for the present, and it has turned its attention to other phases of archive work, namely: First, the possibility of preparing a manual for the use of American archivists, and secondly, the desirability of securing information upon certain classes of Federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia. In connection with the first matter, a special committee was appointed early in the year, and it has held several conferences. The results of the committee's work, the outline of the plan and scope of a manual of archival economy, was presented at the conference of archivists by the chairman of this special

¹ Since the above report was made, the sad news of Prof. Edwards's death has been received.

committee, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, together with a paper by Mr. Waldo G. Leland on a closely related subject. The full program of the conference of archivists, which was held in the Massachusetts Historical Society building, was as follows:

Chairman, Herman V. Ames, University of Pennsylvania.

1. A manual of archival economy for the use of American archivists, Victor H. Paltsits, public archives commission.

2. Some fundamental principles in relation to archives, Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution.

3. A report on the Federal archives outside of Washington, Gaillard Hunt, chief of the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

4. Discussion led by Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.; H. O. Brigham, State Record Commission of Rhode Island; Dr. Solon J. Buck, University of Illinois; Mr. T. C. Quinn, chief of the New York Public Record Division; James J. Tracy, chief of the Archives Division, Boston.

The full text of these papers and the discussion held are given in the first appendix attached to this report. It has been decided by the committee that it will continue its work along the lines already begun with a view to the preparation of a primer for the use of archivists.

In regard to the second problem, namely, the securing of reports upon certain classes of Federal archives located outside of the District of Columbia, it was first proposed to attempt to carry on this work in a similar manner as has been followed in the reports upon the State archives. Several practical difficulties, however, presented themselves, and at the suggestion of Mr. Gaillard Hunt, a member of the commission, that an effort be made to get the Government itself to undertake this work, the matter was placed in his hands. Mr. Hunt was successful in securing an Executive order from President Taft, dated July 19, 1912, instructing the heads of the executive departments to obtain from each office under their jurisdiction, outside of the city of Washington, information on the following points:

First. The earliest date of the archives and the subjects to which they relate up to the year 1873.

Second. For what years, if any, the archives are missing.

Third. The condition of the archives, where they are kept, what care they receive, and, if they have been destroyed, the cause of such destruction.

Fourth. Whether they are accessible for administrative and historical purposes; and the extent to which they are used and can be used for such purposes.

These reports were to be sent to the Librarian of Congress to be there edited and subsequently published. The librarian has furnished "the heads of the departments with such details of instructions for the preparation of the reports as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this order." As indicated above, a preliminary summary of the replies received was presented by Mr. Hunt at the conference of

archivists. The full report of the replies will be published by the United States Government.¹

Considerable progress has been made upon another phase of the commission's work, namely, the preparation of the list of Reports and Representations of the Board of Trade to the King in Council, Parliament, the Secretary of State, and other documents relating to America, which has been directed by Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Yale University, a member of the commission. It has proved impossible to complete the transcription and editing of this material in time for its inclusion in this report. It is confidently expected, however, that it will be ready for the commission's report for 1913. With the conclusion of this work, this will complete all that the commission has planned to attempt in this field in the immediate future.

The work of transcribing documents for the collection of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, which has been done under the direction of Prof. Andrews, as a subcommittee of the commission, has been going steadily forward. The copying of the Entry Books, Proprieties, and Plantations General, of the Board of Trade is now in progress. It is expected that the work of transcribing documents at Lambeth and Fulham will next be undertaken. It is also anticipated that the work of transcribing documents in the French archives, which was referred to in the last report, will be shortly begun.

There has been little to report about legislation in the several States in regard to the preservation and custody of archives during the past year, owing to the fact that in most of the States the legislatures have not been in session. It has come to the knowledge of the commission, however, that bills are in preparation for introduction in the legislatures of several of the States early in the coming year, and it is therefore hoped that there may be much in the line of legislative progress to report a year hence. Increasing attention is being paid to the problem of the care and supervision of local archives. Until recently, little has been done in this direction, save in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. The last Legislature of Illinois made a special appropriation of \$2,500 for the purpose of examining and listing the archives found in depositories of the counties of that State. This work has been done under the auspices of the trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. Mr. Clarence D. Johns was appointed to undertake this work, and served for one year from October 1, 1911. He was assisted during a portion of this time by Mr. J. P. Senning. They made a personal investigation of 79 counties

¹ The report has since been published under the title of "Archives of the Government offices outside of the City of Washington" as H. Doc. No. 1443, 62d Cong., 3d sess. (Washington, 1913, pp. 219.)

of the State. In each county there was entered on filing cards a memorandum of all series of records in the county so that there is now in the possession of the Illinois State Historical Library a complete list of the records preserved in the counties visited. I am permitted to quote from a manuscript copy of Mr. Johns's report as embodied in the report of Prof. C. W. Alvord, the editor of the Illinois Historical "Collections," dated October 15, 1912, and to be published in this collection:

On the whole [writes Mr. Johns], the records and files in the courthouses are much better cared for than I had expected to find. The condition of affairs, though, is still far from ideal, and there is room for much improvement. What at first, with a high standard in mind, appeared to be a discreditable state of affairs was found to be quite an improvement over many of the counties visited later. Considering the great mass of the records of the counties, it is amazing to find how little has been done in the counties to guard against their destruction.

The report then discusses means taken to prevent destruction by fire, and shows that even where vaults are provided many of them are only fireproof in name. Again while fireproof externally, many of them are not so internally.

The wonder is [the report continues], not that so much has been destroyed by fire and dampness, but that the loss has not been greater. Few of the courthouses have sufficient filing room for all of the records, and in nearly all some of the records have been stored elsewhere. In making the selection, the clerk uses his own judgment, trying to keep what he considers most important in the vaults, but of course he is little thinking of their historical importance. In some cases the clerks have "cut the knot" by consigning this "junk" to the flames. What one finds in the storerooms depends largely on the size of the vaults, and the importance of the material there varies accordingly. . . . The condition of this material varies greatly; sometimes it is orderly and well arranged, may be even indexed; again it is found dumped together in one mass in damp basements or dusty attics without order or classification.

The records and files in the vaults are usually in very good condition, though I have found storerooms in some counties vastly superior to the vaults in others. Except in the case of fires, which unfortunately are all too frequent, the more important records and files are quite complete. . . . The miscellaneous files are seldom indexed, and as a rule are in the most out of the way places and it is these files which usually contain most of historical interest. It is nothing unusual to find old petitions, census schedules, election abstracts, and poll books as far back as the twenties or thirties stored away in "junk" heaps, and much has found its way to the furnace.

When one considers the mass of records and the rapidity with which they are accumulating, one is struck with the seriousness of the problem of providing fireproof receptacles for the records of the future, and wonders whether there can not be some reduction in bulk. This, it seems, should be carefully considered by the clerks and recorders in their annual conventions, and an effort made in this direction. . . .

The county archives have hitherto received little attention as historical sources, although in many places they furnish a rich store of information. One would naturally suppose that this material has already been utilized by the local historians in their county histories, but such is rarely the case and scarcely ever is there any attempt at historical interpretation; for county histories depending for their success on their popularity with the people, seek to give not so much the true history of the county as what the people believe, or would like to believe, it to be. Thus sketches, anecdotes,

and exciting incidents often find a more prominent place in the local histories than many of the more important happenings.

There are in many counties complete files of election returns and poll book from the date of organization, and 1829 to 1848, when voting was done *viva voce*, the election returns show exactly how each man voted and for whom. There are also numerous petitions with long preambles setting forth grievances or the needs of the people, and also reports and surveys of early road commissioners, census schedules, and valuation lists, all of which throw much light on the local history. It is this class of material, too, which is usually referred to as "junk" or worthless rubbish by the materialistic clerks, and is fast disappearing.

These interesting and important excerpts from Mr. Johns's report have been quoted at length because it is believed that the facts presented represent a situation which is typical of that which obtains in the counties of many of the other States, and by reason of the fact that the author calls attention to several important problems connected not only with the care and preservation of local records and to the problem of the destruction of unimportant records, but also to the richness of county archives in historical material.

Respectfully submitted.

HERMAN V. AMES, *Chairman*.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

ROBERT D. W. CONNOR.

GAILLARD HUNT.

JONAS VILES.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

APPENDIX A.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE
OF ARCHIVISTS.

BOSTON, DECEMBER 28, 1912.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF ARCHIVISTS.

The fourth annual conference of archivists was held in connection with the meetings of the American Historical Association in Boston on Saturday morning December 28, 1912, in the building of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was presided over by Prof. H. V. Ames, of the University of Pennsylvania, chairman of the public archives commission, and about 50 persons were in attendance.

The conference opened with the following introductory remarks by Mr. Ames:

In opening this the fourth conference of archivists, it may be a matter of interest to call your attention to the fact that 13 years ago at the previous meeting of the American Historical Association in this city, the public archives commission was established. There was much to be done in this field, for, as it was stated in the first report of the commission, "it may be doubted if in any country in the world archives of relatively so much value are so lightly regarded or so carelessly kept." Although other bodies and agencies have taken up the work, this commission has been the one agency, national in character, that has been concerned with public archives, and in consequence it has taken the lead in the movement to arouse public opinion to the need of "a more rational and scientific treatment of documentary material." It may perhaps be pardonable in one who has been identified with the commission's activity in some capacity from the beginning and who has watched the general movement for an improvement in the condition of archives and the development of public opinion upon this subject, to believe that the work of this commission has been one of the most helpful and far reaching of the many undertakings of the American Historical Association.

As probably all present know, the commission first directed its attention to an investigation into the character, content, condition, and availability of the public archives of the several States and to a limited extent to local archives. As a result the body of information in regard to archives has been greatly enlarged. Forty-eight reports on the archives of more than two-thirds of the States have been presented and in addition much bibliographical material, relating particularly to colonial history and to manuscript material in British archives relating thereto, has been published. While all

these undertakings are still in progress, it has been realized that the commission's work in this direction has been chiefly accomplished, at least for the present. It has therefore seemed fitting that attention should be directed to the practical problems of archive administration.

From the very first the commission has sought to call public attention to the neglected condition of much of the archive material under Federal, State, and local jurisdiction, and to use its influence to promote legislation for the more adequate care of public archives. Through its influence, either directly or indirectly exerted, much has been accomplished. As was pointed out at the first of these conferences three years ago, it is a noteworthy fact that in the years during which the commission has been in existence, more has been done by the States in this direction than ever before. Furthermore, as is known, at the present time a hopeful movement for a national archive building is receiving the hearty support of this association, the crying need for which has been so ably presented in the recent article by Secretary Leland in the October number of the *American Historical Review*. Much more still remains to be done in the matter of legislation and the commission stands ready to lend its support to any intelligent movement in any part of the country to accomplish the desired end.

While not forgetful of these avenues of activity, the commission in its effort to render further service, especially of a practical nature, established three years since the conference of archivists. Realizing that we in this country, as it has been truly said, are but "in the infancy of the science of the care of archives" and that we could profit much by the experience of other countries, at the first conference, a series of papers were presented calling attention to the lessons that could be learned from six different foreign countries that had had large experience in dealing with considerable bodies of archives, as well as a lucid presentation of the archival problems of this country. Two years ago the conference considered the reports of some of its delegates to the International Congress of Archivists, which was held at Brussels in the summer of 1910, and the valuable practical suggestions there presented which were applicable to the American situation, as also the discussion of such problems as "The Concentration of Archives," "What Material Should Go into the Archives," and "The Methods Employed in Several States in the Administration of State Archives." Last year the conference was led by the disastrous fires at the State capitols of New York and Missouri, to emphasize a primary and most fundamental matter, namely, the importance of the safeguarding of collections of archives from the danger of loss by fire or other causes, a lesson that can not be too frequently or too emphatically repeated until all the public archives

of this country, whether under the jurisdiction of Federal, State, or local administration, are properly housed in buildings or depositories which are proof against destruction by fire.

To-day this conference will direct its attention to the consideration of a series of problems of a most practical bearing, with a view, if possible, of preparing a manual or guide which will furnish persons charged with the custody of public documents just the kind of information that will be of the greatest service in aiding them to cope with and successfully solve the problems that confront them in their daily task. If the American Historical Association can, through its commission and these conferences, promote the preparation and publication of such a manual, we believe that it will do more to develop "a more rational and scientific treatment" of archive material throughout the land than by any other possible means.

The chairman was followed by Mr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Library of Congress, who gave an informal report on the archives of the Government outside of the District of Columbia. His information, he said, had been gathered as the result of an Executive order of July 19, 1912, calling upon officials not located within the District of Columbia to report to the Librarian of Congress concerning the records in their custody. The most important of these Federal records are those of the embassies and legations in foreign countries. In each case these are mainly in six series: Instructions to diplomatic agent; records of dispatches sent by the agent; records of notes delivered to the Government to which the agent is accredited; notes received from the said Government; consular correspondence; miscellaneous. The archives of the legations have never suffered from fire, and very few have suffered from climatic conditions. In general they are kept in bound volumes, and facilities are afforded for historical research. Little use for official purposes is made of the records prior to 1873. The archives of the embassy in England date from 1828. Many of the earlier diplomatic agents carried their records away with them as personal property. Much interesting material is to be found in these archives. In those of Sweden, for example, there is a considerable body of correspondence with Decatur; in Morocco are letters of David Humphreys, on the paying of tribute, and correspondence with Garibaldi about 1850. In Liberia there is a great amount of material relating to the slave trade, while in Colombia is to be found much correspondence of about 1834 relating to the canal, and in Venezuela there is material of 1849 respecting British encroachments on the eastern boundary.

The local post offices are said to have no archives. The record of appointments is kept in the State Department. No report has been received on the external archives of the Navy Department, while the archives of the various offices under the War Department, out-

side of Washington, had all been reported as useless. Under the Department of Commerce and Labor should be mentioned the records of the various lighthouse stations and the offices of the steamboat inspectors. Thirty-nine field offices of the Indian Service have records prior to 1873. In the Treasury Department the principal groups of archives are to be found in the assay offices, the mints, the offices of special agents, and the customhouses. The customs archives are probably the most important historically, and they exist in great quantity. Some of them have been transferred to the Library of Congress. Only one Federal port, that at Hartford, has preserved its records from its organization.

After Mr. Hunt's remarks, papers were read by Messrs. Victor H. Paltsits, W. G. Leland, and Dunbar Rowland.

PLAN AND SCOPE OF A "MANUAL OF ARCHIVAL ECONOMY FOR THE USE OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS."

Presented by VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, chairman of the subcommittee.

At the first annual conference of archivists, held under the auspices of the public archives commission in New York City on December 30, 1909, Mr. Waldo G. Leland presented an introductory paper on "American Archival Problems,"¹ which ended with the following suggestions: "In the development of American archives, in the evolution of archival economy, this conference and those that are to follow should play a most important part. By the discussion of common problems and the comparison of experiences sound principles adapted to American conditions may be worked out. In time we may be able to prepare a manual of archive practice similar to that of the Dutch archivists."²

Dr. Ames, the chairman of the conference, adverting to this idea of Mr. Leland, said: "It has been suggested that it may be possible, as a result of this and of similar conferences, which it is hoped will follow, to collect sufficient data relating to such subjects as the classification, indexing, calendaring, methods of filing, repairing, and mounting of manuscript documents, and other incidental problems, to make possible the preparation of a manual or guide for archivists."³ In the paper of Mr. Leland, already cited, he expressed the hope that our conferences "and the investigations to be carried on in connection therewith" would be the means of laying "the foundation of an archive economy, sound in principle, and in practice adapted to American conditions, in conformity to which all our public archives, Federal, State, county, municipal, and town, and perhaps even our private archives, shall in time come to be administered."

Immediately after the third annual conference of archivists—held in December of last year (1911), at Buffalo, in conjunction with the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the association—a special meeting of the public archives commission took place, at which Chairman Ames was authorized to proceed with arrangements looking

¹ Amer. Hist. Assoc., "Annual Report," 1909, 342-348.

² "Handleiding," etc., by Muller, Feith, and Fruin, translated and adapted into German (1905) as "Anleitung zum Ordnen und Beschreiben von Archiven"; into French (1910) as "Manuel pour le Classement et la Description des Archives" (The Hague, A. de Jager); and more recently into Italian.

³ Amer. Hist. Assoc., "Annual Report," 1909, 341.

toward the preparation of a manual. In March, 1912, Mr. Paltsits submitted to the chairman a tentative outline of a plan for a manual, which, as a working basis, met with general favor from those to whom it was submitted. Dr. Ames invited Mr. Paltsits to serve as chairman of a subcommittee of the commission for the purpose of focusing attention upon the preparation of a manual, which resulted in a conference between them in Philadelphia on May 8, when the organization of the personnel of the subcommittee was discussed. It was deemed wise to operate through a small subcommittee, at least in the preparatory stage, and one whose members could easily meet as often as necessary at a point convenient to each. This subcommittee consists of three members—Messrs. Leland, Ames, and Paltsits. Several conferences have been held by them at the University of Pennsylvania, as Philadelphia proved to be the most central point.

In presenting the first report on behalf of the subcommittee, I have the honor to call to your attention the following tentative outline of the plan and scope of a "Manual of Archival Economy for the Use of American Archivists," which has also been circularized in a limited issue in connection with the present meeting, viz.:

- (1) Introduction.
- (2) Archives in Relation to Government.
- (3) Adaptation of Archives to Public Uses.
- (4) Legislation for Archives.
- (5) Sites and Plans for the Construction of Archival Buildings.
- (6) Fixtures, Furniture, and Fittings: Shelving and Accessories.
- (7) Heating, Ventilation, Lighting, and Cleaning.
- (8) Fires, Protection, Insurance.
- (9) Administration: Rules and Regulations.
- (10) Organization of Staff and other Employees.
- (11) Accessions: Methods.
- (12) Cataloguing: Indexes, Inventories, Calendars, Guides.
- (13) Classification: Systematization and Notation.
- (14) Binding, Repairing, and Restoration.
- (15) Stationery, Record Paper, Record Inks, and Typewriter Record Ribbons: Standards.
- (16) Inter-loan Methods with Officials and Departments.
- (17) Publication: Copying, Editing, Printing, Reproduction by Photography and Processes; Preparation and Contents of Administration Reports.
- (18) Archival Museums and Exhibitions.
- (19) List of Principal Works and Articles relating to the Administration and Use of Archives.
- (20) Good Index to the Manual.

We do not presume to present to you a definitive plan of archival economy. In this domain there is no finished product anywhere. The problems are so great and are attended by so many checks and pitfalls that ideals are to be attained only through incessant endeavor in the ever present school of experience. Nor should it be believed

that the proposed manual could be reared as the product of one mind. It must be the product of cooperation. Its authorship should be composite. Conferences, correspondence, and examination should precede its preparation. Most of the subjects suggested for chapters may well be the topics to be discussed in our future conferences. Information should be gathered under the auspices of the subcommittee of the commission in advance of the annual conferences. In the main, this could be done through questionnaires, by means of which definite replies are invited, and the returns should be analyzed and digested for presentation and discussion at the annual conferences. Such reports should endeavor to present points of agreement and differences among those most interested in the subject. On the judgment that should govern in these analyses, we may quote from Dr. Melvil Dewey's suggestions when proposing the preparation of a library handbook.¹ He wrote: "A point of agreement does not mean that a bare majority of those consulted hold this opinion. In all cases where data have been collected the number of votes ought to be noted. . . . On many points our discussions showed us to be practically unanimous, but wherever a respectable minority held different views they are entitled to fair mention in these chapters. We must all guard against assuming the position of an advocate of methods we personally prefer, rather than that of a judge of all those found to have substantial merits."

We shall now pass on to the consideration of the proposed chapters, *seriatim*. About some of them we shall have very little to say, either because they are self-evident accompaniments of archival administration or because we prefer to leave them for future conferences. In our country we are yet in the cradle stage as concerns archival science. We have been born, we have crept along, but we have not learned to walk with that self-reliant buoyancy of resolute youth that "gets there." Most of us are yet in the lap of a conservative ancestry whose creed is summed up in "don't budge." It is a high privilege, therefore, to live in a day when we all can help along the development of archival science in America, and it is axiomatic that we shall have to develop ourselves if we expect to secure the development of our public archives.

The "Introduction" to the manual should be in the nature of an editorial setting. It is not necessary to go into that matter now.

The chapter on "Archives in Relation to Government" is designed to be an essay on the philosophy of archives, with practical lessons. It will have to do with the principles underlying archives as instruments of Government and the relative duty which Governments owe to them.

¹ U. S. Bur. of Educ., "Report," 1892-1893, 692.

Mr. Leland pointed out¹ at our first conference, in 1909, some of the problems associated with the "Adaptation of Archives to Public Uses." The purpose of this chapter is the discussion of the basic principles of adaptation, but the solution thereof is actually wrapped up in the proper application of the whole field of archival economy as laid down in the different chapters of the manual itself.

In the chapter on "Legislation for Archives" should be recorded the history of the development of legislation relative to public records in the United States and its parts up to the present time. This should lead to the presentation of practical conclusions as bases for more practical progress. We have really had a good deal of legislation *about* the records—some of it by chance, some haphazard, some good while it lasted, only to be wiped out through the whims or subterfuges of a succeeding legislature, and we have had enough legislation that has been vicious and fatal to archives. What we need sorely is legislation *for* archives.

The chapter on "Sites and Plans for the Construction of Archival Buildings" propounds a crucial topic, for the proper preparation of which the cooperation of expert architects should be invoked. Consideration should be given to the more modern archival depots that have been erected or planned for erection in the great European countries. The relation of proper location to accessibility should be discussed—whether the site should be on the level rather than on a steep gradient; whether the building should be isolated from other buildings, and the amount of additional land that ought to be acquired for expansion. Propositions should be presented for architectural competitions.

A good deal can be learned about "Fixtures, Furniture, and Fittings" from the sister science of library economy, such as stack systems for storage and shelving, counters, desks, tables, chairs, racks, files and filing cases, carrier trucks, and general supplies. Of course there will always be the need of adaptation to archival uses. Thought must be given to fireproof receptacles, fireproof safes, fireproof vaults, and fireproof tower vaults. Some of these items are actually related to the architectural plans.

The problems of "Heating, Ventilation, Lighting, and Cleaning" are technical. They, too, are associated with the architectural plans. Experience is to be derived from European archival depots and from the best types of modern library buildings, but always with a sense of adaptation. This chapter, perhaps, should present practical hints rather than attempt to displace scientific treatises or the ultimate advice of experts. Some of the things that this chapter should contain are: The relation of heating to ventilation; the basic principles of heating; the basic principles of ventilation; the best principles of

¹ Amer. Hist. Assoc., "Annual Report," 1909, 347.

admitting natural light and of installing and distributing artificial light; an examination of the relative merits of gas and electricity; whether or no the heating and lighting plants should be in an out-building; if, when gas or electricity is used, the flow or currents should be shut off from the building when closed; why windows should be made to open; why open fireplaces should be banned. We may not feel the necessity of disinfecting every accession of archives before distribution in the building, because we are not pested, as are our European confrères, by destructive parasites that prey upon parchment, paper, and leather; none the less, we should know what processes of disinfection are worthy when occasion for their application arises, and this subject should be considered in this chapter.

Dr. Schoengen, of Zwolle, has said,¹ that the *conditio sine qua non* for the conservation of archives is their protection in fireproof, ventilated, and dry rooms, and that only after the fulfillment of these fundamental principles is the archivist in a position to battle successfully against the destructive forces or agencies within or without the archives. We give place in the Manual for a chapter on "Fires, Protection, and Insurance." We need not be reminded that fire as a destructive element is always with us. Protection, like prevention, is nine-tenths of the law. A fireproof exterior does not necessarily signify a fireproof interior. An archives building is not a furnace or a hearth. If its exterior be fireproof and its interior be loaded with all kinds of inflammable additions, as was done in the capitol at Albany, N. Y., the danger of destruction is greater in a fireproof shell than in a building of less resistance. Fire extinguishers and hose and fire drills of fire brigades among the staff are indispensable. A writer on fires in libraries has remarked that "a closed door or shutter, a pail of water in a convenient place, a watchman's presence at the moment of peril, may avail more than all; and yet these are often considered of minor importance till some day it is found that a cup of water, if it had been accessible, or a fireproof door, if it had been closed, would have prevented the sacrifice of a valuable library."² And this is precisely what happened last year in Albany. When an assembly clerk first discovered the fire and called several newspaper correspondents to his assistance, two pails of water would have extinguished the fire; but neither buckets nor fire extinguishers could be found. The massive oaken door of the room was closed in the hope of confining the fire within the room. The fire ate away the fastenings of that door and burst through it to an improvised mezzanine addition of wood, filled with legislative bills. For the want of two pails of water or a fire extinguisher millions of dollars' worth of property were lost, and the muniments

¹ "Congrès International des Archivistes, etc., Actes," 1910, 556.

² U. S. Bur. of Educ., "Report," 1892-1893, 732.

of the State irreparably injured or destroyed—all on account of this irremissible neglect. What about insurance? Shall the archives be insured? As many public libraries regard it as wise to insure, why not public archives?

We come now to the chapter on "Administration: Rules and Regulations." What are the prevailing hours, and what the prevailing conditions for the examination of the archives? Or, what records should be withheld on account of their present privacy, or on account of the prescriptions of an order of court? How many volumes or boxes should be allowed for examination at one time? Is a formal introduction to be required? How much assistance ought the office staff to render to a searcher, if not for governmental purposes? We need go no further. This chapter must be developed from questionnaires and from discussions in conferences.

The chapter on "Organization of Staff and other Employees" is one "where angels fear to tread." We could wish that politics would not enter into the appointments and that only those who have special fitness would be intrusted with the chief places; that the terms would be during good behavior and efficiency; and that the merit system would prevail as far as possible. Some day we may attain to this millennial state; meanwhile, we have to deal with finite circumstances—and hope on. In this chapter we can at least define the necessary qualifications that should govern in appointments; the duties of staff and subordinate employees; the hours of service in general use; vacations and leaves of absence, and the like.

The methods to be employed in handling accessions form the subject of another chapter. Should the office make a record of these in an accession book, showing the date of receipt, the source, etc.? How shall transfers be handled? Should an archivist buy records? What may be done to replevin official records? In what measure are gifts to be welcomed? How far may materials that are not strictly public records enter into the archives' collections, such as the records of institutions of quasi-public interest, of corporate bodies engaged in transportation or trade that touches intimately the public welfare, or of civic and reform movements which have been the harbingers of progress in legislation and in government? Should the private papers of statesmen, of warriors, or of great families, which have played a rôle in the administrations and the ministrations of the past, be accepted by the public archivist?

We suggest a chapter on "Cataloguing: Indexes, Inventories, Calendars, Guides." Administrators generally prefer the card system for the catalogue of the office, but students engaged in research seem to be almost unanimous in favoring book catalogues. The card catalogue is undoubtedly the best system from the administrative point of view, one reason being its expansiveness. The stu-

dent naturally finds it time-consuming to turn over hundreds of cards in a catalogue case, because he can see but one item at a time. This difficulty will be solved for him when the archives' administrations are reformed and awakened to provide the student with other media for investigation. Under the head of "Indexes" we have in mind not only the proper methods to pursue in the preparation of indexes to publications, but the form that expansive card indexes should take, as well as the preparation of tables of contents for individual volumes or boxes, etc., yet always distinguishing indexes from inventories and calendars. H. Nelis, archivist of the Royal Archives of Belgium, says,¹ that the first thing that an archive depot should possess is a brief conspectus of its collections, numbered as to location. This he terms an *État numérique* or *Uebersicht*, or *Indice sommario*, or, in other words, a simple finding-list or conspectus. In Europe, as a rule, the *Inventaire* or inventory is a tabulation or check-list of the group of papers left by a particular administration, and follows the order of arrangement of the archive itself. It gives the contents series by series, exhibiting the title, dates, number of documents, and, very briefly, the character of the contents of each volume, box, or portfolio in any given series. What the Europeans call *Regesten* or *Recueils de Documents* are different, for they follow a chronological system.² They are more like a short calendar. We are sufficiently familiar with the short and long "Calendar." The calendar is designed for important documents, and "the individual document is the unit and the entry for it, besides stating its title, date, author, approximate length, etc., includes a more or less succinct résumé of its contents. A calendar may include all the documents in a given series or group, or it may include all the documents on the same subject, or of the same kind regardless of the series in which they are to be found."³ The calendar that is true to its name is chronological. The "Guide" is what the Germans call *Wegweiser* or *Leitfaden*, introducing one to the archives. For that reason it should give the floor plans of the building, if it be a large one; it should contain the rules and regulations that govern the users of the archives, the names of the administrators and their subordinates, and a group list or series list of the records available in the building—a list that should be quite like the reports of State and city archives which have been prepared under the auspices of our Public Archives Commission. These guides should of course be printed for public use and may be sold to the public at a price low enough, yet sufficient to pay the cost of printing and handling.

¹ "Congrès International des Archivistes, etc., Actes," 1910, 145-146.

² *Op. cit.*, "Actes," 1910, 146, 147; Leland, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, 25.

³ Leland, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII, 25-26.

From the public's point of view, the guide is the first publication that should arrest the attention of the archivist.

A good organization of the archives is the basis of a good administration. An arbitrary classification makes it impossible to trace the order of actual administrative services. What, then, is the best method to pursue in classification? The archivist can learn almost nothing from schemes of library classification made for printed books. The classification of archives has nothing in common with the classification of libraries. They should not be confused. The office library of printed books is of course the exception which proves the rule. Undoubtedly, the only sound principle for the classification of archives is the *principe de provenance* with *respect des fonds*, as the French archivists define it; or *Het Herkomstbeginsel*, as the Dutch archivists term it; or *die Provenienz seiner Bestände*, as the Germans state it. At the Brussels International Congress of Archivists and Librarians, in 1910, the archivists by a unanimous vote declared: "The *principe de provenance* is the best system to adopt for classifying a body of archives, not only from the point of view of a logical classification of pieces but also in the best interest for historical study."¹ Dr. S. Muller Fz., of Utrecht, defined it as the method of classifying archives according to which each document is placed in the collection, and in the series of that collection to which it belonged when that collection was a living organism. Signore Pagliai, of Florence, said it was the only scientific and natural principle which should be followed to render intelligent the researches of the historian. Muller, Feith, and Fruin have laid down the sound principle that each archive in the collection is an organic whole, which the archivist must study before he is fitted to classify it. If the archivist does not know the structural origin of the organism, he can not properly classify it. And they add: "Not the first best systematizer, or even the first best historian, is equipped to classify it, but only he who has studied the organization of the archives."² Naturally, this information may be gleaned largely from the laws, resolutions, and ordinances, but also from the particular archive itself. Mr. Leland has recently stated the case succinctly, as follows: "The administrative entity must be the starting point and the unit, and the classifier must have a thorough knowledge of the history and functions of the office whose records he is arranging; he must know what relations the office has borne to other offices, and the relation of each function to every other function."³ On this principle the plan for the

¹ "Actes," p. 635.

² "Anleitung zum Ordnen und Beschreiben von Archiven," p. 5.

³ Amer. Hist. Rev., XVII, 24.

classification of the Iowa public archives has been founded recently.¹ The question often arises, "What shall be weeded out and destroyed?" We flash a danger signal. What is trash to one wise man may be deemed of particular value to another learned man, because of differing personal equations. The trash of one age is not necessarily trash for another generation, and the preservation of records is as much to the future as for the present time. It is far better for the smaller repository, if room is demanded, to reduce its bulk by transferring archives to a central depot where concentration is in operation.

We have in our archives the aged, worn, shriveled, maimed, mutilated, used and abused, faded and emaciated, neglected and rent asunder—in need of the restoratives, the surgical operations, and the sympathies of the modern archivist, ably equipped in his person and his staff and properly supported by his Government. To aid in bringing about this consummation so devoutly to be wished is one of the objects of the proposed manual. Hence a chapter is allotted to "Binding, Repairing, and Restoration." You are, of course, acquainted with the "Emery Silk Process,"² and with the use of mousseline or crêpeline netting.³ Patching or rebacking of documents with paper or linen is an out-of-date method. Dr. Schoengen, state archivist in Overijssel at Zwolle, Netherlands, has given an excellent account of the various methods of restoration that have been employed in European countries in the last dozen years, accompanied by his criticisms, as well as those of others.⁴ He recommends as a fundamental principle that only badly damaged documents, so badly damaged that they can not be placed before investigators, should be restored. The European processes mentioned are Schill's method of impregnation with *Zapon* or saponin, a glucoside; *asbestos Zapon*, a modification of the preceding and less inflammable (made by Perl and Company, of Berlin), but which is not considered desirable by archivists; *gelatine* for parchments; impregnation with a new substance called *Cellit*; and *Neu Zapon*, a nonexplosive cellulose acetate prepared at the chemical works of Aug. Leonhardi, in Dresden-Neustadt. The *Cellit* is said to have all of the advantages of the older *Zapon* and not the sternutatory objections of that substance to

¹ For the full scheme of Iowa, see C. C. Stiles, Public Archives of Iowa, in "Annals of Iowa," third series, X, 166-193, 273-319 (1911-1912). Here are shown also methods of cleaning, repairing, filing, and cataloguing employed there.

² This is a patented process employed commercially by the Emery Record Preserving Company, of Taunton, Mass.

³ See, on the employment of these, C. W. Alvord, Preservation and Care of Collections with especial Reference to the Restoration and Treatment of Manuscripts, in Amer. Hist. Assoc., "Annual Report," 1910, 248-250.

⁴ M. Schoengen, Ueber Erhaltung und Ausbesserung der Archivalien, in "Actes" of the Congrès International des Archivistes, etc., 1910, 555-564.

the user thereof. It is believed that *Cellit* will displace the use of *Zapon* in European archives. Another substance has been used by Miss Élise Samuelson, of the Provincial Archives of Lund, Sweden, who discovered it.¹ This she calls "Kitt;" it is a durable and transparent gelatinous substance which, when reduced to fluidity, is spread on the document, and it can also be used as a paste as well as for a covering. On the general subject of restoration we may take Dr. Schoengen's advice to archivists, which is: "Prove all things, hold fast to that which is best."

It is pertinent in a manual such as we propose, to consider what should be the "Standards" for "Stationery, Record Paper, Record Inks, and Typewriter Record Ribbons." About 20 years ago the late Commissioner of Public Records of Massachusetts had an investigation made in regard to record inks and paper, which is interesting.² At the Brussels congress, in 1910, it was said in regard to a permanent writing ink that in no country as yet has this *phœnix* been found. It was shown that the relations of ink to paper should be studied, because ink acted variously on different kinds of paper. The solution of the matter, it was suggested, lay in chemical analyses in the laboratory.

The question of "Interloan Methods with Officials and Departments" need not be elaborated now. Suffice it to say that records should not be loosely managed or sent haphazard from the place of primary jurisdiction. There should be an office record of such transactions, with proper checks against loss or displacement. The authority for loaning out should repose definitely. A record thereof may be kept in ledgers, on temporary cards, or by means of a duplex card system, where the office keeps the receipt card on file and the borrowing official receives a duplicate discharge card.

It is recommended that another chapter should treat of "Publication: Copying, Editing, Printing, Reproduction by Photography and Processes; Preparation and Contents of Administration Reports." The subject is reserved for conferences.

A permanent exhibition in connection with the archives serves to make them known. Persons who would not be likely to use the archives would be interested enough to visit an exhibition. Public interest or at least public sympathy in the archives would be aroused thereby. General exhibitions might well follow a systematic plan, arranged chronologically, so as to show the development of the subjects presented. Exhibitions should not be in the workrooms, therefore we suggest the heading: "Archival Museums and Exhibitions."

In every archives department there should be a reference library, which ought to contain such historical and legal works as appertain

¹ Élise Samuelson, *De la Restauration d'Anciens Manuscrits par le Kitt*, in "Actes," 1910, 205-208.

² Robert T. Swan, "Third Report on the Custody and Conditions of the Public Records" (Boston, 1891), 111 ff.; also separately as "Report on Record Inks and Paper," dated "Boston, May 6, 1893."

to the region covered by its archives; publications about the use and administration of archives; reports of record commissions or other bodies of similar or cognate functions; regional bibliographies pertinent to the particular archives; historical dictionaries, biographical cyclopedias, geographical gazetteers; and, of course, as complete sets as possible of the printed reports and documents of all of the departments, commissions, etc., that have been issued within the particular administrative domain of the archivist—in other words, the field with which he is concerned. We have planned for the manual a bibliography of books and articles that have been printed about archives and archival economy, and recommend that the manual should be topped off with a thorough index.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN RELATION TO ARCHIVES.

By W. G. LELAND.

We have just listened to the presentation of a tentative plan for the preparation, as a cooperative enterprise, of a manual for the use of those who have the direction of the American archive depots or collections of archives. What I am about to say is intended to open the discussion of that plan rather than to serve as an independent and isolated paper. I should explain that the opinions I express are personal and are not to be taken as the matured judgments of the subcommittee to which Mr. Paltsits has referred. I trust that the discussion to follow may be full and free to a high degree, for it is only by as complete a discussion as possible in this and succeeding conferences that the most useful sort of manual can be produced.

First of all I wish to emphasize the necessity of such a manual, especially in America. This country, which has so completely outdistanced other countries in the development of library science, is immeasurably behind them in all that pertains to archives. In general our archives are neglected if not completely ignored. The time will come when we shall awaken to a realization of their value and to the fact that they must underlie a most important part of our history, and then we, or our descendants, will look with dismay upon the results of our negligence and will wonder how we could ever have been so indifferent to historical interests of such a vital character.

Here and there, it is true, are to be found those who have been deeply concerned for the proper preservation of these monuments of our history, and there are signs that these pioneers may convert still others to their faith, but the results of their efforts are as yet meager, though not without promise for the future.

Because we—I say *we*, because I assume that all those present at a conference of this sort may properly be included in the band of pioneers—because we are few in numbers, because we are more or less scattered, because we are remote from those centers where the principles of archive economy have been most fully developed and most successfully applied, and because we are all of us in a sense missionaries *in partibus infidelium*, I take it that one of the things most essential to our ultimate success is to come to an understanding among ourselves respecting the object of our efforts, our methods of work, and even our common language. We can not afford to be

handicapped by ignorance or error. We must give ourselves every possible advantage. Above all we must profit by the experience of those who have long since, in other countries, attained to a certain degree the objects for which we strive.

How better can we do this than by summing up our own experience and knowledge, adding to it the experience and knowledge of archivists of other countries, studying closely the conditions with which we are confronted in America, and endeavoring to apply the results of what we in this way learn to the solution of the problems before us? It is to such an end that the proposed manual is destined.

At the very outset we should, it seems to me, endeavor to disabuse ourselves of an opinion that seems to be sometimes entertained, to the effect that American conditions differ so fundamentally from conditions in Europe that the results of European experience can have but a limited application with us. A careful examination of the differences, however, makes it clear that they are superficial and not fundamental. The machinery of government varies from country to country, and the archives which it produces vary also, but all are produced in the same way, have the same need of preservation and administration, and meet the same fate if neglected. This then is the first point I wish to make—that the principles of archive economy evolved in European practice are applicable to American archives.

One of the most important things for us to do, it seems to me, is to reach an understanding respecting the nature of archives—specifically of public archives. The archives of a nation are the entirety of the records produced by its governmental agencies in the transaction of the public business. The archives of any governmental office are the papers and documents officially produced by the office and its agents, or received in it, which serve to record the operations of the office and which are destined to remain in it. The fact that certain of these documents may be printed does not render them non-archival in character. Historical manuscripts must be sharply distinguished from archives, the fundamental difference being that the former are non-official, the latter official. Historical manuscripts if preserved in an archive depot should be kept in a separate and distinct collection.

It follows from what has just been said that the public archives are public property. Because of their nature they require especial safeguards. If lost or destroyed it is practically impossible to replace them. Constituting as they do a record of all the public acts they should remain always in public control—they should not be placed in the custody of private or only semipublic institutions. Their custodian is an integral part of government, and bears the same responsibility as the other parts of the governmental machinery. Only the State, or its authorized agencies, may destroy any part of its archives. Such destruction, when effected, should

be complete and under supervision, so that public records, even though of no value, shall not pass into private and irresponsible hands. Furthermore, the State should have full power to replevin any documents, wherever found, which it can prove to have once been part of its public archives, or which (such as the official papers of agents of the State) should properly have been a part of its public archives, although they may never have actually been placed in an archive depot.

Archives are preserved primarily for public or administrative purposes, secondarily for private purposes, such as those of the historical investigator. With the lapse of time, however, the administrative value of any given body of documents decreases, while its historical value, presumably, increases. It is therefore a good principle—although its application is frequently modified in practice—that archives, so far as they are segregated, should be administered by agencies the sole or chief function of which is archival. If this agency performs other functions, such as the collection of books (for example, a State library) or the fostering of historical interests (as in the case of a department of archives and history) the archival and other functions should be sharply distinguished, and the public records should be physically as well as theoretically separated from other collections.

Archives no longer in current, that is, in frequent use, in the offices in which they properly accumulate, should be transferred to a central depot. When this central depot is located in the immediate vicinity of the public offices, as in the case of a State depot at the State capitol, the transfer of records should depend upon administrative requirements and convenience. When located at a distance from the public offices, as in the case of county archives and a State depot, the convenience of those who have a right to consult the records should be taken into consideration. For example, in the case of county archives, election returns and records of wills constitute two classes of records that almost immediately pass out of current use. The county offices could readily transfer both classes to the State depot, even though it be at a considerable distance. But the citizens of the county, while rarely, if ever, having reason to consult the election returns, frequently have occasion to refer to the records of wills. The former could be transferred without inconvenience, indeed, with greater convenience to those most likely to use them, but the transfer of the latter would entail a real hardship upon many citizens. This fact should be taken into consideration.

In the transfer of archives, series or groups of documents that constitute units should not be broken except horizontally. The entire series, or at least the entire series to a certain date, should be

transferred as a whole. There should be no selection of certain documents which are supposed to have especial historical interest. In any series or homogeneous group all the parts are necessary for the understanding of any one part. They constitute an organic whole (if one may apply the term organic to archives) which may not be dismembered. The truth of this is apparent if one reviews the processes by which any series or group of archives comes into existence. This principle, already described by Mr. Paltsits under the French term of *respect des fonds*, in connection with the classification of archives, is one which we as archivists must not for an instant lose sight of, although it is one which the historian is occasionally inclined to overlook or even ignore.

Records that are once transferred to an archive depot should pass into the legal as well as the physical custody of the archivist. Nothing but vexatious friction can come of any arrangement that permits the legal custody of archives to remain with those who no longer possess them. The experience of the British Public Record Office bears ample witness of the soundness of this observation. Whether there should be any provision made for a recall is a question which should be considered. It is conceivable that unusual circumstances might arise that would make it desirable for a group of records that had long been in the central depot to pass back, temporarily at least, into the office from which it came. Such occasions would naturally be of rare occurrence.

The principles that we have been considering would for the most part find their application in legislative provisions. There remain those that underlie the internal economy of an archive depot. Such matters as fire protection, construction, service, cleaning, repairing, etc., even cataloguing, are technical in character. A considerable variety of practices may produce uniformly good results. More general, however, are the questions dealing with classification and accessibility.

With regard to classification, I can only emphasize what Mr. Paltsits has said with regard to the *respect des fonds*. Absolutely essential is it for the classifier to bear constantly in mind the origin of his archives. Only by arranging them so that they reflect the processes by which they came into existence can they be made intelligible. The futility of any other method is only too well illustrated by the results of Daunou's labors in the Archives Nationales. From this it follows that the archivist should, as Mr. Paltsits has pointed out, be thoroughly trained in administrative history.

As to accessibility, it seems to me that we should adopt the principle that all records are accessible for proper purposes of investigation, unless some sufficient reason exists for withholding them. I can not do better than concur with Mr. Hunt, of the Library of

Congress, in what he said on this subject before the congress of archivists at Brussels in 1910, when he held that—

(a) Archives which represent completed incidents which carry no sequence may cease to be confidential as soon as the incidents are closed.

(b) Archives which relate to political events may be open to general inspection when danger of inflaming public opinion by their revelation has passed.

(c) Archives which contain personal information respecting individuals may cease to be confidential as soon as two generations have passed.

(d) Archives which pertain to international relations must remain confidential as long as they relate to pending negotiations, or if they contain information which would disturb or lessen international good feeling.

(e) Archives furnishing information which might be used against the Government's interests should remain confidential.

THE ADAPTATION OF ARCHIVES TO PUBLIC USE.

By DUNBAR ROWLAND.

The discussion of this subject involves the question of archive administration in all its details; I shall only attempt, however, to deal with certain fundamental principles in the time at my disposal.

In all well-considered laws governing the preservation and care of public records by departments of archives and history, the details of administration are left to the discretion and judgment of the archivist. What follows, therefore, presupposes that all necessary legal machinery for the preservation of archives has been put into operation. In the discussion which follows, I shall divide the subject into six sections, to wit:

1. The treatment of archives.
2. Methods of classification.
3. What permanent form should archives take?
4. What helps should be provided?
5. What regulations for use should be adopted?
6. The qualifications of the archivist.

I may say in the beginning that all these topics are subjects of heated controversy among European archivists. These learned gentlemen, it seems, are inclined to differ about the most trivial details. The American archivist, in making a study of European methods of archive administration, finds much that is helpful, but at last he must, in an intelligent way, separate the good from the bad and adapt it to his own needs. We are in a position to bring about a uniform system, because we are at the very beginning of administrative policies, and our public archives are much alike. While the conclusions arrived at in this discussion are the results of study and experience, I do not claim any finality for them.

TREATMENT OF ARCHIVES.

There is a growing opinion among those who have made a study of the methods of filing public archives in this country that the system generally in use is objectionable. Filing clerks have a way of folding papers which is very injurious. The fold in time will cause a break in the best of paper. When these documents are sent to the departments of archives and history, every paper must be unfolded and pressed out. This condition of affairs leads us to the conclusion that every department of the Government where official

documents originate should adopt the flat-filing system. In the matter of repairs, the records of our country are in general comparatively new and little is needed in that direction. Where preserving and repair methods are needed it is best to adopt some inexpensive plan.

METHODS OF CLASSIFICATION.

In the study and care of original documentary records, I am more and more convinced every day that in the classification of large collections of archives, simplicity of arrangement is the great object to attain. A great many mistakes have been made by archivists in attempting to adapt library methods of classification to archive collections, and these mistakes have been made in two directions—first, in attempting an alphabetical arrangement, and secondly, in classifying according to the subject matter of each document. The result of such attempts has been to involve the archivist and the investigator in hopeless confusion. How is it possible to file a document by subject when it deals with countless matters of historical value? It may be set down as an axiom of archive administration that library methods of classification are entirely unsuited to the arrangement of manuscript materials for use. The object to be attained in the arrangement of all governmental archives is to classify them in such a manner that the documents will tell the story, in an historical way, of the progress and development of the State and its people from the beginning. This can be attained only by a chronological method of classification. Let me give you a concrete example from my own State.

Ten years ago, all the historical archives of the State of Mississippi were concentrated in the Department of Archives and History. Twenty tons of manuscripts in the most indescribable state of confusion were transferred by the various governmental departments. The history of Mississippi naturally divides itself into three periods; that is, provincial or colonial, territorial, and State, and the arrangement of the State's historical records are grouped under these general divisions, arranged chronologically by departments. In the provincial period the records consist of three classes, viz., writings from the governor or other officers of the province to the home Government; writings from the home Government to the governor or other officers; and legislative proceedings. These records are in the shape of transcripts from the archives of France, Spain, and England, and they are classified in three series, A, B, and C—A for the French, B for the English, and C for the Spanish. Each series is in bound volumes with a chronological arrangement and with a number for each volume. The records of the territorial and State periods are arranged in the same way in cardboard jackets made in the department. Each series has its letter to designate it, and each jacket has

its number. To illustrate, the records of the territorial period arranged in five series—executive, legislative, judicial, auditor and treasurer's—with a letter for each series and a number for each jacket in the series. The records of the State period are arranged in a series for each office of the State government. In all series there is a chronological arrangement of each document. In other words the records of the departments and offices of the State government are arranged just as if they had been carefully and logically arranged from the beginning. In this way the continuity of each office has been preserved; not only this, but the progressive steps of the State and of its people along all lines of development may be investigated in a logical, systematic way.

WHAT PERMANENT FORM SHOULD ARCHIVES TAKE.

When collections are classified, the next question to be decided is: What permanent form shall they take? Should they be bound in volumes or remain unbound? If there is no chance for additional being made to a series, it should be made into bound volumes. The best material for bindings is good heavy canvas. In order to have a page of uniform size each document should be mounted on high-grade manila paper cut the required size, attached by a linen buckram hinge. It should be said, however, that many students prefer unbound collections. It seems that after weighing the whole question, the bound volume is best.

WHAT HELPS SHOULD BE PROVIDED.

Many archive collections have been card catalogued, but it is evident that such an arrangement is not the most desirable help for administrative purposes, or for the investigator. This form of catalogue comes from the attempt to adapt library methods to archiving economy. A better form of catalogue is the printed volume containing an historical sketch of the collections as a whole, explanatory notes descriptive of the contents of the various series, lists of documents with notes calling attention to subject matter, and calendars of the more important series, with a good index to the volume. With such a catalogue, students everywhere are enabled to study the collections without personally inspecting them. By such a preliminary study much valuable time may be saved when a personal investigation is desirable.

REGULATIONS FOR USE OF ARCHIVES.

The use of many archive collections in the United States is made practically impossible by the foolish, unnecessary, and selfish regulations surrounding them. Think of the absurdity of a rule which prevents an investigator from taking notes from a collection on

theory of an official intention to publish at some future time. Yet such a rule is quite common. What are archives for if they are not open to the fullest and freest investigation by historians? How is the investigator to do his work when he is made to feel that he is an object of suspicion requiring close espionage? A true historical spirit should be the guide in the making of regulations for the use of public archives. Governmental archives are public property, and the official who restricts their use is unfaithful to his trust. In Mississippi we have no secret archives, everything is open to investigation; the student is impressed with the idea that the staff of the historical department is at his service, and that nothing is withheld from him. In making regulations let them be free and liberal, without a suspicion of bureaucratic red tape.

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF AN ARCHIVIST.

The idea that an archivist must be some old fossil who croons over ancient manuscripts like a miser over his gold is about as far from the true conception of what the archivist should be as an Italian garden on Como is from a collection of stunted pines on a barren hillside. The archivist should be an accomplished man of letters who has specialized in history, political science, law, and archival science. He should be a man of affairs, with something of the politician in his make-up, for appropriations are necessary to his work, and he must deal with congresses and legislatures in order to make it a success. It goes without saying that he must love his work, and have the capacity to make others realize its importance. The archivist should be a combination of the scholar, the college professor, the lawyer, the politician, and the business man, for no other profession calls for more varied talents.

Report resumed.

A general discussion followed, led by Dr. Solon J. Buck, of the University of Illinois, who gave an account of an examination which had been made of the records of 101 counties in Illinois. This examination, he said, revealed imperative need of general State supervision of the preservation of local records. He emphasized the necessity of standardizing forms of condensation, dispensing so far as possible with legal verbiage—especially in the recording of wills, land titles, etc. He urged that a system be devised—something like the Torrens system—which would obviate this.

Mr. Herbert O. Brigham, State librarian of Rhode Island, stated that under a law of January, 1911, it had been made the duty of every city and town in the State to provide fireproof receptacles for records and documents, and that the enforcement of this law had

been placed in the hands of the State librarian, who was made ex officio State record commissioner. In the two years since, he said, the results had been most satisfactory. The law has aided in establishing public opinion in favor of such care, and frequent inspection has caused the town clerks to be most watchful. For that purpose an inspection sheet is used, of which he showed a sample. Many towns have arranged to comply with the law, notably the city of Providence which will be obliged under the terms of the law to make elaborate changes in its city hall. Many town buildings are properly constructed, but have wooden furniture within the vaults, and in every case this is being removed. There appears to be a great lack of knowledge regarding the use of fire extinguishers, but in many cases the recommendation to install such equipment has been at once complied with. The movement for the care and preservation of records is spreading over the country and the work that this archives commission is doing is of great aid in furthering the establishment of suitable record and archives departments.

Mr. James J. Tracy, chief of the archives division in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, described at some length the condition of the Massachusetts archives and gave an account of what had been done since 1861 to preserve them and make them accessible. The archives in Mr. Tracy's custody date from 1628, and include the unbroken records of the legislature, the council, and all official acts of the executive. He emphasized the danger to archives from the ignorance of officials who have no understanding of their nature or value, and pointed out that it was necessary to make vigorous representations to legislative and executive authorities in order to secure any adequate provision for the care of the public records. In his opinion the growth of the patriotic and hereditary societies offered opportunity for making such representations, and he urged that the American Historical Association should take the lead in securing the cooperation of these large societies in impressing the legislatures of the various States with a sense of the great value of this class of historical material and of the necessity for its proper preservation and care. Mr. Henry S. Burrage, State historian of Maine, and Mr. T. C. Quinn, public record commissioner of the State of New York, both spoke of the value of publicity in arousing general interest in the public archives and in securing legislative action for them.

Mr. C. S. Ensign, of Newton, Mass., spoke of an instance where the preservation of official records by his father had been the means of saving the city of Hartford many thousands of dollars.

The conference adjourned at 1 p. m.

APPENDIX B.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

By WILLIAM O. SCROGGS,

Professor of Economics and Sociology in the Louisiana State University.

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THE ARCHIVES OF LOUISIANA.

By WILLIAM O. SCROGGS.

INTRODUCTION.

The name Louisiana was first applied to the entire region drained by the Mississippi River and its tributaries, but in 1763 the boundaries were restricted by the treaty of Paris to that portion of the original province west of the Mississippi and Iberville Rivers and of Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain. In 1804, after the purchase of Louisiana from France, Congress organized the portion south of the thirty-third parallel as the Territory of Orleans and designated the region north of this line as the District of Louisiana, assigning to its administration the officials of the Territory of Indiana. In 1810 the governor of the Territory of Orleans, acting under instructions from President Madison, took possession of that part of West Florida between the Mississippi and Pearl Rivers, which for several years had been a subject of dispute with Spain; and in 1812, when the Territory was admitted to the Union as the State of Louisiana, this disputed region was made a part of the new Commonwealth, and is still designated as the "Florida Parishes."

From the foundation of New Orleans in 1718 until the secret treaty of November 3, 1762, Louisiana was a province of France. Though ceded to Spain by this treaty, Louisiana was not definitely surrendered by the French Government until August 18, 1769. The period of Spanish rule lasted until November 30, 1803, when the province was formally surrendered to representatives of the French Republic, in accordance with the treaty of San Ildefonso of 1800. The second period of French rule lasted, however, only 20 days, and on December 20 possession was transferred to the United States.

Original records for the period of French domination are not to be found in any State office except that of the custodian of notarial records in New Orleans. The great repository of information for this period of Louisiana's history is the archives of the French Government. Copies of many important papers in the French archives relating to Louisiana have been made for the Louisiana Historical Society, and are now in the custody of that organization in New Orleans. The French manuscript sources for the history of Louisiana for the years 1717 to 1731 are listed by Pierre Heinrich in his "*La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes*," pages ix-xiii.

For the period of Spanish domination (1769-1803) there are many surviving records in the archives room of the city hall in New Orleans. These documents are inadequately protected, being placed on ordinary wooden shelves where dust and mold are doing their destructive work, and no special effort has been made to safeguard any of them from fire. In this building also are found the records of the second period of French rule (November 30-December 20, 1803), and many papers pertaining to the government of the Territory of Orleans (1804-1812). The other public records in New Orleans are housed in the courthouse building, which is the headquarters not only for local officials, but also for the attorney general, the supreme court, the State library, the State board of engineers, the State board of health, the conservation commission, the fire marshal, the custodian of notarial records, and the State tax collector for the parish of Orleans.

In addition to these public collections in New Orleans, there are a number of private collections of papers and documents of an official character which are exhibited in cases in the old Cabildo building, and some mention of these should be made in a report on the archives of the State. Especially noteworthy are the Cusachs, Morgan, Thompson, and Seymour collections. These include commissions, orders, proclamations, and letters of the French, Spanish, and early American governors. The letters of Gov. Claiborne and James Wilkinson concerning the Burr enterprise, and the documents relating to the War of 1812-1814, are of especial interest. The latest of these manuscripts of historical importance bear the date of 1891 and have reference to the defeat of the Louisiana lottery.

With the exception of the State banking department, whose office is situated in Shreveport, all State officials not domiciled in New Orleans have their headquarters in the State capitol at Baton Rouge. The frequent changes in the location of the seat of government and the burning of the capitol in 1862 account in part for the disappearance of many of the public records. New Orleans became the capital of the provincial government in 1722, and so remained throughout the colonial and territorial periods and during the first 17 years of the period of statehood. In 1829 the capital was removed to Donaldsonville, but as this arrangement proved unsatisfactory to the members of the general assembly they resolved to return to New Orleans during the session of 1831. The archives were transferred under the direction of the secretary of the senate and the chief clerk of the house. The constitutional convention of 1845 directed that the seat of government should be changed to the town of Baton Rouge by January 1, 1849, and the removal was effected in March, 1846. After the capture of New Orleans in 1862 the headquarters of the State government were transferred first to Opelousas and later to Shreveport, the latter town remaining the Confederate capital till

the end of the war. In the meantime a Unionist State government was set up at New Orleans. In December, 1862, the capitol at Baton Rouge, then used as barracks by Federal troops, was destroyed by fire. With it were destroyed a part of the State library and many valuable records. The constitution of 1864 designated New Orleans as the capital, and it remained so throughout the reconstruction period; but the constitutional convention of 1879 again selected Baton Rouge as the seat of government. A new building was erected there and was occupied for the first time in March, 1882. The general assembly, by an act of December 19, 1881, appropriated \$4,000 to defray the expense of transporting the archives from New Orleans to Baton Rouge.

These seven removals and a fire are not the only explanations, however, that may be given for the loss of many of the State's archives. The average State official is inclined to look upon his administration of the office as a unit, and all papers not needed for the conduct of current business are transferred to a storeroom. As the storeroom becomes crowded the older records are destroyed to make room for others not needed in the office. There are, of course, many exceptions, but these are found only in those offices where the preservation of records is one of the prescribed functions.

ARCHIVES IN NEW ORLEANS.

ARCHIVES' ROOM, CITY HALL.

SPANISH DOCUMENTS.

Five volumes entitled "Cabildo." The Cabildo was created by proclamation of Alejandro O'Reilly, the first governor under the Spanish régime, on November 25, 1769. It took the place of the Superior Council of the French period, and consisted of ten members and the governor, the latter presiding at its meetings. The five volumes enumerated above constitute the journal of its proceedings from its origin in 1769 to its abolition in 1803, when Louisiana was again made a French province.

Spanish Documents, 1770-1792. A bound volume of miscellaneous papers; ordinances of Governor O'Reilly; financial papers; a petition to the Cabildo, in 1773, for a tax on slaves to pay their masters when the slaves were executed for crime; a letter from Bernardo de Galvez, December 24, 1779, stating that the Spanish King had authorized his American subjects to make war upon the subjects of the King of England.

Spanish Documents, 1792-1799. A volume of letters to and from governors, with accompanying documents.

Spanish Documents, 1798-1804. Mostly financial accounts, claims, and statements of exports and imports of New Orleans.

Spanish Documents, 1800-1803. Official correspondence; a letter of Salcedo announcing his appointment as governor, February 10, 1800; letter of Laussat informing "Messieurs les membres du Cabildo de la Ville à la Nouvelle Orleans" of his arrival in the capacity of colonial prefect of Louisiana; a printed proclamation of the commissioners for delivering Louisiana to the French Government; a letter indicating the precautions that should be taken against yellow fever; a request of two men that they be allowed to continue giving balls to negroes.

Spanish Documents, 1791-1804. Papers relating to judicial business.

Spanish Documents. Francisco Blache (also spelled Blanche in several places), testamentary executor of Don Luis Blondeau, 1799. Contains many letters addressed to the governor, and an interesting inventory and valuation of property. Inventory of Notarial Offices. Inventories made by various hands between 1800 and 1804.

Census of New Orleans, 1791. A folio volume giving the population classified by blood (white, mulatto, negro), condition (free or slave), occupation, and sex. The enumeration is made by streets and gives the number of persons living in each house.

A bound volume of miscellaneous documents, covering years 1726 to 1805. Some of these documents are copies of originals in the archives of the Spanish Government. Especially interesting are certain extracts from Governor Miro's correspondence concerning the relations of Spain and the Americans in the Southwest after 1790. Some light is thrown on the attitude of Wilkinson and McGillivray.

One bundle marked "Old Spanish Documents, from 1799 to 1803." Statements of shipping statistics, anchorage duties, claims, and receipts. The papers really go back to the year 1789.

One bundle marked "Spanish Documents, 1778-79." Financial statements really dating from 1777.

One bundle marked "1795. Statistics." Papers contain the names of the residents in the several wards (*barrios*), and the number of chimneys and fireplaces, for use in the collection of taxes.

FRENCH DOCUMENTS.

Six volumes entitled "Conseil de Ville." The Conseil de Ville was created by Pierre Clément Laussat, the colonial prefect who took possession of the province for France on November 30, 1803. During the twenty days of Laussat's rule, the Conseil de Ville seems to have acted somewhat in the capacity of the *Cabildo* which it replaced. After the American occupation it served only as a municipal council, though its records until 1812 are of more than merely local importance. The six volumes cover the period from November 30, 1803 to September 27, 1834. Vol. I begins:

"*Republique Française: Louisiane. Procès Verbal D'installation de la Municipalité. Séance du 8 frimaire an 12eme. Aujourd'hui huit frimaire an Douzième de la Republique française, le Citoyen Pierre Clement Laussat Préfet Colonial, Commissaire du Gouvernement français après avoir pris possession de cette Province de la Louisiane qui vient de lui être delivrée par MM. les Commissaires du Roy D'Espagne à la Maison commune de cette ville, a proclamé dans une des salles de la dit Maison L'arrêté Suivant.*"

On page 19 of this volume occurs the following:

"*Procès-verbal de Reinstallation du Corps Municipal le jour de la prise de possession de la Colonie par les Etats Unis. Aujourd'hui Vingt décembre mil huit cent trois de l'ère chretienne MM. les commissaires ou agents des Etats-unis William C. O. Claiborne et James Wilkinson s'étant réunis à l'hôtel de ville dans la Salle des Séances de cet municipalité avec le citoyen Pierre Clement Laussat Préfet colonial commissaire du Gouvernement français à l'effet de recevoir de lui la possession de cette colonie ou province de la Louisiane,*" etc.

French Documents, November 30, 1803 to March 31, 1804. The first document included in this volume is a printed broadside of Laussat's proclamation relative to the transfer of Louisiana to France. Laussat's signature is added by his own hand. The volume is made up mostly of decrees by Laussat; but it is especially interesting to note that it contains an inventory of the archives of the *Cabildo*, made December 10, 1803, and beginning, "*Premièrement cinq Registres des délibérations du Cabildo.*" These are the same five volumes noted above under Spanish Documents.

Répertoire des Régistres des Délibérations du Conseil de Ville, depuis L'année 1769 Jusqu'en L'année [1828]. An index of the five "Cabildo" volumes and of the first five volumes of the "Conseil de Ville."

Repertory of the Records of the Deliberations of the City Council from the year 1769 to the year [1828]. An English translation of the preceding volume.

AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

American Documents, 1804-1814. A volume containing many letters from William C. C. Claiborne, the governor of Orleans Territory, to the mayor of New Orleans concerning the spheres of power of the Territory and the city. Questions concerning port regulations, the escape of slaves on outgoing vessels, the importation of slaves from the Antilles, and the stationing of militia at dances are discussed. This volume contains evidence that the Cabildo volumes described above were used by Claiborne in an effort to settle the question of the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. May 10, 1804, he wrote to the mayor: "I am desirous of perusing the archives of this province with a view to ascertain a fact interesting to Louisiana and of which the Government of the U. States wishes information. I presume there can be no danger to the interest of this city, in committing to my care for one Day *only*, the Register Book for 1669 [1769], and the small bundle of papers of the same year." May 10, 1804, he wrote again: "Mr. Pedesclaux will return to you the Register and papers which I borrowed of you, on this morning:—I am sorry they furnish me with no information as to the *Subject* on which I have been directed to make Enquiries."

American Documents, 1804-1814. Letters, petitions, etc., to the city council. Many from Governor Claiborne.

Mayor's Messages. Volume I, March to December, 1805, is of more than local importance, containing a number of communications between Governor Claiborne and the mayor of New Orleans as to the respective spheres of municipal and Territorial authority.

SUPREME COURT RECORD ROOM.

Minute Books, 1813-1913. 34 vols. Opinion Books (containing original drafts of the opinions of the court), 1813-1906. 79 vols. The volumes for the years following 1906 are on the shelves in printed form only.

Minute Books (for sessions in Monroe, Opelousas, Alexandria, Shreveport, and Natchitoches to 1894). 10 vols.

Opinion Books (for sessions in Monroe, Opelousas, Shreveport, Alexandria). 14 vols. Clerk's Docket, Shreveport, 1883-1885.

Docket Books, 1813-1913. 14 vols.

Fee Books, 1826-1838, 1866-1878. 3 vols.

Indexes to Dockets and Fee Books, 1813-1913. 5 vols.

Transcripts of Cases. Filed by numbers in steel cases.

Indexes of "Cases Submitted." 17 vols., 1891-1911.

In the archives room of the courthouse are the records of the district courts, filed in bundles and boxes. The records of the first district court for the years 1804-1812, the territorial period, are said to have more than local significance, but these were inaccessible when the archives room was visited in January, 1913, as the documents in this room had only recently been removed from another building and had not been assorted or placed in any order.

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Pardon Docket, 1886-1913. 4 vols.
 Criminal Docket, 1888-1913. 3 vols.
 Civil Docket, 1888-1913. 2 vols.
 Minute Book of Cases, 1900.
 Two letter books, 1887-1890.
 Thirty-six letter files, 1879-1911.
 Three large wooden boxes of miscellaneous and unassorted correspondence in store-room.
 Seven bundles "Miscellaneous Papers for Sundry Years."
 Eight bundles "Communications 1875-1876."
 Seventeen bundles "Miscellaneous for 1873, 74, 75."
 One drawer "Copies of Letters for 1877."
 Three drawers "Suits and Judicial Documents for Sundry Years."
 Four drawers "Cases Settled."
 One drawer "Pending Cases," 1897-1899.
 Eleven drawers "Pardons Not Acted Upon," 1889-1907.
 Three drawers, "Pardons Rejected," 1901-
 Two drawers, "Miscellaneous Papers," 1871-1888.
 One drawer, Letters, 1880-1881.
 One cabinet "Applications for Pardons," 1880-1913.

STATE LIBRARY.

The collections in the State library consist of printed materials, mainly statutes, judicial decisions, and other official publications. There is, however, one exception, namely:

The Journal of William C. C. Claiborne, from November 25, 1805, to January 14, 1807. The Journal is the governor's letter book for the years named. In addition to the official letters it contains copies of Claiborne's speeches to the general assembly and to the Caddo and Choctaw Indians. The reply of the Caddo chief is included. Much of the correspondence relates to the Burr conspiracy, and the last entry is a copy of a letter of James Wilkinson to Burr. The letters throw much light on Spanish intrigues in Louisiana with the Indians during the boundary dispute with Spain in 1806.

OFFICE OF STATE BOARD OF ENGINEERS.

This office contains the following bound volumes:

Receipts and Disbursements of Taxes for Levee Purposes, 1879-1901.
 Estimates and Allotments of Levee Funds, 1881-1888.
 Cash Book, Chief State Engineer, 1886-1894.
 Index Book of Engineers and Contractors.
 Index to Record of Certificates Issued on Levee Fund. 3 vols.
 Record of Reports and Estimates, Engineer's Office, Board of Public Works, 1868-1871.
 Record of Work on Levees by Parishes, 1868-1881.
 Record of Surveying Instruments in Office of State Board of Engineers, 1894-1911.
 Proceedings (minutes of board, 1877-1912).
 Record, 1875-1876.

General Engineer Fund, 1888-1911. 2 vols.
Ledger, 1876-1888.
Lists of Dimensions, 1895-1910. 71 vols.
Certificates, 1882-1912. 28 vols. (Copies of stub books issued to contractors.)
One hundred and eleven letter books.
Traveling expense books, 1889-1894. 5 vols.
One thousand three hundred and eleven Field Books of Surveys.
One cabinet containing cross sections of levees.
One cabinet of levee, drainage, and topographical maps.
Eighty-four drawers of levee, drainage, and topographical maps.
One cabinet of profiles of levee lines.
Twelve drawers containing contracts, 1877-1913.
Four drawers of special correspondence.
One drawer of assessments and financial statements, 1888-1913.
One drawer of vouchers (current).
Sixteen boxes of papers relating to drainage, siphons, public roads, land surveys, etc.;
for period of office's existence.
Inspectors' reports on levees, 1877-1913.
Letters received are stored in bundles in the office vault.

OFFICE OF HIGHWAY DEPARTMENT, STATE BOARD OF ENGINEERS.

This department was organized on February 1, 1911, and its records and papers are consequently limited in amount and scope. Its papers are preserved in vertical filing cases under the following heads:

Bids; Statements; Automobiles; East Baton Rouge Parish Reports; Grant Parish Project; Photographs; Highway Conventions; State Highway Departments and Associations; Quotations on Road Materials and Reports; Petitions; Applications for Employment; Information to Correspondents; Applications for State Aid; General Correspondence.

OFFICE OF THE FIRE MARSHAL.

Fire Record Book, 1904-1913. 4 vols.
Index to Fire Record Book. 2 vols.
Record Book of Adjusted Losses, 1911-1913.
One filing cabinet of Reports on Losses; reports being filed by parishes.
One filing cabinet containing Testimony and Investigations of Fires in Louisiana, 1904-1913.
One file of Inspections and Notices Concerning Fire Hazards, City of New Orleans, 1904-1913.

OFFICE OF THE CONSERVATION COMMISSION.

Lease Registers. 15 vols., 1904-1913.
Vessel License Register, 1905-1910.
One cabinet file of leases.
One cabinet file of current correspondence.
One file each of vessel applications, vouchers, applications canceled, sheriff's reports, and reports of conservation agents.
Ten books of carbon copies of vessel licenses.
Twenty-four chart books containing blue prints of oyster bed surveys.

OFFICE OF THE STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.

The records of the State board of health include the following:

Morbidity Reports.

Lists of practitioners, midwives, dentists, and embalmers.

Reports on inspections of milk, food, drugs; and oils.

Analytical reports.

Monthly reports from the various departments of the board, of work and of expenditures.

The substance of these records is always embodied in the published reports of the board.

OFFICE OF THE CUSTODIAN OF NOTARIAL RECORDS.

The records in bound volumes exceed 5,000 and extend from the year 1735 to date. In addition there are 71 bound volumes of plans, 4 unbound volumes, and 78 rolls of maps and plans too large for binding and preserved in tubes. To the records there are several series of indexes.

OFFICE OF THE IMMIGRATION DIVISION, LOUISIANA STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.

The office of the immigration division of the State board of agriculture and immigration is situated in the State museum building. Its manuscript records consist of the following:

One filing cabinet containing letters in bundles.

Four boxes marked "Land Requests." (Requests for information concerning lands in Louisiana.)

One vertical file of correspondence with real estate and colonizing companies.

Three vertical files of correspondence with railways, and land, exposition, and advertising companies.

ARCHIVES IN BATON ROUGE.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR.

Very few records in the governor's office have been preserved. Only papers relating to current business are on file in the executive office. Noncurrent papers are transferred to the basement of the capitol, and these in turn, it appears, have been disposed of to make room for later accessions. In the basement the following records were found:

A cupboard containing the papers of Governor Francis T. Nicholls (1877-1880) in bundles; 88 bundles marked "Direct Tax Claims," which are affidavits filed in 1893 stating that the claimants paid the direct tax of 1865; bundles of miscellaneous papers unmarked.

A box of letters concerning direct tax claims.

Thirty-eight box letter files, containing letters to the governor, 1900-1906,

Forty letter books of the governors, 1901-1906.

Three large boxes of miscellaneous papers, loose and unassorted.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

All records in this office not needed for daily reference are stored in three dark and damp rooms in the basement, where they are rapidly deteriorating. They include the following:

Original Acts, Territory of Orleans, 1804-1805; 1809-1811.

Original Acts, State of Louisiana, 1818-1910. 99 vols. The volumes for the years 1812-1817, 1820, 1826, 1830-1832, 1835, 1839, 1844-1845, 1860-1864 are missing.

Executive Journal, 1837-1842; 1846-1848.

Official Acts of the Governor, 1864-1876. 4 vols.

Messages and Proclamations, 1877-1894. 5 vols. 1896-1913. 5 vols.

Executive Messages to the Senate, 1877-1886.

Journal of the Senate, 1860, 1861, 1865, 1868, 1869, 1874, 1877. 7 vols.

Index of Acts, 1817-1900. 2 vols.

Constitution of 1879 and Miscellaneous Ordinances (engrossed copy).

Constitution of 1898 (engrossed copy).

Constitutional Convention of 1898:

Roll Book.

Ordinance Book.

Resolution Book.

Minute Book.

Constitutional Amendments, 1906.

Constitutional Amendments, 1908.

Register of Laws Received and Promulgated, 1868-1888. 2 vols.

Official Promulgation, 1907.

Record for Arrest of Criminals, 1912-1913. 2 vols.

Requisitions on Louisiana Governors, 1880-1887.

Requisitions by Louisiana Governors, 1880-1888.

Index to same.

Requisitions, 1904-1913. 2 vols.

Extraditions, 1904-1910; 1912-1913. 2 vols.

Book of Pardons, 1879-1884; 1912-1913. 2 vols.

Death Warrants, 1900-1913. 3 vols.

Record of Appointments, 1843-1857. 2 vols.

Record of Commissions, 1866-1888. 6 vols.

Leaves of Absence Granted to State and Parochial Officers, 1907-1911. 2 vols.

Permanent Registration under Section 5 of Article 197 of the Constitution of 1898 [the "Grandfather Clause"]. 67 vols.

Record of Notarial Bonds. 2 vols.

Notarial Book of Orleans Parish, 1890-1896. (File of Notarial Bonds).

Record of Municipal Officers, 1893-1895 (only partially kept); 1896-1908. 4 vols.

Record of Powers of Attorney (current).

Record of Charters, 1898-1913. 77 vols, 2 missing.

Index to Record of Charters. 3 vols.

Record of Labels, Trade Marks, 1898-1909.

Record of Special Tax Election, 1910.

Record of Special Elections (current).

Record of Special Tax Elections (current).

State and Parish Primary (current).

Procuration (record of the appointment of agents of corporations in Louisiana), 1900-1913. 5 vols.

Two cabinets containing papers referring to pardons, 1909-1913.

Eight boxes containing papers referring to pardons, 1907-1913,

Two cabinets containing charters.

One cabinet containing papers relating to charters, extraditions, appointment of agents, town charters, trade marks, proclamations, commutations.

Election Returns, 1908-1912. In bundles.

Letter books, 1899-1908.

Letter files (boxes), 1898-1912.

Oaths of Office, 1909. One box for each parish. Oaths of Office, 1910-1911. One box for each two parishes.

Six boxes Insurance Agents' Certificates, 1895-1907.

Twelve boxes Insurance Agents' Documents, 1903-1908.

One box Nominations, November elections, 1902.

Five boxes Executive Orders, 1891-1892, 1900, 1902, 1902-1903, 1901.

One box Justice Certificates.

One box Congressional and Senatorial Credentials, 1904-1908.

Eight boxes Town Elections, 1900, 1908, 1905-1906, 1904-1905, 1899-1900, 1906, 1908, 1904.

One box Parish Officers, 1904.

Six boxes Oaths of Office, 1900-1908.

Two boxes Registered Voters, January, 1908, 1902.

One box Election Promulgations.

One box Proclamations, 1900-1904.

Two boxes Senate Confirmations.

Two boxes Sundry Papers, 1904, 1900.

One box Contests.

One box Receipts from Senate Printer.

One box Applications for Acts, 1907.

One box Resignations.

One box Applications for Constitution, 1899.

Two cases of shelves containing bundles marked insurance, bonds, oaths of eligibility, requisitions, pardons, special elections, proclamations, town charters, 1898-1912.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

The records of the insurance department, a division of the office of the secretary of state, are stored with the other records of this office, and no attempt at separation seems to have been made.

Annual Statements of Life Insurance Companies, 1898-1911. 97 vols.

Record of Agents, 1897-1913. 11 vols.

Index of Insurance Companies Authorized to do Business in Louisiana. 3 vols.

Record of Insurance Servers of Process, 1904-1913. 2 vols.

OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR.

The current records of the auditor's office are kept on shelves in two rooms on the first floor of the capitol. All other records are stored in six rooms in the basement. The bound volumes are placed in cases and are protected by glass doors. The unbound papers are placed in cupboards under these cases, and are unassorted and unmarked except in one room. To classify these loose papers, therefore, was a physical impossibility. The receipts into the treasury are recorded by the auditor in the Tax Collector's Ledger, the Fund Book,

the Sundry Ledger, the Parish Ledger, and the Redemption of Property Ledger. The expenditures are recorded in the Appropriation Book, the Fund Book, and the Outstanding Warrant Ledgers. The other series of volumes enumerated below require no explanation.

Fund Books, 1879-1913. 34 vols.

Sundry Ledgers, 1877-1913. 34 vols.

Parish Tax Ledgers, 1878-1913. 25 vols.

Tax Collectors' Ledgers, 1880-1913. 9 vols.

Tax Collectors' Ledgers, Confederate Veteran and Good Roads Taxes, 1910-1913. 2 vols.

License Ledgers, 1878-1913.

District Levee Tax Ledgers. 6 vols.

Redemption of Property Ledgers.

Delinquent Taxes, 1871-1878. 32 vols.

Assessment Rolls, 1911 and 1912. 122 vols. These are kept upstairs for current use.

Assessment Rolls, Parish of Orleans, 1873-1910. 473 vols.

Assessment Rolls, all other parishes, 1873-1910. These occupy practically all of three rooms in the basement.

Appropriation Books, 1875-1912. 29 vols.

Orders on the Treasurer, 1888-1908. 115 vols.

Outstanding Orders, 1883-1884.

Ledger, 1875-1876.

Warrant Books, 1880-1913.

Outstanding Warrant Ledgers, 1881-1913.

Record of Expenditures, 1879.

Township Ledgers (showing administration of part of the School Fund).

Lists of Educable Children between the Ages of Six and Eighteen Years (Act 129 of 1908), for year 1911. 126 vols.

Minutes of Board of Audit and Exchange. 2 vols.

Coupon Registers. 71 vols.

Pontchartrain Levee Bonds. 6 vols.

Lafourche Levee Bonds, First District.

Fifth Louisiana Levee District Bonds. 2 vols.

Red River, Atchafalaya and Bayou Boeuf Levee District Bonds.

Atchafalaya Levee Bonds. 4 vols.

Lake Borgne Levee Bonds. 8 vols.

Records of State Bonds. 55 vols.

Records of Bonds and Oaths of Office.

Bundles of papers relating to taxes, assorted by parishes. These fill one of the rooms in the basement.

Letter books and letter files, 1878-1913.

OFFICE OF THE TREASURER.

The records of this office are complete from the year 1880, with a few earlier volumes also preserved. They are well protected in a fireproof vault and consist of financial accounts arranged according to the following series:

Journals of Receipts.

Journals of Expenditures.

Fund Books of Receipts.

Fund Books of Expenditures.

Ledgers of Expenditures.

Tax Ledgers.

Sundry Ledgers (for some years the Tax Ledgers and Sundry Ledgers are combined).

Blotters.

Redemptions of Property.

Vouchers, in bundles, assorted by years.

Letter books and letter files.

OFFICE OF THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION.

In this office, as in many other departments, only the current records are available. These were provided for in the filing cases and were classified under the following heads:

Treasurer's Quarterly Reports.

Teachers' Certificates.

Superintendents' Bonds.

Text-Book Publishers' Contracts.

High School Deeds.

Sixteenth Section Sales.

Bonding Companies.

Requisitions for High School Diplomas.

Reports on School Libraries.

Institutes.

Summer Schools.

State Institute Conductor's Reports.

Reports of High School Inspector.

Documents Relating to Text-Book Adoption.

OFFICE OF THE RAILROAD COMMISSION.

The State Railroad Commission was organized in December, 1898. Its records consist of the following:

Minute Book, 1898-1913. 3 vols.

Docket Book, 1899-1913. 2 vols.

Original Orders, 1899-1913. 2 vols.

Original Reports of Railways, each report in a separate folder, 1899-1913.

Records of Complaints, in bundles and filed in cabinets.

Letter files and letter books, 1898-1913.

OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL.

Prior to 1912 this office was almost without organization, and with its general overhauling in that year such papers as had accumulated were removed to the basement of the capitol, where they are stored without assortment in a large wooden box. Two volumes of special interest, however, are retained in the office. These are:

Special Orders, 1870-1913.

General Orders, 1870-1912.

In both these volumes may be found orders bearing the signatures of James Longstreet, Adjutant General, 1870-1872, and of Beauregard, Adjutant General, 1879-1888.

OFFICE OF THE STATE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION.

The records of this office consist of letter files dating from 1894 and account books dating from 1884. The correspondence is classified under the following headings:

Fertilizers.
Feedstuffs.
Agriculture.
Paris Green.
Immigration.

REGISTER OF THE STATE LAND OFFICE.

The register of the State land office is custodian of two classes of records, those compiled by the State and those compiled for the Federal Government by the United States Surveyor General for Louisiana. The records of the latter office were turned over to the State on June 30, 1910, and are preserved in a fireproof room in the basement of the capitol. The records of the State land office are filed in the office of the register on the first floor of the capitol, and no special precautions are taken for their preservation. The State records consist of the following:

Records of Patents. 37 vols.
Order of Books for Sales of Land. 46 vols.
Warrant Books, 1844-1913.
Seminary Land Lists.
Internal Improvement Lists.
School Indemnity Land Lists.
McEnery Scrip Land Lists.
Confederate Military Bounty.
Land Warrant Lists. 3 vols.
Selection Lists of Swamp Lands of 1849-1850.
Lists of Approved Swamp Lands.
Patents of Swamp Lands.
Patents under Act 23 of 1880.
Rejections of Swamp Land Selections.
Tract Records (many volumes, embracing all State lands; eight volumes deal with land administration during the Civil War).
Maps of all State lands.
Maps of State surveys.
Lists of Warrants under Act 104 of 1882.
Lists of Filings under Act 21 of 1886. 2 vols.
Lists of Approvals of Railway Lands.
Certificate Registers (Records of Sales).
Lists of Property Forfeited for Taxes.
Records of Redemptions and Cancellations of Tax Sales.
Refund Warrants. 3 vols.
Bundles of Warrants and Certificates in a cabinet, 1844-1913.
Letter books and letter files.

In the basement the following Federal records were noted:

Maps and plots arranged by districts.

Two hundred and forty-two sundry maps. In packages and rolls.

Field Notes of United States Surveys.

Plots and descriptive notes, certificates of conformation, and orders for surveys.

Miscellaneous Documents (applications for scrip, bonds, oaths, evidence in scrip, swamp land affidavits, applications for swamp land selections. 808 bundles.

Letters from Registers and Receivers, 1808-1909. 62 bundles.

Letters from Commissioner General, 1908-1909. 2 bundles.

Individual letters, 1819-1909. 74 bundles.

Letters from U. S. Deputy Surveyors, 1805-1909. 41 bundles.

Miscellaneous Documents (claims, receipts, applications, selections, etc.) 17 bundles.

Field notes. 12 vols.

Press copy for Requisitions. 1 vol.

Letters to Officers, 1805-1909. 28 vols.

Letters to Individuals, 1851-1909. 11 vols.

Letter books, 1805-1834. 3 vols.

Letter books, 1873-1909. 59 vols.

Letter files, 1871-1874. 4 boxes.

Louisiana United States Geological Survey.

Swamp Selections. 5 vols.

Surveyor-General Scrip, nos. 1 and 2. 2 vols.

Certificates of Location. 3 vols.

Private Land Claims, Southeastern District.

Index to Scrip Applications. 2 vols.

Voucher Records.

Index to Letters. 7 vols.

Plots. 14 vols.

Record of United States Commission.

Record of Spanish Claims.

Record of Spanish Patents. 2 vols.

Record of Land Claims. 12 vols.

Index to Private Land Claims. 5 vols.

Maps of Tensas, Morehouse, Concordia, and Franklin parishes. 4 vols.

Record of Description of Land in Southwestern District.

Abstracts of Pre-emption.

Minute Book of Clerks to Commissioners.

Minute Book of Commissioners, Western District Orleans Territory.

Orders of Survey. 4 vols.

Register and Recorder's Reports, 1815, 1816, 1821. 3 vols.

Register for County of Acadia and Part of Iberville.

Bearing-trees for Parishes. 15 vols.

Exhibits of Land Claims, Greensburg District. 3 vols.

Letters from Commissioner of the General Land Office, 1803-1861: 1869-1907. 70 vols.

Indexes to letters. 6 vols.

Surveyor General's Annual Reports, 1834-1846. 7 vols.

Abstract of Claims, Eastern District, Orleans Territory (unbound).

Account Books. 30 vols.

Miscellaneous Records. 6 vols.

MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS.

The records in the office of the supervisor of public accounts consist only of current correspondence and reports of the examinations of the books of public offices and institutions. They are preserved in vertical filing cases.

The offices of the state board of equalization and of the live stock sanitary board are also in the capitol, but they contain very few papers and none of importance to the historian. The office of the banking department is situated in Shreveport, and as the substance of its records appears in its printed reports a special trip to Shreveport for the purpose of listing the records of this single office was deemed unnecessary.

ARCHIVES OF THE PARISHES OF NATCHITOCHES AND EAST BATON ROUGE.

While no attempt has been made in this report to include local records, reference should be made to the archives of the parishes of Natchitoches and East Baton Rouge. Natchitoches is the oldest settlement in the State, having been founded by St. Denis to serve as a barrier against the Spaniards who had settled east of the Sabine River. The records in the parish courthouse possess, therefore, something more than merely local interest. The same is true of 18 volumes of Spanish records in the courthouse at Baton Rouge. These deal with the Spanish administration of West Florida during the years 1782-1810.

APPENDIX C.

THE ARCHIVES OF THE STATE OF MONTANA.

By PAUL C. PHILLIPS,
Of the University of Montana.

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THE ARCHIVES OF MONTANA.

By PAUL C. PHILLIPS.

The public archives of Montana are kept, for the most part, in the different offices in the State capitol at Helena. The great mass of them are of very recent date, and in many departments they go back no further than the administration now in power (1912). There is very little material antedating the organization of the State in 1889.

Before 1889 the Territorial records suffered greatly from the frequent removals of the capitol. At such removals it seems probable that nothing was preserved except the most necessary records, such as laws, warrants, and vouchers. No responsibility was attached to the care of any archives except those likely to be of immediate practical importance, and no provision was made for housing them. In many cases documents were destroyed apparently for a purpose, and no one seems to have felt the necessity of preserving them.

Since the organization of the State, this destruction has gone on almost unhindered. It is customary in many offices, notably those of the attorney general and superintendent of public instruction, as soon as the annual or biannual reports are printed, to destroy every scratch of record except that which has been incorporated in the printed report. Except for a few departments, there is no law to prevent this wholesale destruction, and unless the new officials who come in at the beginning of 1913 show greater care and intelligence, we may expect the present conditions to continue.

There is a State historical library, but it has had nothing to do with the archival material of the State, and confines its endeavors to collecting old newspapers and books, and documents regarding pioneer life in Montana. The library has the largest collection of printed material taken from the archives to be found in the State. These include session laws and reports of State officials, but the latter are not complete.

The State historical library is the natural repository for all archives no longer used by the different departments, and which are now destroyed. It is well supported, and has commodious quarters in the capitol building, which could contain a vast quantity of State records. A department of archives should be created as part of the general library and a trained archivist placed in charge of it.

Some additional legislation is needed. All State officials should be required to preserve intact the records of their offices, and when of no further use in the office, they should be turned over to the department of archives, to be examined and disposed of at the direction of the archivist. No detailed scheme is suggested, but it is beyond doubt that unless some plan for the preservation of Montana archives is acted upon, the State government will never have a history.

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE.

By law the governor is required to keep a register of all applications for pardon, or for commutation of sentence, with a list of the official signatures and recommendations in favor of each application; to keep an account of official expenses, and a register of all appointments made by him.

The records of the governor's office are kept in a fireproof vault and are easily accessible. They are not systematically arranged, however, and are scattered through letter books, files, and large drawers.

Letter books and letter files. These date back to 1877 but are most complete for late years. 15 letter books and 63 files. These letters relate to all kinds of executive business and are arranged for the most part chronologically.

Executive documents. Proclamations, mostly offering rewards, governor's messages, reports of departments, legislative correspondence, and miscellaneous papers. 120 files and 10 drawers.

Miscellaneous matter, mostly requisitions. 13 drawers.

Convict and insane records. 6 registry books.

Muster-out and muster-in rolls and pay-rolls of the Montana militia in the Spanish-American War. 1 drawer. These are claimed as the property of the adjutant general's office.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

The secretary of state is the legal custodian of the following records: "The Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Assembly, and the journals of the Legislative Assembly, and of all books, records, deeds, parchments, maps, and papers kept or deposited in his office pursuant to law." The records of the secretary of state are kept in two fireproof vaults, one on the first floor of the capitol and one in the basement.

UPPER VAULT.

Debates of the constitutional convention of 1889. 1 drawer.

Records of the constitutional convention of 1889. 2 drawers.

House journals, 1864-1889. Journal for first session missing. 15 volumes. All in print, including first session.

House journals, 1889-1911. 17 volumes. From second to eighth sessions, journals in print.

Senate journals, 1889-1911. 15 volumes. From second to eighth sessions, in print.

Bound books. Miscellaneous matter containing house and senate bill books, memorials, reports of committees, and other documents pertaining to the legislature. Not arranged in any order. Date from 1864 to 1909. About 150 volumes.

Senate and house bills enrolled, 1895-1911. 24 cases.
 Vetoed bills. 1 case.
 Domestic corporations. Articles of incorporation, etc., 1867-1912. 53 files.
 Foreign corporations, 1869-1912. 38 files.
 Pardon cases. Arranged consecutively. 35 files.
 Oaths of notaries public from 1887. 20 files.
 Election returns, 1894-1906. 8 files.
 Election expenses. 1 file.
 Certificates of nomination, 1906-1908, 1910. 4 files.
 Miscellaneous. Contracts, reports of State officers, location of the capitol, proclamations, bonds of State officers, resignations, new counties, commission forms of government, and other matters. 31 files.
 Code of civil procedure. 2 volumes. In print.
 Civil code. 2 volumes. In print.
 Penal code. 2 volumes. In print.
 Political code. 2 volumes. In print.
 Executive records, 1865-1912. Appointments, pardons, warrants, etc. 8 volumes.
 Bonds of notaries public, 1901-1912. 6 volumes.
 Cash book of secretary of state during Territorial period.
 Bonds of Territorial officers. 1 volume.
 Index to corporations. 3 volumes.
 Official bonds of State officers. 3 volumes, labeled "A," "B," "C."
 Miscellaneous. Trade-marks, labels, commissions, mortgages, etc. 10 volumes.
 Notaries public. Appointments.
 Records of corporations. 39 volumes.
 Senate and house bills, engrossed, which failed to become law. Of recent date. 29 files.

LOWER VAULT.

Miscellaneous. Oaths of office, election returns, letters, 1879-1880, 1883, 1885, 1889, 1889-1904. contained in 10 large wooden boxes. The letters in a number of old files have been destroyed.
 Session laws of council and house, regular and special sessions from organization of Territory to admission of State. 25 large drawers arranged consecutively. In print for first to third, and fifth to sixteenth sessions.
 Constitutional convention of 1884. Journals and records of the convention. 3 large drawers.
 Constitutional convention of 1889. There is a little material contained in a large drawer with the session laws of the first Territorial assembly.
 State session laws, 1891-1905. 20 drawers. Some contain senate bills, some house bills, and some both. In print.

AUDITOR.

The auditor is required to keep all accounts in which the State is interested, to keep account of all warrants drawn upon the treasurer, and to keep a register of warrants.

All the records in the auditor's office appear complete and they are fully indexed and easily accessible. All records are kept in boxes numbered consecutively. The most important are given below.

Territorial license and tax receipt stubs, 1865-1889. Boxes numbered 1 to 143 consecutively.
 Territorial abstracts of statistics. Box No. 144.

Territorial treasurer's receipt stubs. Box No. 145.
 Territorial bonds and coupons, canceled. Boxes 147-149.
 Territorial warrant stubs, 1865-1874. Boxes 151-153.
 Territorial abstracts of votes of various counties. Boxes 157-158.
 State license and tax receipt stubs. Boxes 159-248.
 County clerks' and treasurers' statements. Boxes 250-306.
 Warrants. Boxes 307-375.
 Charters, insurance, etc. Boxes 376-382.
 Vouchers. Boxes 383-735.

TREASURER.

The records in the treasurer's office are very incomplete, and no attempt has been made to classify them. They are piled away in a vault and are almost inaccessible.

Journal and ledger, 1867-1871. 2 volumes.
 Day book, 1871-1881.
 Bond book, 1867.
 Account of State treasurer with secretary of state.
 Treasurer's receipt stubs. 1 drawer.
 State auditor's certificates. 1 drawer.
 Illegal bonds. 1 drawer.
 Several bundles of old letters, some official but all apparently of trivial character.
 Journals, registers, ledgers since 1889. Seems to be a complete set. About 18 books of various sizes.

CLERK OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Complete file of cases from organization of Territory to date. These records are kept in filing cases in fireproof vaults, and are arranged consecutively by cases.

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

The attorney general is required by law to keep a register of all cases, whether civil or criminal, in which he is required to appear. This is to be a full account of the case. In previous administrations this has not been done, and there is no record of their cases of any sort, except an index of the opinions of the attorney general for 1894-1895. The present incumbent (1912) says he has kept a "day book" of his opinions since the beginning of his administration.

LAND OFFICE.

Records of State board of land commissioners, leases, cash books, abstracts of receipts, etc. 17 volumes.
 Leases of land by State to individuals. 134 files.
 Certificates of purchase. 7 volumes.
 Township plats of State.
 Expired and expiring leases. 18 files.
 Miscellaneous, mostly right of way applications. 18 files.
 Correspondence relating to certificates of purchase. 22 files.
 Leases of unsurveyed lands ("permits") letter files and letter books, letters of State board of land commissioners. 18 files.
 Copies of all land patents issued by State.

RAILROAD COMMISSION.

Correspondence. 1,500 files.

Freight, express, and passenger tariffs. 1,000 files.

Accident reports. 2,195 files.

Reports of transactions of business by railroads at each station of Montana.

BOARD OF HEALTH.

The board of health has statistics on contagious diseases, births, and deaths since 1907.

BUREAU OF CHILD AND ANIMAL PROTECTION.

The records of this bureau extend back to 1908. The bureau has a permanent record of all important cases coming under its jurisdiction since January, 1911. It has also a number of files of cases and files of correspondence relating to cases.

BOARD OF STOCK COMMISSIONERS.

Brands and marks, 7 volumes.

Record of estrays and shipments of stock out of the State. 22 volumes.

Letter files.

The offices of the superintendent of public instruction and of the adjutant general have no records except printed reports. The same is true of the board of equalization, the board of charities and reform, and of other boards.

XIII. CLASSIFIED LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1884-1912.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1884-1912; AND OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY, 1888-1897. ---

I. PAPERS AND ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

- (1) Papers of the American Historical Association. Vol. I. New York and London, 1885, pp. v, 502.
- (2) Papers of the American Historical Association. Vol. II. New York and London, 1887, pp. iv, 565.
- (3) Papers of the American Historical Association, Vol. III. New York and London, 1889, pp. iv, 536.
- (4) Papers of the American Historical Association. Vol. IV. New York and London, 1890, pp. viii, 537.
- (5) Papers of the American Historical Association. Vol. V. New York and London, 1891, pp. iv, 503.
- (6) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1889. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1890, pp. viii, 427.
- (7) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1890. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1891, pp. x, 310.
- (8) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1891. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1892, pp. ix, 499.
- (9) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1892. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1893, pp. vii, 698.
- (10) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1894, pp. x, 605.
- (11) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1894. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1895, pp. xii, 602.
- (12) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1895. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896, pp. x, 1247.
- (13a) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1896. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897, pp. 1313.
- (13b) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1896. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1897, pp. 442.
- (14) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1897. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1898, pp. ix, 1272.
- (15) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1898. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1899, pp. ix, 745.
- (16) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1900, pp. 817.
- (17) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1899. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1900, pp. 1218.
- (18) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901, pp. 652.
- (19) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1901, pp. 303.
- (20) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1902, pp. 583.

- (21) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1901. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1902, pp. 360.
- (22) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1903, pp. 648.
- (23) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1902. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1903, pp. 527.
- (24) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904, pp. 675.
- (25) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1904, pp. 1110.
- (26) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1904. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1905, pp. 708.
- (27) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1906, pp. 429.
- (28) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1905. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1907, pp. 1374.
- (29) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. 454.
- (30) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1906. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. 572.
- (31) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1907. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. 550.
- (32) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1907. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1908, pp. 646.
- (33) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. 539.
- (34) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908. Vol. II, part 1. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 1-807.
- (35) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908. Vol. II, part 2. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 808-1617.
- (36) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1909. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1911, pp. 812.
- (37) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1910. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1912, pp. 725.
- (38) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1911. Vol. I. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913, pp. 842.
- (39) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1911. Vol. II. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913, pp. 759.
- (40) Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1912. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1914, pp. 708+.

II. PRIZE ESSAYS AND ADDITIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

- (244) The Proposed Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, by Herman V. Ames. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1896.) Annual Report, 1896, II, 442.
- (322) Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina: a Sociological Study, by William A. Schaper. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1900.) Annual Report, 1900, I, 237-463.
- (348) Georgia and State Rights, by Ulrich B. Phillips. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1901.) Annual Report, 1901, II, 3-224.
- (365) The Anti-Masonic Party, by Charles McCarthy. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1902.) Annual Report, 1902, I, 365-574.

- (375) *The American Colonial Charter: a Study of its Relation to English Administration, chiefly after 1688*, by Louise Phelps Kellogg. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1903.) Annual Report, 1903, I, 185-341.
- (393) *The Nootka Sound Controversy*, by William R. Manning. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1904.) Annual Report, 1904, pp. 279-478.
- (423) *The History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation west of the Mississippi River*, by Annie Heloise Abel. (Justin Winsor Prize Essay, 1906.) Annual Report, 1906, I, 233-450.
- (440) *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*, by William S. Robertson. (Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Essay, 1907.) Annual Report, 1907, I, 193-539.
- (48) *The Spiritual Franciscans*. By David Saville Muzzey. (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1905.) Washington, American Historical Association, 1907, pp. 75. (Out of print; to be reprinted in 1914.)
- (49) *The Interdict: its History and its Operation, with especial Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III, 1198-1216*. By Edward B. Krehbiel. (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1907.) Washington, American Historical Association, 1909, pp. viii, 184.
- (50) *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*. By Clarence Edwin Carter. (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1908.) Washington. American Historical Association, 1910, pp. ix, 223.
- (51) *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*. By Wallace Notestein, (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1909.) Washington; American Historical Association, 1911, pp. xi, 442.
- (52) *The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery—Servitude—Freedom, 1639-1861*. By Edward Raymond Turner. (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1910.) Washington, American Historical Association, 1910, pp. xii, 314.
- (53) *The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men in England during the Interregnum*. By Louise Fargo Brown. (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1911.) Washington, American Historical Association; London, Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, 1912, pp. xi, 258.
- (54) *The Whig Party in the South*. By Arthur C. Cole. (Prize Essays of the American Historical Association, 1912.) Washington, American Historical Association; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. 392.
- (41) *The Study of History in Secondary Schools, being the Report of the Committee of Seven of the American Historical Association*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899, pp. ix, 267.
- (42) *The Study of History in Elementary Schools, being the Report of the Committee of Eight of the American Historical Association*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, pp. 141.
- (43) *Writings on American History, 1906: a Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States and Canadian History published during the Year 1906, with some Memoranda on other Portions of America*, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908, pp. xvi, 186.
- (44) *Writings on American History, 1907: a Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States and Canadian History published during the Year 1907, with some Memoranda on other Portions of America*, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xvi, 162.
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- (477) *Writings on American History, 1909: a Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States and Canadian History published during the Year 1909, with some Memoranda on other Portions of America*, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin.

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- (494) Writings on American History, 1910: a Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States and Canadian History, published during the Year 1910, with some Memoranda on other Portions of America, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. Washington, 1912, 280 pp. Annual Report, 1910, pp. 427-706.
- (515) Writings on American History, 1911: a Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States and Canadian History published during the Year 1911, with some Memoranda on other Portions of America, compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. Washington, 1912, 314 pp. Annual Report, 1911, pp. 529-842.
- (538) A Union List of Collections on European History in American Libraries, compiled for the Committee on Bibliography of the American Historical Association, by E. C. Richardson, chairman. Trial edition. Princeton, 1912, pp. 114.

III. CLASSIFIED LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

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- (55) Secretary's Report of the Organization and Proceedings, Saratoga, September 9, 10, 1884, prefaced by a reprint of an article by H. B. Adams on "A New Historical Movement," from the Nation, September 18, 1884. Papers, I, no. 1, 3-44 [3-44].
- (60) Report of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting, Saratoga, September 8-10, 1885, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Papers, I, no. 6, 1-73 [421-493].
- (61) Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., April 27-29, 1886, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary, including abstracts of the following papers: Columbus, by Gen. James Grant Wilson; Graphic Methods of illustrating History, by Albert Bushnell Hart; the Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in this Country, by Moses Coit Tyler; New Views of Early Virginia History, 1606-1619, by Alexander Brown; the Part taken by Virginia under the Leadership of Patrick Henry in Establishing Religious Liberty as a Foundation of American Government, by Hon. William Wirt Henry; the Causes of the Revolution, by Edward Channing; the Development of Municipal Government in Massachusetts, by T. Jefferson Coolidge; the March of the Spaniards across Illinois, by Edward G. Mason; the Northwest Territory, its Ordinance and its Government, by Israel W. Andrews; Did the Louisiana Purchase include Oregon? by William A. Mowry; the Settlement of the Lower St. Lawrence, by Eben Greenough Scott; the Origin of the Highest Functions of the American Judiciary, by Austin Scott; Jefferson's Use of the Executive Patronage, by J. M. Merriam; the Early Protective Movements and the Tariff of 1828, by F. W. Taussig; the Attack on Washington City in 1814, by Maj. Gen. George W. Cullum; Confederate and Federal Strategy in the Pope Campaign before Washington in 1862, by Col. William Allan; the States' Rights Theory, its Evolution and Involvement in American Politics, by James C. Welling; the Reconstruction of History, by George E. Ellis; William Usselinx, by J. Franklin Jameson; Franklin in France, by Edward Everett Hale; Historical Studies in Canada, by George Stewart, jr. Papers, II, no. 1, 1-104 [1-104].
- (65) Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting, Boston and Cambridge, May 21-24, 1887, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Papers, III, no. 1, 5-238 [5-238].
- (66) Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 26-28, 1888, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Papers, III, no. 2, 1-30 [245-274].
- (67) Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 28-31, 1889, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Papers, IV, no. 1, 1-35 [1-35].

- (74) Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 28-31, 1889, by Herbert B. Adams. Annual Report, 1889, pp. 1-18.
- (71) Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 29-31, 1890, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Papers, V, nos. 1 and 2, 1-16 [1-16].
- (79) Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 29-31, 1890, by Herbert B. Adams. Annual Report, 1890, pp. 3-12.
- (111) Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 29-31, 1891, by Herbert B. Adams. Annual Report, 1891, pp. 3-11.
- (136) Report of the Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting, Chicago, July 11-13, 1893, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Annual Report, 1893, pp. 1-12.
- (164) Report of the Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 26-28, 1894, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Annual Report, 1894, pp. 1-16.
- (193) Report of the Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 26-27, 1895, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Annual Report, 1895, pp. 1-18.
- (221) Report of the Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting, New York, December 29-31, 1896, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Annual Report, 1896, I, 11-34.
- (245) Report of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, Cleveland, Ohio, December 28-30, 1897, by Herbert B. Adams, secretary. Annual Report, 1897, pp. 1-17.
- (267) Report of the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting, New Haven, Conn., December 28-30, 1898, by Herbert B. Adams. Annual Report, 1898, pp. 1-12.
- (289) Report of the Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting, Boston and Cambridge, December 27-29, 1899, by A. Howard Clark, assistant secretary. Annual Report, 1899, I, 1-42.
- (312) Report of the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, Detroit and Ann Arbor, December 27-29, 1900, by A. Howard Clark, secretary. Annual Report, 1900, I, 1-32.
- (331) Report of the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, Washington, D. C., December 27-31, 1901, by Charles H. Haskins, corresponding secretary. Annual Report, 1901, I, 17-45.
- (350) Report of the Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, December 26-30, 1902, by Charles H. Haskins, corresponding secretary. Annual Report, 1902, I, 17-45.
- (368) Report of the Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting, New Orleans, December 29-31, 1903, by Charles H. Haskins, corresponding secretary. Annual Report, 1903, I, 17-52.
- (379) Report of the Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting, Chicago, December 28-30, 1904, by Charles H. Haskins. Annual Report, 1904, pp. 17-64.
- (396) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-first Meeting, Baltimore and Washington, December 26-29, 1905, by Charles H. Haskins, corresponding secretary. Annual Report, 1905, I, 17-54.
- (411) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting, Providence, December 26-29, 1906, by Charles H. Haskins, corresponding secretary. Annual Report, 1906, I, 19-34.
- (425) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-third Annual Meeting, Madison, December 27-31, 1907, by Charles H. Haskins, corresponding secretary. Annual Report, 1907, I, 19-34.
- (442) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting, Washington and Richmond, December 28-31, 1908, by Waldo G. Leland, secretary. Annual Report, 1908, I, 21-44.

- (457) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, New York, December 27-31, 1909, by Waldo G. Leland, secretary. Annual Report, 1909, pp. 27-58.
- (458) Twenty-fifth Anniversary Celebration: Proceedings of the Carnegie Hall Meeting. Annual Report, 1909, pp. 59-77.
- (478) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting, Indianapolis, December 27-30, 1910, by Waldo G. Leland. Annual Report, 1910, pp. 23-54.
- (495) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting, Buffalo and Ithaca, December 27-30, 1911. Annual Report, 1911, I, 23-60.
- (517) Report of the Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting, Boston and Cambridge, December 27-31, 1912. Annual Report, 1912, pp. 25-68.

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- (391) Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Max Farrand. Annual Report, 1904, pp. 259-266.
- (405) Report of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of Pacific Coast Branch, by C. A. Duniway. Annual Report, 1905, I, 219-229.
- (412) Report of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Max Farrand. Annual Report, 1906, I, 35-42.
- (426) Report of the Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by C. A. Duniway. Annual Report, 1907, I, 35-41.
- (443) Report of the Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Jacob N. Bowman. Annual Report, 1908, I, 45-53.
- (459) Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Jacob N. Bowman. Annual Report, 1909, pp. 79-89.
- (479) Report of the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by Jacob N. Bowman. Annual Report, 1910, pp. 55-68.
- (496) Report of the Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by H. W. Edwards. Annual Report, 1911, I, 61-68.
- (518) Report of the Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch, by H. W. Edwards. Annual Report, 1912, pp. 69-78.

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- (473) The Historical Societies of France, by Camille Enlart. Annual Report, 1909, pp. 257-266.
- (474) The Work of Historical Societies in Spain, by Rafael Altamira. Annual Report, 1909, pp. 267-277.
- (472) The Work of Dutch Historical Societies, by H. T. Colenbrander. Annual Report, 1909, pp. 243-256.
- (68) The Origin of the National Scientific and Educational Institutions of the United States, by G. Brown Goode. Papers, IV, no. 2, 1-112 [93-202].

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- (249) The Functions of State and Local Historical Societies with Respect to Research and Publication, by J. Franklin Jameson. Annual Report, 1897, pp. 51-59.
- (408) Reports on Methods of Organization and Work of State and Local Historical Societies, by R. G. Thwaites, B. F. Shambaugh, and F. L. Riley. Annual Report, 1905, I, 249-325.
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- (404) Second Report of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, by F. H. Severance. Annual Report, 1905, I, 175-217.
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- (104) [Abstract] State Historical Societies, by Gen. C. W. Darling. Annual Report, 1890, pp. 101-102.
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- (330c) The Public Archives of Iowa, by B. F. Shambaugh. Annual Report, 1900, II, 39-46.
- (330d) The Public Archives of Massachusetts, by Andrew McFarland Davis. Annual Report, 1900, II, 47-59.
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IV. THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The American Society of Church History, organized March 23, 1888, was on December 31, 1896, constituted the Church History Section of the American Historical Association. The publications of the Society from 1889 to 1897, comprising eight volumes of "Papers," edited by Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, M. A., secretary, were transferred to the American Historical Association, and this series of Papers was discontinued.

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- (531) Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. II. New York, 1890, pp. xx, 104.
- (532) Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. III. New York, 1891, pp. xiii, 251.
- (533) Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. IV. New York, 1892, pp. lviii, 235.
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- (536) Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. VII. New York, 1895, pp. ccxlviii, 65.
- (537) Papers of the American Society of Church History. Vol. VIII. New York and London, 1897, pp. xxxi, 323.

Report American Historical Association, 1912.



MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM VANS MURRAY. 1800.

XIV. TENTH REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM VANS MURRAY.

DECEMBER 31, 1912.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.
CLARENCE W. ALVORD.
JULIAN P. BRETZ.
HERBERT D. FOSTER.
ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.
FREDERICK G. YOUNG.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM VANS MURRAY TO JOHN
QUINCY ADAMS, 1797-1803.

EDITED BY
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

NOTE.

The association is able to print the following letters by the courtesy of the trustees of the Adams Papers: Charles Francis Adams, Henry Adams, Brooks Adams, and Charles Francis Adams, 2d.

The letters from Murray to John Quincy Adams are numbered with Roman numerals, and are, without exception, taken from the Adams Papers. To these have been added the more important private letters which passed between Timothy Pickering, then Secretary of State, and Murray. These are taken from the Pickering manuscripts in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The correspondence of Murray, letters to him, was purchased by the Pennsylvania Historical Society; his letter books and diary are in the Morgan library, New York. Some Murray letters are in the Library of Congress, and his official dispatches are in the Department of State. I have not listed these collections, because of the mass; but other letters, published and unpublished, are noted in their chronological order.

Prefixed to the letters is an appreciation of Murray written by John Quincy Adams and printed in the *Portfolio*.

The editor alone is responsible for the notes.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD,
Editor.

Boston, October, 1913.

WILLIAM VANS MURRAY.¹

By JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Died at his seat in Cambridge, Eastern Shore of Maryland, on the eleventh of December, in the forty-second year of his age William Vans Murray, Esq., late Minister of the United States, to the Batavian Republic, and one of the Envoys extraordinary to the French Republic.

Mr. Murray was one of those characters, whose decease ought not to be passed over, with the mere ordinary notice of a newspaper paragraph. At an early age, he had risen high in the honors, and shared largely in the confidence of his country. He had filled various offices of the most important trust, and had executed their duties with great ability and success. He had rendered to the United States services, the importance of which will be more and more appreciated the more they are known, and the more extensively their consequences, which are still operating, shall be spread. He was a virtuous citizen. He was a faithful, able and indefatigable public servant. He was an accomplished and an amiable man. His memory is an object not uninteresting to his nation. To the heart of friendship which guides the pen at this moment, it is precious, it is inestimable.

During the period of the American revolution, Mr. Murray was passing from that of infancy to manhood. At the peace of 1783, he was about twenty-two years of age, and had received an education preparatory to the practice of the law. Immediately after that event he went to London, for the benefit of improvement by travel and foreign instruction, and resided during a period of three years as a student in the temple. Here he became acquainted with, and enjoyed the society of several English gentlemen, then upon the same establishment, and who have since become very eminent characters in that nation, as statesmen, and in the republic of letters as men of genius and science. At an age, when the passions usually riot in their most unlicensed range; with a natural constitution by its exquisite sensibility peculiarly exposed to the seductions of dissipation, and in the midst of a luxurious and splendid metropolis, where all the energies and powers of man are combined to vary the scenes

¹ The Portfolio, January 7, 1804.

of delight, and multiply enjoyments, where sloth allures to beds of down, and pleasure beckons with swimming eye, and enchanting smiles, he retained the firmness and resolution of devoting his time and attention to those objects, which were to mark the usefulness of his future life. The observations of Doctor Price, of Mr. Turgot, and of the Abbé de Mably upon the constitutions and laws of the United States, were published during this residence of Mr. Murray in England. He felt the importance of the subject, and meditated these writings of those great men, with that ardor of research and that integrity of purpose, which were strongly marked features of his mind and heart. He published the result of his reflections, in a pamphlet which was favourably received by the public, and which may still be consulted with advantage by any person curious of our constitutional history.

In the summer of 1784, while a student in the Temple, Mr. Murray took advantage of a vacation, to make an excursion of about six weeks to Holland. He travelled over that country with the pleasure which during that season of the year it cannot fail to give a man of lively imagination, of accurate observation and of judicious reflection. Enjoying the novelty and beauties of its scenery, remarking the manners, characters and usages of the inhabitants, inquiring into their laws, constitutions, and government, he committed to paper the result of all, as he went along; at the inns, in the travelling barks, at every resting place of the stage, he was assiduous in the use of his pen, and thus improved to valuable purpose every moment of that time, which he had considered as indulged to relaxation and amusement. The mass of information which he thus collected, and preserved in minutes made on the spot, he afterwards digested and methodized into a regular work; which has never been published, and which the writer of this article has never seen, but which he hopes is not lost, and wishes may one day be published.

Before the expiration of the term which Mr. Murray had allotted to his residence in England, he lost his father. The death of a distant friend is almost always to the survivor the same in effect as if it were sudden death. Mr. Murray had no intimation of his father's illness. The first intelligence he received, after a letter from him indicating perfect health, was an abrupt notification of his decease. To that father, his attachment was unbounded. It was the gratitude of a generous soul united to the sentiment of filial affection. The shock was too violent for a constitution always feeble, and at that time in precarious health. The day after receiving the information, he took to his bed from which for six weeks he did not rise; a languid and tedious convalescence of several months succeeded this illness, shortly after which he returned to his native country.

In the course of his abode in England he formed an attachment to the lady, to whom he was afterwards united, and who survives to lament his loss.

Immediately after his return he engaged in the practice of the law; but the voice of his country very soon called him to her councils. He was elected first a member of the Legislature of Maryland, and at three successive elections from 1791 to 1797 to a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States. This station he filled with distinguished honor to himself, and with entire satisfaction to his constituents. His fortune, however, which was not affluent, had suffered by the devotion of his time to the public service and so loudly called for some of his attention in its turn that in 1797 he had declined standing a candidate for re-election. But his merit and talents had not escaped the discerning eye of a Washington. He was unwilling that they should be buried in retirement, and one of the last acts of his administration was the appointment of Mr. Murray as Minister of the United States to the Batavian Republic.

He arrived at the Hague at a very critical period of affairs. The misunderstandings and disputes between the United States and France were festering to a rupture. The influence of France over the Batavian councils was uncontroled, and her disposition to involve Holland in opposition to her most unquestionable and urgent interest in the quarrel was not equivocal. By a judicious mixture of firmness, of address, and of conciliation, he not only succeeded in preserving uninterrupted harmony between the American and Batavian nations, but when the French government, listening to wiser suggestions than those, which had almost precipitated them into a war with America, became sensible that the true interests of both nations dictated peace and reconciliation, their first step was to send to the Hague a negociator calculated by his personal character, by his patriotism as a Frenchman, and by his friendly disposition towards the Americans, to second the congenial views and intentions of the American Minister at that place. The first advances towards a restoration of harmony were thus made, by conferences between Mr. Murray, and Mr. Pichon, then chargé des affaires of France at the Hague; these led to certain propositions for a renewal of direct negotiations, made by France, which Mr. Murray transmitted to his government.

When the dispatches containing the account of these interviews and the propositions of the French government were received, and had been fully considered by the then President of the U. States, he thought them sufficient to lay the foundation for that direct negotiation which was desired by France; he nominated Mr. Murray as Envoy extraordinary to the French Republic, for that purpose. This was undoubtedly, under the circumstances of that time, no ordinary

testimony of confidence in the abilities as well as the integrity of the Minister. It was even thought by those who had less experience and knowledge of his talents and character, confidence too extensive. In compliance with these opinions, two other gentlemen, of the highest respectability, were afterwards joined in the nomination and commission with him. He had justly estimated the proof of the President's personal trust, exhibited in the first and sole nomination; and he felt it as an additional mark of the same esteem, when he had colleagues given him, with whom it was an honour to be associated.

The issue of this negotiation, which terminated in the treaty concluded at Paris, the 30th of September 1800, is too recent, not to be within the recollection of every one. Immediately after the signature of that instrument, Mr. Murray returned to his station, as Minister resident at the Hague, where he remained until after the commencement of the present administration. He was then sent again to Paris, to make the exchange of the ratifications, which he accordingly effected. But, as it was judged unnecessary to continue the expense of maintaining a public Minister at the Hague, he was immediately afterwards recalled from that mission, and returned to the United States in December, 1801. From that period, until his decease, he had lived in retirement at his seat in Cambridge. His health had always been infirm, and, for the last eighteen months, had been in a continual decline.

In private life, Mr. Murray was remarkably pleasing in his manners, and at once amusing and instructive in his conversation. With a mind of incessant activity, and observation ever upon the watch, he united the all enlivening fancy of a poet, and with the most inoffensive good nature, a peculiar turn of original humour. He had a strong and genuine relish for the fine arts, a refined and delicate taste for literature, and a persevering and patient fondness for the pursuits of science. The compass of his conversation therefore was very extensive, and concurred with a temper social in the highest degree, to make him the delight of his friends and intimates. The keenness of his sensibility, and the rapidity of his conceptions, had given him a sense of decorum and propriety, which seemed almost intuitive. He perceived instantaneously, and felt deeply, every departure from it. But his wit and temper always led him to consider it with good humour, and to represent it with pleasantry. He had therefore a powerful talent at ridicule, and though, both from principle and disposition, he kept it under a well disciplined controul, yet it could not always avoid those resentments, which are the only defence of dullness and folly against it.

His facility in writing was proportioned to the vivacity of his mind: His letters were strongly marked with the characteristic

features of his conversation, and, by their elegance, their simplicity, their poignant wit, and unbounded variety of style might serve as models of epistolary correspondence.

As a public speaker, he also ranked high. During the six years of his service in the Congress of the United States, he took an active part in the measures and debates of the time, and as a test of his talents in this capacity, it may suffice to say, that in legislative assemblies accustomed to the eloquence of a Madison and an Ames, of a Giles and a Dexter, Mr. Murray's station was "if not first, on the very first line." It may also serve to confirm the truth of this observation, that this was the place, where his situation and conduct attracted the notice, and engaged the esteem and confidence of the first President of the United States.

In giving to the public this feeble and imperfect sketch of one of the brightest characters, which has arisen in the American Union, since the establishment of its independence, the writer must lament that the shortness of time has not allowed him to make it more worthy of the subject, and while indulging the private tear at the earthly dissolution, by the hand of death, of long-trying and affectionate friendship, he may confidently call upon the sorrows of his country, to mingle with his own, at the loss of a citizen, whose career, cut short at little more than half the ordinary period of human life, had already been signalized by attainments thus extraordinary, and by services thus pre-eminent. How few among mankind, of any time or nation, at the age of forty-two, have ever given such decisive and important pledges of the patriot's virtue, and the statesman's wisdom, as the man to whom this tribute of attachment and respect is paid? If the love and veneration of United America be justly due to those exalted characters, under whose conduct she rose to independence, and assumed her rank among the nations, she will never be unmindful of the departed worth, which emerging at a later date into life has toiled with equal ardour, and aimed with equal devotion to strengthen her independence with the pillars of security, and to adorn her temples with the wreath of national glory.

INSTRUCTIONS.¹

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

April 6, 1797.

SIR: Herewith you will receive your commission and letters of credence to the government of the Batavian republic; together with an authenticated copy of the letter of recall to your predecessor, Mr. Adams, (of which the original and duplicate have been forwarded to him) and a cypher.

¹ From the Pickering MSS.

The harmony that has subsisted between the United States of America and the United Netherlands, from the first moment of their political connection, has been grateful and useful to the former, and we trust not less so to the latter. This harmony and mutually agreeable and useful connection we wish uninterruptedly to maintain. To accomplish this object, so far as it depends upon us, will constitute a principal duty of your mission; and you will embrace every occasion to give to the Batavian republic proofs of our sincere good will.

The minister of that republic, on the 7th of September, 1796, communicated to this government the desire of his own to make some alterations in the treaty of commerce between the two nations, with a view to render it mutually more advantageous. On the 28th of the same month, Mr. Adams was instructed to inform the Dutch government of the disposition of the United States to concur in any useful amendments of the treaty, and to inquire what ameliorations were contemplated on the part of the republic; and the result of his negotiations, drawn into the form of a treaty, was to be transmitted hither for consideration, and as the subject of a message to the Senate where a formal appointment of a minister with full powers to complete the negotiation should be contemplated. Mr. Adams presented a memorial to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, making known the disposition of his government, which seems to have been gratefully received. Copies of all these papers are now delivered to you. It does not appear that any negotiation has yet taken place; probably it will be deferred to a more tranquil and settled period. If, however, the subject should be revived, you will enter upon it agreeably to the instructions to Mr. Adams, in my letter of the 28th of September, 1796. At the same time you will be pleased to understand that our treaty with the United Netherlands is considered by us as formed on such liberal principles, and contains regulations so beneficial to both parties, that we are much at a loss to conjecture what amelioration they can propose on their part. In ourselves it would be very desirable to obtain a more free commerce with the Dutch colonies; but the situation of these at present must prevent any definitive arrangements, and as already observed, it is probable this business must be deferred to a time of peace.¹

When Mr. Adams went from this country in 1794, he was furnished with the papers and charged with a claim on account of the capture of the *Wilmington Packet* and the condemnation of her cargo, at the island of St. Martins, in the year 1793. The claimants are Jeremiah Condry and Company, of Charleston, South Carolina. A concise history of this case you will find in Mr. Adams' letter of November 1st, 1796, to this Department; and the result to that time of his repeated reclamations. With his letter I hand you copies of the note

¹ The treaty of 1782 remained unchanged until a new treaty was negotiated in 1839.

of the Commission for Foreign Affairs, dated the 27th of September last, and of his answer on the 31st of October; which, besides the case of the *Wilmington Packet* touch on the subject of the admission of consuls from the United States into the Dutch colonial ports, and on the rights of the neutral flag of the United States, which the Commission hint, we ought to vindicate and with energy maintain against the "daily insults of the English." Should the latter point be again brought into view by the Commission, you will know what answer to return.

When a revolution in the government of the United Netherlands was manifestly approaching with the progress of the arms of France, Mr. Adams expressed his solicitude for instructions how to act, in case a prospect of a change in the government was realized. On the 27th of February, 1795, instructions were sent to the following effect: That as it had been a maxim of the President towards France to follow the government of the people; that whatever regimen a majority of them should establish, was to be considered both in fact and of right, that to which our minister there should address himself: So in case of a change in the government of the United Netherlands, Mr. Adams was to make no difficulty in passing from the old to any new constitution of the people: and if the new rulers would accept his old powers he was to offer them. This course was in fact pursued by Mr. Adams on the revolution in the government of the United Netherlands. If they had required new credentials, he was to assure the government that he should write for them, not doubting they would be expedited. The circumstances of the war in Europe still leaving the ultimate political arrangements of the belligerent powers subject of conjecture, these instructions naturally occurred as proper to be recited to you for your direction in the eventual changes which may take place in the government of the United Netherlands. The rectitude of the principle adopted by the government of the United States cannot be doubted. Decided in our right to regulate our own affairs in the form and administration of our government, we acknowledge the equal right of every other independent nation; and consequently respect the government which they establish.

Your situation at the Hague will furnish you with the best opportunity of obtaining authentic intelligence of facts and of the views and designs of the rulers of the contending nations. These we shall be anxious to know, and they may be deeply interesting to the United States. You will consequently think it necessary to be watchful and diligent in collecting and communicating them, with such reflections as a nearer and more certain view of them shall suggest.

You will have a right to correspond with the ministry of the nation where you reside in your own language, and nothing important

should depend on verbal communications, which can be committed to writing. . . .¹

I.

HELDER, 9 June, 1797.²

DEAR SIR: I am this moment arrived in the ship *Good Friends* from Philadelphia after a tedious passage, north about. We left Philadelphia on this day two months.

Independently of the pleasure I feel in paying you my earliest respects I have nothing important to communicate further than that our cargo is on public account—the proceeds of it for your old and troublesome correspondents the bankers.

Tomorrow night or next day certainly I shall be in Amsterdam, where I fear I must wait a few days for my baggage. Were it possible to see you then, it would give me very great pleasure, and besides the sooner I begin my lessons under you the better.

I find the *Neptune* has been here ten days, but as the President of the United States, your father, charged me with letters so soon before she sailed, it is probable that the pleasing assurance which I give you of his health may be the latest that you have received. I know nothing of the *posts* here and, therefore, do not send on any but mercantile letters. If your brother³ is yet with you pray, dear sir, remember me cordially to him, and believe me to be with sentiments of great respect and sincere esteem Dear Sir yrs. etc., etc.,

Seven o'clock P. M.⁴

¹ The instructions then go into details of salary and allowances. "A paragraph published in the *Leyden Gazette* intimated that the Dutch republic would be desired by that of France to refuse to admit a new minister from the United States. Should this happen it will occasion no surprise, because we know that the Dutch cannot avoid doing what the French require them to do. We shall only lament the domination which irresistibly directs and controls the measures of the Batavian Convention. . . . I inclose the President's speech at the opening of the present Congress, and a pamphlet containing the documents to which he referred. You will see among them extracts of letters from Mr. Adams and General Pinckney, in which they describe the influence of France in the councils of Holland, and the consequent interference of the latter with Denmark and the United States, to urge them to protect the neutrality of their flags. It was necessary for the information of our own citizens of the principles and views of the French government towards their allies the United States, to exhibit their conduct toward other powers, and their decided ruling influence over their allies the United Netherlands. For this reason Mr. Adams' letter of November 4, 1796, and the documents to which it refers could not be omitted. Some expressions in that letter may hurt the feelings of the members of the Committee of Foreign Relations; but when undertaking to give *extracts* we could not change the language. If any thing should be said to you on this subject, you may offer this apology, and with perfect truth assure the Committee, or those who were its members, that the American government regretted the occasion which called for the publication in question; that we sincerely respect them, and sincerely lament that imperative necessity which urged them to express sentiments repugnant, as we presume, to their own ideas of propriety, as well as unpleasant to the government of the United States." Secretary of State to Murray, May 24, 1797. Pickering MSS.

² Murray, whose term in Congress ended on March 4, received the appointment as United States minister to Holland, March 2, 1797, and embarked for his new post early in April. "Mr. Murray, of Maryland, your old friend, with whom you formed your first acquaintance at the Hague, is to succeed you. That gentleman has been so long a member of Congress, and has given such proofs of talents, amiable dispositions, and patriotic sentiments, as to qualify him to do honor to the mission, as well as to his predecessor. It would have been enough to have said that he is well chosen to fill the place; for I have the best authority, besides my private opinion, to say, that no place has been better filled than that at the Hague, since your appointment to that mission." John Adams to John Quincy Adams, March 31, 1797. "Works of John Adams," VIII, 537.

³ Thomas Boylston Adams, who had served as Adams' secretary of legation.

⁴ Murray to McHenry, June 9, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 227.

II.

Mr. Murray returns to Mr. Adams his valuable letter book, and particularly feels its loss when it attends the departure of its author, to whom he is indebted for so many kindly and excellent communications since his arrival at the Hague. The manuscript constitution also, together with the Treasury papers, he returns with his thanks. He has attempted to make out a manuscript passport as most respectful to Mr. Adams, but as he has no form but that in which so much unnecessary *description* is given, he wishes Mr. Adams would furnish him with one. He has Mr. Liston's¹ to himself, but that is directed to ships and commanders here. Tomorrow at half past nine he will wait upon Mr. Adams for the purpose.

Monday Evening.

III.

THURSDAY, [June, 1797.]

The passports with Mr. Murray's compliments and sincere wishes for a pleasant passage and genial weather to Mr. Adams and his brother. As all sorts of passports to such multifarious duties and affairs as those to which these are destined are delicate things, he hopes Mr. Adams will be assured that the *crest* on his arms has no intended reference either to our *allies*, or to the charming ally with whom a negotiation so delightful is to be opened, ratified and executed.²

The inclosed, if Mr. Adams has time, he can send to Mr. Peyron at Hamburg, if not, and he will put it in his pocket, Mr. M[urray] will take it at dinner.³

IV.

THURSDAY MORNING, 11 A. M. [July 6, 1797.]

DEAR SIR: This moment I received a letter and the President's speech⁴ from Mr. McH[enry], the Secretary at War, of the 23 May. He says the temper is complete in favor of the measures of the President, and that among the *people* none scarcely dare breathe a sentiment of apology for the offending power.⁵

¹ Robert Liston (1742-1836), British minister to the United States from February 17, 1796, to the peace of Amiens, when he was sent minister to the Batavian republic.

² Adams was on his journey to London, to be married to Louisa Catherine, daughter of Joshua Johnson, of Maryland, then United States consul at London.

³ Murray to McHenry, June 22, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 227.

⁴ May 17, 1797. In "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 1. With it were printed extracts from three of Adams' despatches. The publication caused some criticism of his conduct in Holland.

⁵ "The House debated near three weeks on the address in answer to the President's speech. The address finally passed by a large majority, as I recollect, about 63 to 36, and substantially as first reported. The great objections on one side were, the expressions of decided approbation of General Washington's administration, and among other parts of it, his just and impartial conduct to foreign nations: sentiments which you will readily imagine, would be opposed by those who have so zealously opposed very many important acts, executive and legislative, during that administration. The opposition on the other side, (and this occupied most of the time), was to an amendment, or rather to the amendments, proposed for the purpose of expressing the sense of the House, respecting some concessions which should be made, in order to satisfy France, viz. to put her on the same footing with England with respect to enemy's property on board neutral ships, and the extrusion of contraband to ship timber and naval stores. This amendment was finally carried in substance. The opposers had no objections to these concessions; but said it was improper to undertake to *instruct* the President in his negotiations with foreign nations. The defensive measures recommended by the President meet with opposition, and those adopted will be modified. Secretary of State to Murray, June 12, 1797. Pickering MSS.

FURTHER that, not LISBON—but BERLIN is for him who is “imprisoned by the viewless winds.”¹ My wish has been that the P[resident] might get over the delicacy or rather the false delicacy of omitting him in the commission to Paris. If Berlin is seriously intended, and McH[enry] speaks of it unreservedly, it would appear that a chain of neutral relations is intended. He says that (the gentleman of whom I just spoke) “is to go to Berlin.” He says “*the speech* will be echoed by both branches of Congress and the measures it recommends adopted, upon this I think you may count.”

In fact his whole letter breathes comfort to us all, if we wish dignity and spirit tempered by moderation and sustained throughout by unanimity. Young Rutledge was on the Committee to answer the address, and acquitted himself most handsomely. I write in all the haste that an uncertain state of the winds naturally produces, hoping you may hear of the honors that await you, and yet wishing that the wind may have borne you forward towards England.

You can easily decypher what is excentric in the passages of this note, with my compliments of congratulation to your brother and yourself on the solid comfort of Union and wisdom in our country. Believe me to be, dear sir, with sincerity faithfully yours.

By an enclosed journal I see that Beckley² the clerk is turned out of the House of Representatives! a certain sign of a *majority* of good men.

V.

HAGUE, 6th (Thursday) July, 1797.

DEAR SIR: When I wrote half an hour since I had not read any of the papers. I find in Bache³ of the 22d May that you are nominated to the court I mentioned in my first of today. The *Aurora* of Bache again attacks the President with considerable virulence. General P[inckney] will probably be envoy extraordinary, or at the head of the commission of which I told you. The wish of the faction was to force him out that Mr. J[efferson] or Mr. M[adison] might go to Paris. They said he was too much *irritated*. The government however is firm against their plans.

I thought you ought to know of the high probability there is of a change in your destination before you got to England. The renewal of the treaty with the power in question [Prussia] is, I suppose, an object of your mission, probably also a treaty with the powers with

¹ At Maassluis. He did not reach London until July 12.

² Jehn Beckley, of Virginia, defeated by one vote for reelection. In revenge he gave out the documents on which Callender made his attack upon Hamilton, and led to Hamilton's defense, “Certain observations.” King, “Life and correspondence of Rufus King,” II, 192.

³ Benjamin Franklin Bache (1769-1798), a grandson of Benjamin Franklin, under whose direction the Philadelphia *Aurora* became one of the influential journals of the day, and a strong critic of the federal policies under Washington and Adams. A failure to recognize him socially is said to have been the source of his opposition.

whom it was long since suggested to you it would be agreeable to have ministers. Dear sir, again most truly yours respectfully.

In the communications from the President containing matter to which he refers in his speech are letters from you of 4 November, 1796, [and] part of that of 17 February, '97.

VI.

THE HAGUE, *July 7, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Hory did not send your obliging favor till this moment.¹ It is now near ten and of course this must wait till tomorrow. By nine this morning you had a few lines dated yesterday but too late for the post of last night. The new destination must strike everybody as it does myself—as a real inconvenience to you. But depend upon it, though Bache and his kennel may and probably will bark a little, your father did right in this business and will be supported in it by the American world. It is not a new grade. The excellent Washington has placed that matter upon such ground that a mere change of place with the same grade will give you no room for sensibility.

I will attend to your idea of Marbois report² and the loan here.³ Could you not tell me of some most egregiously good *quid nunc* who would give me early notice of what passes in this silent canal of politics? You would do me a particular kindness, and I would endeavor to be very civil to such a gentleman.⁴

Delay and misfortune seems eternally to hang upon our ministers in their passage and to the dispatches. Because this is a time very interesting to us here, a ship, Captain Dominique of Philadelphia, after a very short passage must be run a shore at the Texel. She had on board dispatches, General Pinckney tells me today, for him and myself—and very probably for you. All the dispatches are lost. She had three feet water in the hold.

With compliments to Mr. T. B. Adams I am with the sincerest esteem, dear sir, faithfully, your servant.⁵

VII.

THE HAGUE, *9 July, 1797.*

DEAR SIR: The wind has changed this morning, and I hope you are by this time passing Goeree on your way to England. I trouble you upon the present occasion to ask the favor of you to give me any information in your power upon a case to which my attention is

¹ Of the same day, printed in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 186. Horry was nephew of General Pinckney.

² On the expenses of the French department of foreign affairs. François Barbé de Marbois (1745-1837).

³ A "voluntary" loan of twelve millions of guilders, imposed by the French upon Holland.

⁴ Adams recommended Count Bielfeld, then representing Prussia at The Hague.

⁵ Adams to Murray, July 8, 1797, in Adams MSS.

this morning called by a Mr. Jan Van der Werf, a merchant of Amsterdam. It is one which supports the claim of Messrs. Rotch and Sons, of Nantucket, now before the Committee of Foreign Affairs, and respects the ship *Penn*, purchased by Mr. Rotch at Havre in 1792. Sent on a whaling voyage, captured in a river near de Logod or Sogod¹ by ——— Vandyke, commander of a packet brig of the Dutch East India company called the *Star*, and carried in as prize to the Cape of Good Hope. The only paper I have is Rotch's affirmation in which he proves American citizenship, transitory residence in Europe, the property of ship and cargo to be his and part of the crews, and the capture and nature of the cargo. Perhaps you may have written upon this subject to this government and also to our own. You will oblige me much if you can find a leisure moment from better engagements, and you will give me any information respecting this business. I mean to *speak* first to Mr. V[an] Leyden.² I am with sincere wishes for a continuation of your present happiness truly and sincerely with esteem etc.³

VIII.

THE HAGUE, 30 July, 1797.

DEAR SIR: Mr. Wadsworth assured me of your safe arrival in London. I have nothing to authorize me but my good wishes in giving you my felicitations upon the event which e'er this must [have] taken place. In all events pray let my respectful compliments wait upon the ladies. Mrs. Johnson was always a very great favorite of mine. I have often had occasion to admire her wit, and always humility enough to bow to its justice. I should lament if she has forgotten. I never shall forget her polite hospitalities to a raw American. It is astonishingly true that we are surprised into a recollection that we grow old. When I left England in 1787 her young family were children. One of them at this moment is the subject of my felicitations to you as a woman grown.

Noël⁴ the other day sent a note to your old friends giving the sanction of the French government to the Batavian constitution and urging its adoption. Alas even the good men are pleased with this interference! An attempt was unsuccessfully made a few days since to remove out of the way the declaration of the rights of men and citizens, though the Orangists might come in and vote—13 were for it, 40 against it. Noël was warmly for it!

Mr. Marshall will tell you with what haste I was obliged to avail myself of his opportunity.

¹ Delagoa?

² Frederik van Leyden, van Westbarendrecht, secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

³ Murray to McHenry, July 14 and 18, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 230, 243; Murray to John Adams, July 15, 1797, in Adams MSS. Adams to Murray, July 20, 1797, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, July 15, 1797, Pickering MSS.

⁴ Jean François Noël (1755–), French representative at The Hague.

I am with compliments to your brother, dear sir, most sincerely with the highest esteem yours etc.¹

IX.

THE HAGUE, 23 August, 1797.

DEAR SIR: A few days since I wrote a few lines to tell you that the constitution has been pronounced upon by the sovereign people of Batavia and treated with a sovereign contempt. There were about four to one against it. The great Orange mass, a very few excepted, silently lay by, and secretly enjoyed the distractions of the two parties of the Patriots. The few who voted were with the Jacobins against adoption. Thousands of the laborious class who properly are with the moderates could not vote for or against, as they would not make the declaration of the rights of man. They said this declaration was *equal* to an *oath*, and they did not understand such subjects! This declaration was foreseen by the friends of the constitution as one of its greatest obstacles and an attempt was made in a very thin house to have it removed out of the way but the high revolutionists both from its actually containing their creed, or on account of its collaterally being useful to their views as a means of preventing adoption, resisted and triumphed. Mr. Noël was for the removal of this difficulty. There was at Utrecht a singular circumstance of 2200 Dutch national guards—1500 only could be induced to vote.

General Pinckney² and I have been mournfully disappointed in reading the debates in Congress to the 25 June which were received a few days since. Nothing, nothing I fear but the misery of experience will open the eyes of many worthy enthusiasts to the unprincipled and frightful ambition of France. From the moment I heard of the mutiny in the British fleet and the intended negotiation at Lisle,³ upon my arrival here, I had fears lest these events should cower and benumb that exalted spirit which I was certain would prevail at the meeting of Congress. Of course you know they would feel cautious in a greater degree as soon as they found either from the then apparent termination of the war in Europe or from the crippled state of the British fleet that should war take place between United States and France, even if no alliance with Great Britain were intended, the *co-operation* of Great Britain could not be counted upon! In all my letters I have from the first hazarded the proposition and have attempted to support it—that the negotiation at

¹Murray to John Adams, August 4, 11 and 17, 1797, in Adams MSS. Adams to Murray, August 13, 1797, in Adams MSS. Murray to McHenry, August 7 and 11, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 246, 248. Secretary of State to Murray, August 10, 1797. Pickering MSS.

²Charles Cotesworth Pinckney (1745-1825), at this time United States minister to France, but in Holland, after his rejection by the French republic.

³Lord Malmesbury's fruitless peace mission.

Lisle would not succeed, and that the fleet was restored to its integrity. But, sir, this infernal French disease is deeply seated in the mind in the U[nited] S[tates;] and it will long work by a thousand shapes against real Americanism. Minds tough enough to resist conviction when Batavia and almost all Italy are produced in evidence, are almost hopeless. Yet such there are!

I see that the *letter* to that Precious professor, call him Matzie¹ is considered by Webster² as genuine and he says he has *authority* so to consider it! But you have *faith*. I am inclined to *superstition*, but not to faith, and almost believe in the personal agency of the Devil. *His* influence, not the last gentleman's, but *yours*,³ does I am convinced immense mischief in the Senate. I know several genteel men, with about as much of *science* as I have, that is, just enough to make them wonder that any mortal should have more, who I am sure are the dupes of his philosophising dinners, in which the almost treasonable theories of universal benevolence and philanthropy blend themselves easily with the politics of the day, and are promoted by the satisfactions of the table. These are then connected, as they are unfolded over a generous glass, with the grand and enlightened views of France, with touches upon the brilliance of her *victories*, and her gorgeous strength, and the country gentleman who went well enough inclined to give a vote for plain measures of defence and preparation, gets his head turned, and comes away a philosopher, and would not for worlds interrupt such grand designs, or longer feel sentiments that evince low prejudice and narrow views.

Baron B[iel]feld] your friend, says the King of [Prussia]⁴ will renew the treaty. Not a word has been said to me by men in government about the extracts of your letters. Should that be, I shall speak pretty plainly upon the "*letter of the committee*" which you inclosed. He wishes you may pass through the Hague.

You see how it is. I have been marry'd near eight years and *write long letters*—and should write longer were not poor Mrs. M. ill. She has been really very ill about a month. Heyman attends her. Had I more room I would place at a greater distance the mention of an event that stains when even mentioned. The *gentleman*⁵ to whom I *brought a letter* and to whom you introduced me *in his lodgings* at a booksellers and who was appointed to Lisle left the Hague, and next day a writ from Haarlem against him announced publicly the charge of the crimen nefandum contra naturam. He got to Paris and has sent in his resignation to the Committee. I sent you the other day Mr. Luzac's⁶ defence, doubtless you will enjoy it.

¹ Jefferson to Mazzei, April 24, 1796.

² Noah Webster, editor of the New York Minerva.

³ Jefferson.

⁴ Frederick William II, nephew of Frederick the Great.

⁵ William Anne Lestevenon.

⁶ Johan Luzac, editor of the Leyden Gazette.

He says that L'E[stevenon] was one of his great persecutors, and that his enemies are dropping off by sudden death or crimes. He always inquires affectionately for you. Pray accept my sincere wishes for the health and happiness of Mrs. Adams and yourself and believe me to be, dear sir, with true cordiality and esteem, faithfully yours.¹

X.

THE HAGUE, 1 October, 1797.

DEAR SIR: On the 22. September Mr. Gerry² arrived, in six weeks from Boston. The President had just arrived at his seat near that place. I went with Mr. G[erry] to Amsterdam to enjoy his conversation for a day, and I consider him as well made up upon the American points in contest with French ambition. He went on to Paris on the 24th. All the Commissioners are now there I hope, though to my surprise last Friday's mail brought me no letter from either Mr. Marshall or General Pinckney. As I send this by a private conveyance, Mr. Vancouver, I can safely express my fear that they will not do anything, except produce a new occasion in which the excessive injustice and ambition of the French may be made even more than ever manifest to our good countrymen in America. Indeed the renewal of hostilities is in favor of this negotiation; but I still fear that the points upon which the French government will rest and upon which they expect success are unconnected with the state of their affairs in Europe, and that they will grant nothing till the experiment for which they have so long prepared means in the U[nited] S[tates] shall have been try'd. To me it appears almost palpable that they will bring the breach of the British treaty into view in the negotiation, so as to draw the citizens of America into an issue upon the question, whether they are determined on a war with France or are willing to give up that treaty. This will probably be so introduced as to have

¹ Murray to McHenry, September 22, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 275; Murray to Pickering, September 13, 1797, in Pickering MSS.

"You have expressed those just sentiments on reading the President's speech, at the opening of the extraordinary session of Congress, which every patriotic and independent American would feel, but which you will have been mortified to find were not manifested in the proceedings of Congress. You will know perfectly well how to account for these things; and at the same time assure yourself (as in fact you do), 'that it is impossible to entertain a doubt of the union of our country on a question really of independence.' And though not invulnerable, and the calamities of war are sincerely to be deprecated, I have felt little anxiety about the final issue.

"Among the communications to Congress were some extracts from letters of Mr. John Quincy Adams, your predecessor. It would have been desirable to have let them remain concealed from the public eye, because the freedom with which he expressed his sentiments on the measures of the Batavian republic (a freedom both proper and necessary in his official letters to his own government) hazarded its displeasure. But you will have seen the urgency of making the contents of these extracts known to the citizens of the United States, to show them the necessity of firmness and preparation to prevent an impending war, or to resist and defeat hostilities, should they be commenced; while they exhibited as a beacon the pitiable *vassalage to which the Dutch were reduced by French fraternity*. I explained this matter to Mr. Polanen, who while he regretted the publication, was aware of its utility and importance to the *United States*. He informed me that he had so represented the affair to his government." Secretary of State to Murray, September 30, 1797. Pickering MSS.

² Elbridge Gerry (1744-1814), now on the commission to France, with John Marshall and C. C. Pinckney.

the appearance of an offer, attended with some very tempting overtures for a free West India and Mediterranean trade, without the formality of an ultimate *sine qua non* keeping the negotiation open. In the mean time, under the certainty that if they fail to divide the Union upon this project, they will still be masters of contingencies and may at last do what is decent if not full right. Mr. Gerry's idea is to delay and gain time; to this there appears to me much objection. The existing war is equal to an alliance in our favor. That may end next spring, at farthest next summer. Congress will be in session about the period when they might be brought to a decisive complexion, if our negotiators urge a speedy conclusion. The public spirit in America is yet pretty high. If it has much time to cool in the midst of discussions about the comparative good of French offers, and the political obligation of a treaty which thousands can not be well acquainted with who can yet feel the gross injuries heaped upon our heads by France, it will be a difficult thing to excite it again, even after a patient negotiation shall have completely developed the views of France. The points upon which the supposed variance exists as matter of opinion, have long been discussed, and are few. The facts from which injury has arisen to us are palpable and connected with their own official acts of government. The mode of redress is pointed out by recent precedents. Upon these the will and the measure of justice may be very soon ascertained, and if a new treaty be among the subjects intended the parallel of the Treaty with G[reat] B[ritain] is at hand. If from your experience and the very mature reflection upon our affairs with France and her designs upon us you agree with me in this idea of decision, always separating this, however, from anything like a testy and petulant captiousness in the manner of proceeding, your opinion would have the greater weight I am sure with our friends at Paris. The meeting of the next Congress will certainly prove one of the most critical events that has occurred for many years in our country. The whole Union will be on tip toe for information, and some decisive information from this second negotiation. The State legislatures will be in session to the southward from the first week of November, till Xmas and the first week in January. These, depend upon it, sir, will be canvassed by both parties, and attempts made to organize State parties through them, for and against the—I had nearly said the views of France—but at all events, upon the present dispute with her. Every contrivance in the mean time will be sent over from France to convince the people of the returning love generally of France. This will be done to *abate preparations* and to prepare the public mind for the real *sine qua non*, the breach of our national engagements, and to gain time for the operation of that party difference which she will count upon ultimately as the lever by which the Union is to be overthrown.

Men who arrive here from Paris tell me, that the Directory have lately become very much disposed to accommodate matters with America—I mean Americans. They so write home and every captain fishes up a budget of this sort of trash which in five months we see circulated as recent intelligence from Europe throughout the Union. These are in their origin small things, but in their effect upon the hopes and expectations of the newspaper readers and common people are very important; and though such an act as lately took place in the five hundred reversing and annulling the amicable arrangements of Pastoret and affirming all that the Directoire had done against us, will strike many, yet the counter assertion that is circulated, of a most amicable spirit in that Directory, will have thousands of honest and predisposed believers, and will create two opinions. The reception too of the American ministers will probably be handsome and friendly and full of kindly greeting. All this without an atom of substance will tend to divide expectation, and ought to urge us to that decision in which duplicity and pretence will be stripped to the eyes of all America. If they mean to be honest and fair, which God grant, we ought to know it soon; if not, the discovery ought to be made while the spirits and expectations of the people are not fatigued. I am sensible that I am tiresome to you on this point, because I am sure that you have turned this negotiation often in your mind and seen it in all its bearings; but it has for these six weeks struck me as so very important in this point of view, particularly since the late convulsion in Paris,¹ in which our chances seem diminished, that I could but indulge myself in again soliciting your attention to the subject under this aspect of it. I will now have the pleasure of refreshing you a little with *news*.

I wrote a note last week to Mr. Hahn² to know when he would receive a visit from me, because some time since he told me he would be glad to see me, and wished me to send to know before hand that we might meet with the more certainty. He answered me that he was going out of town, etc., etc., and in his note began that stream of complaints and crimination against you that I have for some time, as you did, expected. He regretted that you had written so disrespectfully of Batavia without foundation; and that the President had published your letter. Last night I repeated my endeavor successfully to see him. He received me civilly, and indeed kindly, and he began with repeating the substance of his note. Said he had not seen your letter and asked me questions upon points on which he had been pretty accurately informed. I endeavored to soften as much as I could. He was extremely irritated and remarked that no foreign minister who would behave so ought to be permitted to act

¹ The *coup d'état* of 18 Fructidor (September 4), carried into effect by Augereau, Bonaparte's lieutenant.

² Jacob George Hieronymus Hahn.

as such, and that this government would certainly have demanded your recall had you remained here. I told him that you had treated of the affairs of this country, as of facts highly exemplary to America. That it was notorious that they engaged to discharge a pecuniary exaction of one hundred million to France, and that a large French army were at this moment in the country, and that you had been undoubtedly stimulated into a pretty free use of these facts, by the letter and spirit and object of a communication made by his Committee of Foreign Affairs, to you, upon the *Wilmington Packet* affair. That there were in that expressions which were far from being of a soothing nature, and that the object of those expressions (free bottoms and neutrality) was so much at variance with the very principles adhered to in it, respecting that case, that there certainly was great room for conjecture, as to the motives that actuated the government of Batavia. This I did with as much gentleness as I could. He was very far from taking ill what I said, and recurred with much warmth and seeming sorrow too that you should have written under such an impression, without speaking to him about anything that was unpleasant in the letter, of which he said he had no remembrance, except the story of the vessel.

I remarked as to a minister's writing with freedom, he must do it. He said he hoped I would not write anything like what he heard was in your letter, viz. that Batavia was but a province of France. I assured him I felt the most profound respect for the government and free people of Batavia, and should upon every occasion manifest that sentiment. He said it was very imprudent in the government of the United States to publish such remarks; for now France, if she wishes to injure America will have a strong hold upon the spirit and pride of this government and nation, and may stimulate them to unkindness against the United States by telling them see how the United States treat you! With what contempt! They openly publish to all the world that you are a province of France. That you are slaves! He averred that in all the indisposition that had led France into measures which were injurious to us, Batavia had never joined, but had all along resolved upon the most amicable course towards the United States. He was in fact extremely hurt and seemed also disappointed and sorry. This letter has been much talked of and there is much fever excited in consequence. I suffer, I can plainly see; for an unusual coolness was apparent in the Secretary and some other public men soon after its arrival here. I hope that a great good has resulted from its publication; nothing but a certainty in such a speculation can compensate for the evil which may flow from it. Not that I have any idea that it would blind them to their own interest so far as to dispose them to hostile measures; but it does certainly abate the number of our friends even

among the moderates. Upon the whole it is, both from general policy and on account of the ministers of the United States, a very hazardous thing to publish such letters. I sincerely hope that my letters may sleep in quiet in the books. I wish, if you think it proper, you would drop a line to the Secretary to point out the evil tendency of such publications. I think myself bound to do it.¹ For these two months I have endeavored to impress upon the few Dutch public men whom I know, this proposition, placed under hypothetical situations, that it is the interest of France to let Batavia remain at peace, if the United States and France quarrelled. This I have taken some pains to illustrate, and am endeavoring to collect material by which I may eventually be enabled to demonstrate it, which I shall apply according as events render it useful. Of course I do this so as to avoid exciting any idea that I expect war with France.

The commission which you gave me respecting the placet of which you wished a copy is not executed. I wrote to Mr. Van Leyden, and spoke to Mr. Van Staphorst,² as soon as I had the pleasure of receiving your letter in August. I have since spoken to Mr. Van Leyden. He promised to endeavor either to get it for me, or to put me in the way of obtaining it. In vain. I have since apply'd to Mr. Havart who is of the Provincial Assembly, where by the bye the violent men have the majority of *one*; and from his activity I at length expect it. Mr. Van S[taphorst]³ is out; so is Mr. Schimmelpenninck who resigned his seat.⁴ Since the late convulsion at Paris parties are higher than usual. The agitation however is characteristic, the undulation of a canal; of the agitation of the political *ocean* they have little idea, those *interfusa intentes aequora cycladis*.⁵

On Friday week a fête in honor of "reconquered" liberty and the fall of royalisme at Paris took place in that quiet looking meadow where I suppose you have often walked; and then a few speeches in the place near the court, by the Liberty tree. The President of the Assembly addressed the troops, Dutch and French. The Dutch militia, good souls, were armed to the teeth on that day in wigs and black waistcoats, with "Pomps without guilt and bloodless swords and maces, glad chains, broad banners and broad faces." After him Mr. Noël in a cap and feathers, and scarfs, etc., etc., addressed the crowd. That army, which [*torn*] days before would have sworn by the name and follow'd the stamp of the foot of poor Pichegru, gave an echo to his fall and disgrace.

By Mr. Vancouver you will receive dispatches which Mr. Gerry brought and which he made me promise him I would keep till a

¹ In letters to McHenry, September 22 and October 13, 1797. Adams had written to the Secretary of State on the matter, July 19, 1797. "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 40 n.

² A banker at Amsterdam, having financial connection with the United States government.

³ Nicholas van Staphorst.

⁴ Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck.

⁵ Horace, Odes, I, xiv, 19, 20.

perfectly safe conveyance would ensure their delivery. You are tired, my dear sir, with so long a letter . . .¹

XI.

THE HAGUE, 4 November, 1797.

DEAR SIR: If we find that our letters can pass to and from Berlin to this place without inspection, it will give me the greatest pleasure and be among my best consolations, to write often and confidentially to you, and of course to hear from you. I hope you and Mrs. Adams have forgotten by this time the perfect hatefulness of a voyage by sea. I doubt whether the moral and political effects of our disposition to forget pain, be favorable to the advancement of wisdom in us, but we certainly do forget all sorts of pain sooner than we do pleasure.

The commissioners of the United States at Paris were *not* received on the 23rd October! So says Mr. Marshall to me in a letter of three or four lines, and he says he shall not be surprised if they are ordered away in a short time! He requests me to stop his *Leyden Gazette*. A most unlucky concurrence of events took place just at the time of their arrival, as things have turned out; though I had anticipated something like an advantage from those very events which one month since were contingent, and therefore I had thought available to our purposes from the importance of peace with the United States, if their real strength and resources and the nature of their strength were forcibly drawn into view, unless they had predetermined beyond a doubt. This too I calculated on; for I did not think that they would give up their experiment of dividing and revolutionising America, unless something occurred among their war affairs in Europe that would raise our importance in their eyes and make our trade and neutrality essential to their colonies. But this peace with the Emperor!² It certainly will have very extensive effects beyond its specific conditions, and they are enough terrible. Spain, Portugal, Tuscany, the Pope and Naples are, I consider, upon melting ice. The thaw is gradual but certain in its progress. Of course ere this you have known that the philosophical minister of Portugal has been ordered to quit the French Republic.³ It is *said*, I can not say why, that her most faithful majesty,⁴ though she refused to execute the treaty signed lately at Paris by Chevalier D'Araujo, asked a delay for consideration of ten or fifteen days, and that the Directoire in the meantime receiving the treaty with the Emperor, gave no answer

¹ Murray to McHenry, October 13, 1797, in Steiner, "Life and correspondence of James McHenry," 285; Murray to John Adams, October 31, 1797, in Adams MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 26, 1797, in Adams MSS., and in part in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 217. Secretary of State to Murray, October 19, 24, November 1, 1797, in Pickering MSS.

² Treaty of Campo Formio, October 17, 1797.

³ Antoine d'Araujo d'Azevedo.

⁴ Maria I, now little more than a figurehead in the government.

but the order to her minister to leave France. Spain feels in every limb and nerve the crisis which approaches, arising from either the passage of an army of 60,000 French troops through her territories to Portugal, or from their success, should this political earthquake revolutionize Portugal. *Sic vos non vobis*—she must repeat to her people, and what can stop the French armies? If Spain do not fall by the rushing of this inflamed torrent through her kingdom, what will she be if Portugal be revolutionized, as the king of Turin (as the French papers call him) is? This last must fall even below that state of dependence in which he now lies prostrate, and all these new machines are but parts of a greater system whose springs are in Paris. These things by adding insolence to ambition and excessive vanity are against us. If, however, Great Britain do not sink under the blow preparing for her under the *arrêté* of the 28 October, and I have no doubt of her success in repelling it, and we are united, which also I do not hesitate in asserting we shall be, with the exception of a few madmen in some of the cities, they can not hurt us. The struggle would derive immense vigor from the accession of America, and *co-operation*, without alliance, would if France attack us, work out our safety cheaply and with greater conformity to the public feelings in the United States. If France dismiss this negotiation, I take for granted she will openly strike at the United States, and secretly also attempt to rouse her party there to assert her claims openly and by force. I doubt not of Union, when once her attempts and designs are unequivocal, and I feel no sort of apprehension of any evil, beyond the common calamities and expenses of war; and I do believe that the only permanent foundation of future impolitic consequences to us, would be in the probable aggrandisement of Great Britain upon the ruins of French, Spanish and Dutch colonies, which will and must in a joint maritime war fall, and fall to Great Britain.

Under these impressions I have occasionally urged upon *the member* of the Committee to whom you allude, and others, and to the Spanish Minister,¹ who is a man of reputed worth, the excessive impolicy of suffering their principal to go to war with us, or to drag them into a war contrary to their interests and wishes and justice; and hence their duty in throwing all their influence into the scales of peace and pacific negotiation. That though there was every chance from the conciliatory spirit and means of the negotiation on our part, that a renewal of friendship would be the result, yet so deeply were they involved in the consequences of a rupture, that they ought not to leave anything entirely to others in which they were eventually to be affected, and ought, therefore, to take every precaution, etc., etc., to insure success to the present negotiation. This, under an assurance that I spoke unauthorized and from a sentiment of humanity.

¹ Don Joaquin Anduaga.

In fact they feel the truth of this I believe most fully, but really everything it seems to me out of France is palsy'd.

With, and as, you, I too felt a generous feeling of sorrow in the fate of the Dutch fleet,¹ but this feeling was subdued by the reflection that in the present state of our affairs we could rejoice at no addition of power to France. I do rejoice that they behaved with the greatest gallantry. It promises future resources of independence, and, if well repeated, might show to Great Britain that even in Europe there are seamen who are a match for hers. The government here in a fortnight after voted 9,000,000 guilders to build and refit ships of war. The Orangists chuckled over their gin at this defeat. I speak of the lower sort of the people. No effect has been visible. Phlegm! phlegm! though you insist on it they have prompt sensibility. Sir, they are nervous. I however like their phlegm. It resists that horrible philosophy of which and of whose better parts it is the innocent and virtuous substitute.

Mr. Noël is certainly recalled. Chs. La Croix,² that gentle and forbearing republican, succeeds him. It is expected that he will add a few fresh flies to the blister plaister. Many complained that M. N[oël] wanted *energy*! The fable of his Majesty King Log is too apt not to be thought of, both on account of the frogs and of his successor. One pleasing circumstance occurs. Mr. Van der Goes³ comes in as the Secretary of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. It is a little singular that he who was recalled from Copenhagen, as an Orangist, by Van Leyden, should be his successor as the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

There were some small, but certainly doubtful symptoms some weeks since of a little discontent with their allies. This peace, which has not been celebrated here or elsewhere, except by a few candles in a window here and there at the inns, has doubtless raised their spirits, and made them better humored. They surely feel, however, the loss of their colonies and the failure of the Lisle negotiation.

The Committee have at length sent me their note upon your letter of November, 1796. But what is more, they have sent orders to their minister Mr. Van Polanen to complain at Philadelphia, and to assert that they *are* independent and free, etc., etc., notwithstanding and nevertheless. You remember I informed you that a *member* [Hahn] had complained to me. This member asked me if I had no orders to make a communication to this government respecting this letter? I said I had not, *but that I was authorized to say that the Government of the United States felt the most sincere regret that it found itself under the necessity of making public anything to hurt their feelings, etc., etc.*

¹ At Camperdown.

² Charles Delacroix de Constant (1741-1805). His instructions are in Colenbrander's "Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland, 1795-1798," 140.

³ Maarten van der Goes.

This it seems did not satisfy him, and I believe he has either from inattention to the precise import of the words I used, or other cause, told the Committee that he asked me, and I said I had nothing to say, etc., and then they sent off their order. This affair will end without bloodshed and but little of inkshed. A few words from the Secretary will pacify them I believe. I shall *say that*, which I verbally have said, in my note. As this negotiation at Paris was on foot I was bound to more gentleness than I should have been on a common occasion, though they have behaved with great decorum.

I hear nothing from America. Nothing of Blount,¹ nor of Mr. "Principles-not-men".² By a letter from Mr. Harper³ of 17 July, a very clever and ingenious man in the House of Representatives and of the right sort of "principles", I find his mouthings at the Secretary⁴ are laughed at. The French papers have laughed at Mun. [Monroe] also, and declare it is irrepugnant in him, so to act. It may be permitted you to rejoice that wherever the President past on his way to Braintree, and on his arrival, a pointed and triumphant attention was paid him; by triumphant I mean the federal party completely manifested their superiority. So say the papers to the 2d September, and so Mr. King in his last to me. Have you seen a paper signed B—— dated the 30 June, London, by the Prussian chargé d'affaires, addressed to the Princess of Orange. It assures her, by command, that Mr. Bielfeld's intercourse is not an acknowledgment of the republic, etc. If you have not, and the one I saw was in manuscript, I will send you a copy. I have sent extracts of it to Philadelphia.

I lately received a letter from M. La Fayette,⁵ near Ploën. He is a great Dutch patriot, but then he has seen nothing of the uproar for some years.

I told your friend B[ielfeld] of your kind wishes to him. He rejoiced, and I believe sincerely, though he is excessively and absurdly very French. Had you and Mrs. Adams taken us in your route we should have been sincerely happy in making ourselves personally known to her, and I should have had you know, all that pleasure and consolation derived from the unbosoming of myself to you; and chatting over this monstrous undigested scene of general decadence in European affairs—the times which seem to call for some Mahomet.

Your brother, I see, is with you. I hope he is well.

I am with sincere attachment, my dear sir, faithfully yours always.

P. S. You know Sir Robert Barclay.⁶ He was examined this summer by a deputation and let go. He is here. Observe my seal;

¹ Senator William Blount of Tennessee.

² James Monroe.

³ Robert Goodloe Harper.

⁴ Timothy Pickering.

⁵ Just released from Olmütz by the Prussians.

⁶ An English agent, whose despatches are in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 357 *et seq.*

if I change it, you shall know. If you think it best you need not sign your name.¹

XII.

15 JANUARY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The French Directory mean to extend their fingers to every vessel that they can touch and to plunder her and her cargo. If you have not seen the message of the 4th inst.² you will not comprehend the full extent of their piratical mode of liberating the seas. They recommend a law which shall decide the character of all vessels met at sea, as to their state of neutral or enemy, not by their flag or the ownership of the cargo, but by the single fact, if the whole or any part of the cargo be of the fabric of England or her possessions! and that no vessel, unless in storms, enter the ports of the Republic, if she have touched at an English port in her voyage!

How the northern powers will act, you know better than I do. It would be possible, *if they mean to resist*, to hold up a project which would be attractive and feasible, if they are in earnest and should the United States be driven into the war. Our strength is in the use we *may* make of South America and the West India islands. In any cooperation with an European strong marine these I consider within our power, and these are the handles of the commerce and marine of Europe. Were there a hearty marine co-operation, backed by a German (north of) military force for the frontier of France, between the forces of America, Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark, it would be possible to give the northern powers a large participation in the West India possessions. Since the discovery of America there never has been such an opportunity of altering the commercial relations of Europe. In such a *projet* America is the pivot. Success on our side without this would aggrandise Great Britain too much for us; with this, success would produce a new maritime balance which we want. Prussia might also enlarge her base of commerce and she has made a good use of her small means and would eagerly enlarge them. Unfortunately for us our real strength both from internal means and from our local position are not known to the continental powers, at all! Were they studiously developed, we must appear in a degree the arbiter of the sources of European marine strength, and a desirable ally to any power (other things co-operating) that finds itself under a necessity of undermining an enemy, or of enlarging its own marine base.

¹ From this time to 1801 Murray rarely signed his letters. Adams to Murray, November 18, 1797, in Adams MSS.; November 24, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 40n, 223; December 23, extract *ibid.*, 223n; Murray to McHenry, December 7, 1797, in Pickering MSS.; to Bourne, December 31, 1797, January 11, 1798, in Library of Congress. An extract of a letter from Washington to Murray, December 3, 1797, is in "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIII, 434n. Murray to John Adams, November 14, 1797, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, November 25, December 7, 29, 1797. Pickering MSS.

² Printed in the *Redacteur*, January 6. "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 151. It was reported by Villers.

Were it proper to talk of a scheme of this sort as eventually good, there is not a man here who can or will set down and compare two and two to see how much they make—not one. Scarcely is there one (except a merchant or a Jew) who knows *anything* of America, though all know who is best acquainted with the limits of Juliers and of Hesse. How you got along without starving I cannot imagine. I know I pine for such men as I left in Philadelphia, and even in the village where I lived at home.

From America I hear nothing. By a French paper I see Mr. Thos. Pinckney *is in* from Charlestown.¹ This, if he is perfectly of the right sort, will break that phalanx which has brought us to the brink of war, and I believe that the late events of France will open his eyes completely. This is a good symptom, and let it console you; for rely on it, the South will get right, first from division and at length from general conviction. Then with New England we are “the Percy and the Douglass.”

The yellow fever had stopt in 1 November. The quarantine which harrast us here was taken off a few days since.

By the President's speech it appears that some serious attempts are making on our frontier.² Of certain agents I told you in June, of philosophers who went to analyze waters and winds. Subtle scoundrels. This speech bears the genuine auspices, it demands continuance of preparation *para bellum*, etc., etc.

The French want a forced *loan* from the United States. We are not used to tribute, however disguised. This piece of intelligence I *believe* may be rely'd upon. It will work well in the United States.³

By the treaty of 1795 between Batavia and France they are to make common cause against enemies during *this* war. Quere: If France made war upon China, would it be *this* war or the *present* war? I try to establish the negative. De la Croix the successor to Noël says they must have a constitution, that he hates parties and will none on't, and one too like that of France. They will have one reported in a month. Will the French not pump Hamburg of its money? and will Prussia let them get into Hanover? If she do the north is lost! I am with respectful compliments to Mrs. Adams and kind remembrance to your brother, my dear sir, sincerely yours always.⁴

XIII.

THE HAGUE, 22d Jany. 1798. *At night.*

DEAR SIR: The object of Mr. N[oël's] successor and of his party has at length been accomplished. A revolution took place this day here in which the moderates are overturned and many of them now

¹ As member of Congress, to fill vacancy created by William Smith's being appointed minister to Portugal.

² See Annual Message, November 22, 1797.

³ An early evidence of the X, Y and Z incident.

⁴ Adams' reply, dated January 27, is in Writings of John Quincy Adams, II, 240.

confined under a military guard. Messrs. Bicker, Gevers, Hahn, Jordens, Queans and de Beveren¹ (the Committee of Foreign Affairs) were arrested early this morning at their own houses and put under a strict guard in their respective houses. Twenty-one besides of the Assembly, of more moderate general views and of federal character, were also arrested, and permitted to walk about the town on their parole not to leave the Hague. Gevers, after an hour's close guard, was liberated under like restrictions. The armed burghers and the Dutch troops were the military agents in the affair.²

At twelve I went to the Convention, as the Assembly I considered as dissolved. They were organizing the committees anew erasing the names of the suspected, preparing or rather reading a proclamation on the court of the day, and receiving Mr. de la Croix! This gentleman, to whom every step and measure must have been perfectly unknown, accompany'd by military parade of the Dutch, entered in his costume into the body of the Convention and addressed a speech to the President and members, congratulating them on their energetic conduct and the glory that must follow. They vociferated "vive la république" in joyous huzzas, and the President read an answer which looks as if they had seen each other before, and on a vote by acclamation, gave the citizen La Croix the fraternal embrace.³

A Committee of Foreign Affairs is appointed of which Mr. Vandergoes is one, Vreeda⁴ another, Meyer, Ploos van Amstel, and two others whose names I could not distinctly hear, provisionally, as to-morrow it is understood a DIRECTOIRE is to be appointed. Thus the way is to be shown to the people, and they *must* have the constitution prepared for them, one and indivisible.

We can as yet hear nothing. No one knows anything, there is **alarm** without resentment. The amusing report was in the morning that the people of Amsterdam were marching to force the Assembly to give a constitution! There was no need of this to keep the worthy citizens of this unpolitical town quiet. Apathy and 1500 armed veterans insured the RECONQUEST of LIBERTY!!!

I shall write again, dear sir, I am affectly, yours always.

XIV.

THE HAGUE, 25 January, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The revolution is complete, a decree of Tuesday abolished all provincial federation capacities. The Assembly of Holland convened by the president of the committee of that body, confirms this on a partial meeting of seventy-three members, on short notice.

¹ Jan Bernd Bicker, Hugo Gevers, Gerrit David Jordens, Willem Queyssen and W. A. de Beveren.

² See Delacroix to Talleyrand, January 22, 1798, in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 177.

³ See "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 345, 466, 467.

⁴ Pieter Vreede, Caspar Meyer, A. Ploos Van Amstel. Murray to Bourne, January 23, 1798, in Library of Congress.

The other provinces can do nothing. Stupor and inertness prevail. The Constituent Assembly thins daily, twenty-four resigned on Tuesday, twenty-one were arrested as I mentioned on Monday; of whom, one, Pasteur¹ is in close imprisonment, it is said, for having demanded to have his name *published* in the list of the arrested, as he was proud of such company. He would not subscribe the declaration of hatred against federalism and aristocracy; and six the Committee, are out 5,² all but Gevers, under guard. He was liberated after two hours on the terms of the twenty-one arrested to the Hague.

I send you the proclamation. It was sent to me by a young man who is in the office of the new provisional Committee of Foreign Affairs, to inform me from the Assembly that a change had taken place. This I understand was done to all the diplomatic body.

About a month since I heard that there existed an intention to seize Mr. Bicker in particular, and all the committee, and transport them. A few days before Monday these gentlemen were warned to make the most of their time. Hahn said the country was with them. He had a surprising notion that the country was independent and loved its revolutionists. The people on the contrary care but little for this affair. The gentlemen in the provinces alone will feel. I can not express myself with prudence, but you know who is the director of these scenes and these performances. This is beyond doubt and is scarcely affected to be concealed. A charge against the Committee is that they sent De Winter³ out, contrary to the opinion of the Directoire of France.

The *Directoire Batave* to-day took the oath and made a speech in the Assembly. Four only entered. They are Messrs. Vreede, Fynje, Van Langen, Wilderick and Vocker.⁴ It is said Dandaels declined to be one.⁵

All the troops are under Joubert,⁶ lately arrived, except the Hague garrison, subject to the orders of the Assembly. I suppose now of the Directoire.

They now speak more openly of the intended invasion of England.

It is to you as to me a great pleasure to see (I have only *heard* from those who have seen) the unanimity of Congress on the President's dignify'd speech.⁷ His remarks on the dissolved state of the law of nations gives some irritation; they are perfectly just, and truth though essential to the safety of our country is death to the politicians of the new order, the damned illuminated. There are occasions in

¹ J. D. Pasteur.

² The MS. is not clear, but he probably meant to say that five of a committee of six, etc.

³ Jan Willem de Winter.

⁴ Wybo Fynje, Stephanus Jacobus van Langen, Barent Wildrik, and Johan Pieter Fokker.

⁵ Hermann Willem Daendels (1762-1818).

⁶ Barthélemy Catherine Joubert (1769-1799).

⁷ Annual Message, November 22, 1797. "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I. 250.

which naked execrations like naked truth are sweet to me, and not indecent!

I cannot write freely of course. I hear not from Paris. From thence I heard but drops; these have been hot lead, however, bold enough, but scalding. "They are not received and will not be," is all I can hear. Bourne¹ writes me that from all he can gather from our papers, as late as 5 December (I have none later than 20 November), he expects our Ministers will *be recalled* immediately. I lately sent on a thick packet to Mr. Marshall.

God bless, my dear sir, and save our country.²

XV.

THE HAGUE, 3 February, 1798.

DEAR SIR: All the letters which you mention, viz. 18. Nov., 24 *Ibid.*, and 23 Dec., together of course with your last 27 Jan., came safely. That they were in a very accessible envelope made me a little doubtful on the inspection which I do suspect letters undergo sometimes. Let me do justice when I am wrong. I think I mentioned a toast lately given at Mr. La Croix's. I was wrong. It was not of that *imprecatory* spirit (if there is such a word, and I am sure I do not wish to be a coiner of any currency whatever), but was a wish for peace. So, my conscience eased and your pardon obtained for the pain excited by the exercise of any of the hostile emotions, I am at ease on that head.

I can not write with perfect freedom on the subject of the revolution here. It is in its spirit, in its mode of accomplishment, in the agents who were the ostensible performers, in its object and consequences, all that you have, before now, supposed!!! It is as entire a piece as was ever play'd off. You know the author of it that Bona Dea,³ whose lewd priesthood ravage the earth, and into whose mysteries it is death to intrude, and whose name even can not be uttered upon some occasions. She did it.

Sometime, I think, the last of October last fall a French gentleman arrived here (his name you shall have on some other occasion).⁴ He was soon known to be the confidential agent of the French, and that his *object* was to explore this country, its parties, and the causes why the constitution issued in August failed, and to report his "collected secrets" to Bona [France]. She wished to know how power could be better concentrated for her use, the shortest method of doing this, and the probable degree of opposition, if attempted. He soon assorted himself with the most *energetic* spirits, and it was then re-

¹ Sylvanus Bourne, United States consul at Amsterdam.

² Adams to Murray, January 30, 1798, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, February 3, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

³ France.

See p. 374, *infra*.

solved that the man,¹ whom Burke speaks of as a member and a worthy one of our profession (in his third letter²), should delay his arrival here till the plan was digested by [France] upon the materials which this voyager should report; and that as soon as the whole should be arranged at Paris, and communicated to the brethren here, that then the *lawyer* should come. Noël, poor Noël, fitter for an honestest scheme of things, soon grew very jealous of this gentleman, who really has what are called parts at Paris. It past in a whisper as far back as the first week in December, that a plot was forming by *this gentleman*, and another of domestic growth against the moderates. That there was to be an 18 Fructidor in which the moderates were to fall; and it was then said, but really in a whisper that put liberty and virtue out of countenance, that Mr. Bicker in particular would be transported and the whole committee probably. It appeared to be treason to speak aloud of a conspiracy! In the meantime additional French troops began to thicken at the Hague. A number of gentlemen at the head of which was Mr. Vreede published their political creed, of unity and indivisibility, etc., etc., and democracy. Hahn and others who are of those principles were invited by their friends to publish also their creed, which *quoad* the two great points is conformable to that published. They refused, saying they would not separate from their friends. This was very handsome. That the Assembly must form a constitution and not a party do it. Soon after Mr. La Croix arrived. He explicitly announced in company that they must have a constitution, of unity, etc., etc. He said to a gentleman, who told me, that if the *member*, your *friend*,³ would not fall in with his plan it should be done with [out] him—i. e. the Revolution should take place without his share in it.

The Directoire is appointed since my last of, I think, 22 or 23 January. Messrs. Vreede, Van Langen, Wybo Finje, Wilderick and Fokker are the Directoire intermediam. We had a diplomatic day on Wednesday last. We were invited by a circular by the President of the Constituent Assembly (of course it is a Constituent Assembly) to his cabinet. He received us very politely and addressed a speech thus, "Citoyen La Croix, Ministre plenipotentiaire de la grande République Française and Messieurs," first addressing Mr. La Croix, and then bowing round to the "mob of gentlemen." Citoyen instantly answered for the mob of ministers, though Löwenhielm,⁴ the oldest diplomat, was present. I had *supposed* that something would be addressed to us all generally, and something perhaps particularly to each, and had written what I intended to say and then to deliver it to the President; but so pointed an exclusion, I, of course,

¹ Charles de la Croix.

² "Letters on a Regicide Peace."

³ Hahn.

⁴ Swedish minister at The Hague.

as were the others, was silent. The same passed at the Directorial *Palace* (the Amsterdam House in the plain), only citizen first addressed the President of the Directoire, Mr. Vreede, who *answered him*, in a written speech, and *Messrs.* In this answer, at the time, I remarked to the Sardinian chargé d'affaires, Bossi, that the harmony and good intelligence pledged to the friendly powers was not extended to the United States. He thought I had mistaken. The speech, however, sent by the Directoire to the corps today, has it as I understood it when delivered. I have answered Mr. Buys's¹ note and inclose you a copy, and wish your opinion upon the question, on which I confess I did not long hesitate, whether I should notice the omission of America in the respect mentioned. If it were intentional and in the spirit of Batavian candor, then it is a part of Bona's [France's] machination. If mere omission from the habit of rounding a period with "the powers of Europe," it is time that one of the first nations in the world, though out of Europe, should be recognized in such diplomatic ceremony. I accordingly noticed it.

You were right. To resent something which the *Citizen*² has said of the terrible republic, in order to exculpate himself on the affair of the Dutch fleet at the Cape, as well as to remove out of the way one rival more as he related to the parties of this place, the citizen was arrested and is now under a military guard. Several of the arrested are to be carry'd tonight to the *House in the wood*,³ for confinement, under strong guard, A singular lot! No revolutionist ought to have given to the Prince of Orange an occasion of triumph such as this, nor to the superstitious such an evidence in the cause of exiled princes.

You take Luzac's paper⁴ I presume, and have seen the proclamation. The mission to the Provinces of the 23d I can not get. It prostrates all root and branch of the provincial capacities, as *provinces*. Since the provinces have kissed the rod and acknowledged the superintending power of the Assembly, Brabant, indeed qualify'd hers by something like a protest, most was respected then. Several more members have been arrested, and some of those arrested but at large put into close confinement.

I hear not from America, except my brother, who tells me that the crops of wheat and corn are greater than ever known, but no news. The President's speech I have seen and it pleases me as much as it irritates the thieves and armed philosophers everywhere. But I have not seen the answers, of which I hear an excellent character. No, sir,

¹ Willem Buys. "I remember Buys very well. I heard him once at a club dinner make (read) a brilliant harangue against the seven or nine headed hydra. The dinner at that time was given upon the occasion of the decrees passed upon the return of Vreede and Van Hooft from their patriotic mission to Paris. You recollect that affair. Ought it to raise a smile or a tear to see now Vreede President of the Directory and Van Hooft imprisoned as a malefactor?" Adams to Murray, 13 February, 1798.

² Hahn.

³ Former residence of the Prince of Orange, near The Hague.

⁴ The Gazette de Leyde.

I am not too sanguine. We shall be united. But I am convinced we must do more than *defend* ourselves. We must inflict pains and horrors, if [we] would be hereafter at peace and save our excellent constitutions from the pestilence of the spoiler and poisoner, and we *can*. Irksome I know it will be at first, almost unnatural; but necessity will force us to take the physic and to go into the co-operation of *marine forces*. Without treaty even in this way we can and ought to shake every commercial marine of enemy powers in their foundation, and you know that we can command a wide portion of that foundation. Calculate the actual and potential force (marine) of all these powers, and you will find the thing wants but minds rising to the greatness of the undertaking and convinced of its utility, if accomplished.

All things considered, viz. (part of them) the prostration of the marine in Europe against us; the bitterness of the wrongs we have suffered; the profoundly planned system of violence which the enemy of the human race has conceived against our liberties and independence; the insolence with which she uncovered these designs; the vigor of the United States; the marine in their power; their local situation upon the very turnpike of almost all the commerce of Europe; their relation to S. America! The utter dependence of the islands arising from the weakness of the mother country marine, which would else supply them—Yes, we can *at this moment* (but not again for five centuries perhaps) transfer or revolutionize all the colonies of Europe hostile to the United States. The value of this to the United States would be ten times the cost in a free West Indian and South American trade, besides the crippling of a foe. So far from having fears, I assure you I feel a pride which rises as the occasion advances. Farewell. P[inkney]'s amendment I have not seen, but I do not like it.¹ It is exactly in Madison's neutral way. Black or white are the only colors for our members, no grey should be worn. Yours, dear sir, truly.

FEBRUARY, '98. HAGUE.

P. S. The members sent last night to the House in the wood, among others are Bicker, Mist,² De Citters³—Hahn not.

Do you know Mr. Fynje,⁴ a Director (pronounced as if Fyngee)? I sat next him a few days since, at Bosset's. He told me he knew the President, and spoke respectfully of him. He seems a man of letters and was pleasant. It is remarkable that at the Directorial Palace on Wednesday Baron B[ielfeld] was among the diplomats. He is not one, he is an unacknowledged man who never asked to be acknowledged. Your friend B. is of the modern school. I hear

¹ Annals of Congress, 5th Cong., 645.

² Jacob Abraham Witenhage de Mist.

³ Albert Johan de Sitter.

⁴ Perhaps of the banking house of De la lande and Fynje, interested in the American loans. The house had failed some ten years before.

nothing from Paris. You know that D'Araujo is in the Temple. It has been reported that Noël is, also. I am not sure but our Triumviri will grace the last dungeon of Lewis 16. It would be quite of course and natural. Do you know Mr. Boncarrère,¹ a French gentleman, lately in Holland? As to the Natchez and the cockades there, it was first published in our papers that the insurrection was at the Natchez, but it was a mistake. These on the contrary are devoted to the government and people of the United States, and with difficulty restrained from driving the Spaniards off by force.

It was at Kaskaskias, in the northwest territory, where about fifty whiskey patriots, negroes and indians, stimulated by some philosophical *travellers* whom I mentioned to you, raised the rag of rebellion. Wilkinson has before this adjusted these theories a little more to duty. I have for many months spoken upon the profound plans of France to the minister of the same nation here [Noël], who is a worthy and true. I believe he has been convinced at last, and deeply laments. He is aware of the danger of letting in the go-betweens on the Mississippi. He has offended our great diplomat by interceding for the moderates arrested. A proclamation of today, a poor one, announces the confinement of your friend Dicker to the Castle of Loevestein—memorable as the prison of Grotius²—till the war ends. It will not end in five years.

It is said that more than a million guilders have gone in bribes at Paris and at the Hague. Some day I may tell names, but it is a possible history of parties. I saw the American Minister today; he inquired for you very kindly.

General Eustace³ is arrested and in confinement and his papers all and his trunk sent to the Hague for legal adjudication! he has just written to me.⁴

XVI.

THE HAGUE, 20 February, '98.

DEAR SIR:

Yes, the gentleman of whom you speak⁵ was to have been Genet's predecessor. He so told me, and it was so said in 1792 in our papers. I had a long conversation with him before he left this for Paris. He told me that it was probable that France detained our ministers till a peace with England. This he mentioned as a kind intention in France; and on my saying, suppose when war is thus over here, we do not like the terms of France? He absolutely laughed outright. We were alone in my room.

¹ Guillaume Boncarrère (1754-1825), a French adventurer, and possibly the agent referred to on p. 370, *supra*.

² In 1617. The castle is near Gorcum [Gorinchem].

³ John Skey Eustace, aid to Major General Charles Lee in the War of Independence. See King to Murray, March 31, 1798, in King, "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," II, 294.

⁴ Adams to Murray, February 10, 13, 1798, in Adams MSS.

⁵ Boncarrère.

Diplomacy! there is none it seems to me in Europe. It is a drill corps of revolutionists in which the fugal (or feugle) is the sergeant republic. No principles, and it seems to me little learning, that little merely the tinge which the old corps left in the cask. "*Diu imbuta.*"¹ Doubtless this corps were formerly great hypocrites, but hypocrisy is the flattery of goodness. It acknowledges virtue, and presupposes its existence in the great tribunal of public opinion. But now, wicked men are not good enough to be even hypocrites! The *meliora video proboque* is not even pretended. Distinctions are almost deny'd to exist, and as physicians say of diseases of which they are not sure when they attend the patient, they "fight at symptoms," act on occasions without a clue, and as if such indications were not absolutely connected with an organized system whose general laws were not known.

I do not know if the late revolution here will affect our diplomacy. You meant at this place, I supposed. If France and America come to blows, then my fate, I should fear (for I hate the ocean, and two voyages in one year), would be pretty plainly indicated by the alliance between France and Britain. I have asked what I am to do in such case, of Col. P[ickering].

I lately hear from him, or rather today received duplicates of 1 November and 25 November, with the answers, the first I have seen. That of the *Senate* is excellent in many of its points. I immediately scored them and sent them to our excellent Mr. Luzac.

From Paris I also hear.

On the 17 January they finished a very long letter to Monsr. Talleyrand.² A short extract was sent to me to forward on—it was the conclusion—mild and affecting, and admirable for the nerves of America. I dare say the whole was excellent. I have not seen much of General P[inckney]'s or G[erry]'s or Marshall's writing; but I consider Marshall, whom I have heard speak on a great subject, as one of the most powerful reasoners I ever met with either in public or in print. Reasoning in such cases will have a fine effect in America, but to depend upon it in Europe is really to place Quixote with Ginès de Passamonte and among the men of the world whom he reasoned with, and so sublimely, on their way to the galleys.³ They answer him you know with stones and blows, though the knight is an *armed* as well as an eloquent knight. This letter was delivered on the 31 January, and was not answered on the 11th. They will, I believe, soon demand passports, if that letter has not its desired effect. The French government will, I conclude, endeavor to amuse them by hopes till the crisis with England is over, in some way or other. The plan is three Republics, Scotland, Ireland, England. Ireland

¹ *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.* Horace.

² Printed in "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 169.

³ Don Quixote, Book III, chap. viii.

does certainly afford to them much temptation. The bayonet alone preserves property there from universal pillage. These are fine new materials to make an *Irish republic!* Dear God!

Denmark is certainly remonstrating against the plunder law of last month. Here also there is a movement against it. I mean to present a short memorial to the Secretary Buys on this law for interposition and to show its impolicy. They may be urged perhaps to the same by France, though they are *against* the law anxiously.

In October our bankers agreed with me to honor Mr. De Wolfe's drafts for the Antwerp interest of 1 December. In November I received bills to the amount of the interest and indorsed them over to the Banker for the use of the United States. Bourne is perfectly right, and Williams¹ also. I respect both. Tench Coxe is no longer Commissioner of the Revenue.² I hear he was removed. Eustace, on my application, is liberated, was ordered to quit the republic in seventy-two hours. I again apply'd; he is to stay till a ship goes to New York. In a letter seven days after his arrest he renounces all his heresies, to me. I am, dear sir, always truly.

N. B. The Assembly has just passed a law, that "whoever refuses to accept any office in this country shall be banished"! The Agent of Marine (for they are too good republicans to say monsieur or *minister*) refused twice to accept. The third time he attended to the old warning—and accepted. He was at the head of the FINANCE of the Marine Committee formerly. Pray enclose your letters more securely—with seals inside the envelope.³

XVII.

HAGUE, 24 February, 1798.

DEAR SIR: By a French paper it appears that Tallien⁴ has moved, that, all neutral vessels be brought in for examination, and all neutral vessels, found armed, be taken as prize! This I hear will succeed; it is proceeding naturally from premises established. If they have a right to take neutral property in neutral bottoms on the proof of the *single fact* that the goods came from England, they have the incident right of taking by force, and of considering every armed neutral as a smuggler, whose very arming is *prima facie* evidence of a design to defraud them of their rights. This motion is ordered to be printed and committed, and will succeed! This motion deserves transmission to our government. I am, my dear sir, sincerely and always yours, etc.⁵

¹ Samuel Williams, appointed consul at London.

² (1755-1824.)

³ Adams to Murray, February 23, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 264n.

⁴ Jean-Lambert Tallien (1767-1820). On the decree see "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 257-265.

⁵ Adams to Murray, March 3, 1798, in Adams MSS.; March 6, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 265. Secretary of State to Murray (two letters), February 26, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

XVIII.

THE HAGUE, *March 3, 1798.*

DEAR SIR: The day before yesterday I received from General Pinckney a copy of the memorial of the government of France, of which I had spoken to you, which I mean to send on to Colonel Pickering. It is a long one, and is perhaps as perfect and well methodized an arrangement of all the arguments of weight which abound in Colonel Pickering's letter, Curtius and Camillus, as can be made. Much of the argumentation is so managed as by being placed in better bearings and points of sight seems original and irresistible—it is almost demonstration indeed, and throughout is most neatly written. The *affectionate* passages are the least worthy of a place in such a work at such a time; but these may do good with us, many of whom love this sort of national pap exceedingly.

Yes, it is indeed time to come to a point. Mr. Bourne writes me yesterday that he had seen very late American papers (I have seen none later than November!!) and finds that Congress put off the consideration of commercial defensive measures till the 9 February; by which time they expected to of something decisive from the envoys at Paris, and that the *party* argued against defensive steps, because, pending the negotiation these might offend France! Was there ever anything like this?

I have taken upon me to present a memorial here (last week) on the law of 18 January of France, respecting British goods (neutral property) in neutral vessels, stating some facts and arguments on the point solely of the law's impolicy, as its operation would affect the interests of France deeply and promote British navigation—nothing on the principles of the law as these affect the rights of neutral nations, out of respect to the Directory as an ally of France—and calling on these for their interposition of their counsels with France, to demonstrate the impolicy and inefficacy of this law, etc., etc. From some circumstances I thought steps would soon be taken to lead them also to a similar law, and I knew that they did not like the law.

An American ship with West India produce from New York is just brought into the Texel as a prize, under the law of France of 18 January, and will probably be condemned by the French consul. I mean to see Mr. Buys today, and to require some explanation of the intentions of this government on the question, whether they mean to permit a foreign tribunal to condemn American property, or try it? 2dly. Whether they mean to permit American vessels to be brought in as prize and try'd under the law of 18 January of France? I shall afterwards have this officially. A Mr. and Mrs. Baer have just arrived here. Do you know them? They are Americans. Dear sir, I am affectionately yours always.

Have you seen the address to neutrals in the *Ami de Loi* and *Rédacteur* of 23 February—evidently the work of the French government? A most precious thing it is.

I have just returned from an interview with Mr. Buys on these points: Do the government mean to suffer a French consul to try and condemn American vessels, on any pretence, in these dominions? 2. Do they mean to give operation to the French law of 18 January against British merchandise in neutral bottoms in this country, by suffering French consuls to try and condemn. He wished, as I expressed the wish also, to consult the Directoire. My reason for speaking before I wrote is obvious, considering the ticklish form of the questions, and the present stage of their endeavors at Paris to obtain a revision of the hostile law. On Wednesday I am to have an answer.

Fagel's¹ library will be sold. I will let you know when old Berkenroede's will be sold, in about fifteen days. Give me your commands. Damen wishes to know what is to be done with your goods and chattels which he had to manage? Yours of 23 February safely received, and Mr. Gerry's will go by post.

Note. Past here, the president of the Society of United Irishmen of Munster, with despatches for the French Directoire—about fifteen days since.

Mr. Childs,² the consul named for Genoa, goes to Berlin. I beg leave to commend him to you as a good American, safe, and a gentlemanlike man. He is now at Leipsig.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.³

MARCH 8, 1798.

In a private letter I may venture to speak of individuals who may have *some* effect upon public opinion. *General Eustace who*⁴ has been ordered to *quit this nation* in a few days sets off to America. He did not live at this place; and in consequence of expressions which I heard he was in the habit of using *against the government of the United States*, I paid him not the smallest attention. *He had* expressed his intention of giving up his citizenship. *I considered him as a weak enthusiast, very self-important.*

On *his arrest* I did not attend to him till I received a letter from him, *acknowledging his errors*, upon his determination respecting citizenship, and his opinions respecting the French. On this he has completely satisfied me, that though his conviction is sincere, it was

¹ The Fagels were followers of the Prince of Orange, and Hendrik Fagel had been sent to England as his agent, remaining there.

² Francis Childs.

³ From the Pickering MSS.

In cypher, as are the other passages printed in italics in this letter.

in a great degree forced. He assured me it was much owing to *Mr. Harper's pamphlet*.

As I knew that he meant to go to *America*, and had to a certain degree attracted attention there; and would from his *manners* excite more, as well from a motive, if possible, of *firing his mind with truth* and genuine *American zeal*, I invited him to dine with me at *Rotterdam* because he was not *suffered to come here*. I knew also that he must *possess much of the secrets of American Jacobins* in Europe. I was not disappointed, particularly in my last object. As to the first, time only can show how far I was instrumental. The last was of most importance, and I think, sir, that if *he be a little attended to*, as he has a good *deal of vanity*, he will give some *information of consequence* respecting several *dark particulars of the southwestern and western plots of Adet, Fulton, Waldron* and others. Of the second, *he has a paper* (a copy) of some importance as adding evidence to evidence. He can give much information respecting the *public affairs* and private incidents which gave to these a strange complexion at *Paris* from the spring 1793 till 1795. Though I am sure that *he cannot hurt the United States*, yet I thought that such a *convert* might be extremely useful at this moment. It may be useful for obtaining all the intelligence that he [*a line appears to have been omitted here*] to mention that *Mr. Vining is his old friend*. Formerly he *admired the leaders of opposition*. It is right also, sir, to *inform you that he keeps a journal of things and of conversation, and is apt to publish private correspondence*.

I shall give him a letter to *Mr. Harper*, to whom, if you please, you can communicate anything in this letter. *He published his correspondence with Mr. King*. A *love of distinction through small means* is the principal cause of all his *actions*, and in such hands as you can put him will be a clue to all he knows.²

XIX.

THE HAGUE, 12 March, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received all your letters of which you speak, viz: 10, 13, 23 February, and 3 and 6 March, your last. I am in every letter to you restrained by the salutary fear of inspection, for never were political morals more worn out than at this moment of European liberty, which is not the right of doing what is proper, but whatever those in power please—the old despotism new dramatized. Under this restraint I feel a shelter for the rude, indigested—

¹ Note by Pickering.

² "Private. I have received your private letter of March 8th and showed it to Mr. Harper. The character of General Eustace is, I find, perfectly well known in America. It is too unprincipled to be relied on. His information, however, concerning the Jacobins may be useful. Your endeavors to make an impression upon his heart, with a view to his reformation, corresponds with the goodness of your own, and the temper of a Christian; and the heart of such a man is not discouraged by the doubtfulness of the effect." Pickering to Murray, May 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

ness of my *projet* of 15 January, which is far from that maturity in my own mind which ought to justify a declared system. Yet do I conceive that this plan has some strong points.

The basis is, that it is our interest to divide the *West Indian colonies*¹ if any are taken by joint means among the *combined* powers; that we shall be forced to a war with *France*; that a co-operation will be a consequence, and one too not hurtful to the United States, if the object I have in view can be attained at the end of the war; that these *colonies* must fall, if we have a war, and not to the United States certainly, as not being desirable, and as placing us too much on a dependence for their safety on Great Britain, besides the incompatibility of colonies with the genius of both government and nation; that in this view of what will probably happen we might convert what I think the probable conquests to auxiliary purposes, in raising friendships and a co-operation against the enemy on the continent. To this some things appear to assist us in producing predisposing sentiments, hostile to France, viz. the state of Europe after the treaty of Rastadt.² The discontents in all the countries conquered by or affiliated to France, and the loss of character and decline of name which a failure in the invasion of Great Britain will be followed by all over Europe. This invasion, to be made and to fail, I consider as the great event which is to change the tide, if it be to be changed by mortal means, and to settle the destiny of Europe for ages. If it succeed Europe is lost, and the commerce too of the world. If it fail, spirit may return. While it remains uncertain, and if it go off as an impending threat, the immense imaginary power of France will continue to work mysterious miracles upon a broken hearted continent.

It struck me that the United States would be forced to war; that the northern powers would be bully'd; that to uphold their spirits some temptation, probably practicable, might turn the scale and convert them into great uses, both for the present exigency, and in political and commercial prospect.

Another thing. The Emperor will be in ten years a Mediterranean power (naval). He would in such a position have an interest in the weakening of the maritime of France; he might in time obtain an interest in these.

As to Great Britain, all that is dangerous, is (to me) that she has too much interest in our accession to such a plan; that, the fear of invasion, try'd and defeated, would be gone; that she would then

¹ Adams and Murray framed a cypher for their own use in mentioning names of countries and about a dozen words in political connection. I have not succeeded in identifying all of the signs, but shall indicate decyphered words in italics.

² The Congress of Rastadt opened on December 16, 1797; it was dissolved and all its acts annulled by the Emperor April 8, 1799.

contemplate the total destruction of the French marine, and as a means of preserving her continental influence she would accede to such a division, as placing [them] in hands of which she could not be jealous, and with whom she has little rivalry. The commercial result to the United States might be an increased colonial trade on the best and stipulated terms.

This plan comprehends a great scope; but indeed, my dear sir, these times demand a blow—a vast convulsion—a fundamental attack.

The views of France look south, because that is most rich and vulnerable, and because she thinks their colonies will fall to her with the parent countries. This will happen unless some great diversion be given to their falling direction. Spain and Portugal will certainly fall. Are their colonies to tumble like an heirloom with them? In fact if we could but enter into calculations extensive enough, we should I think perceive in the present career of all Europe a change, which by involving distant but all important colonies, must inevitably and deeply affect the United States. Be in the war, or yield everything dear to us, I fear we shall. If we are, we must adapt our designs to the great scale upon which all things are now proceeding. If we could obtain anything like the object which I mentioned in mine of 15 January in Europe, we should have some share in giving a direction to those colonial affairs which I take it for granted will fall some way or other.

Another thing. It seems to me that a combination against *France* would be more efficacious than it was five, four, or three years, and two years last since. Fraternity has pinched as well as squeezed. Is it not probable that if after the Armada has try'd its power, and failed, that new spirits might be cheered up; that after this defeat, to which the eyes of the world are turned, and a combination once begun again, that this combination would have more allies in all the affiliated conquered or pillaged districts and countries than fraternity had, when she first approached with soothing promises of liberty and equality? I think there is nothing wanting but a slight dam once reared, to turn her bitter waters upon herself; in such a position of things not even the *people* would be with her;—none but a few needy demagogues—they a miserable and detected set of impostors.

In all I have said, I am as conscious as you are, by this time, that I fail in a thousand details essential to the development of a *projet*. I speak to you with confidence. Those who observe profoundly can but avail of slight hints; and soonest excuse defects in a plan. I have thrown out these ideas to the Secretary. I am sensible of the hazard, but we are all soldiers in these infernal times. We must risk, and I do not consider the government as my most confidential correspondent.

In all my late letters to him, though I have not written with that precision of thought that you have done in your idea, that the excessive injury offered by Tallien's motion to neutrals is precisely our point of departure from the pacific line; yet I have constantly for months done nothing so sincerely as that of assuring him that it was quite out of the case to expect peace. I will however join with you, and with sincere conviction in your idea, and urge it; for fully, deeply am I convinced that the times will not, for years, bear a temporising policy. The call of the present hour is for the worthy and the free to bring over the unworthy and the base to their standard, or to force them into submission or to know their lot. The division must soon take place and I do trust that nothing but an effort, judicious as to its time, is wanting, to display a vast majority of the first in the United States. The delay of this distinction, practical and clear, but nurses treason against our glorious liberties and country, and prepares a hesitating public mind for the subtle poisons of a perfidious enemy. This is not speculation. All Europe is a theatre of experiment from which may be brought the result of facts, experience, to prove the necessity of decision.

I have not heard whether the change in the diplomacy, etc., etc., will take place. I think it probable. They are very inaccessible, and they are right—I suspect. I have demanded, ten days since, an explanation on these points, viz. Will the Directory suffer any foreign consul to take cognizance here of American prizes? ²¹. Will they give operation through a French consul to the law of 18 January of France, against American vessels and cargoes brought in here? No answer yet. These are pretty leading and tough questions, but necessary, as a prize under the last was brought in the *Texel* the last of February. Yours, my dear sir, etc., etc.

Denmark urges powerfully upon the obnoxious law of France, here and at Paris. Here also *the Dutch* are against it. *Holland* I know has ordered her minister at Paris to remonstrate. I gave a memorial on it here, for interposition, and to show if I could the impolicy of their attempting anything like it, on 24 February. The chargé of Denmark gave one in 7th of this month. These I believe are all. *He* has received an answer—I, none. My last note will produce an explanation that will in some degree ascertain the point, Will they join in the war?—one very important for our trade to know soon. That was among my leading motives. (They wait for an answer from their minister at Paris. *Confidential* except to the United States.)

The preparations are rapid at Amsterdam for the invasion. Ireland is their hope, and their best doubtless.¹

¹ Adams to Murray, March 13, 1798, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray, March 17, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

THE HAGUE, 18 March, 1798.

Private

DEAR SIR: By a letter from *General Pinckney at Paris*² of the 10th inst. it appears that *General Pinckney, General Marshall and Mr. Gerry differ in opinion* respecting the time when they ought to quit France. The two first are of opinion they should go immediately; the last that they should not.

With the first I agree. In December I had a conversation with a Mr. *Bonnetcarère*, who was a secret agent of the French Directory here. From his conversation and other things I was persuaded that the plan of France was to detain the minister of America till peace with England, and to avail herself of all the contingent things both in America and Europe, both before and immediately after. I gave every notice of this conversation, etc., etc., to the minister³ at Paris, particularly to *General Pinckney*. He requests me to inform you, sir, of this confidentially, or I would not obtrude either the intelligence or the share my opinion and facts have had in this.

In writing a private letter I may consistently with the highest respect remark that the interest which I have been able to create both in the Dutch government and the French minister would be entirely and utterly destroyed, if my correspondence is known or guessed at, from publication, or known in any manner to the Dutch minister at Philadelphia. Many members of Congress have access to it, and may from thoughtlessness mention its coloring. The French are captivated by a sort of jargon easily assumed, and the more pardonable, as it is their own way. Silent acquiescence is what pleases the Dutch, with ceremonies and affectionate respect.

My conviction operating through duty has led me to inform you, sir, with sincerity of truth; but were my letters known to be mine I should be sent off very soon.

I am convinced that all the affiliated and conquered countries groan under a military despotism and that France and her demagogues are the causes of this. But it is impossible, consistently with policy, to tell them so till war takes place. Yet I am aware of the difficulty of availing America of examples unless they be known to the PEOPLE as well as to the government, which need no light upon such a subject. I will still do my duty, I hope, leaving it with you, sir, to use my humble labors in the manner and degree best for my country's service.

The minister of Spain is much alarmed for the fate of Spain.

I fear that if the French do not invade Great Britain, which I hope they will attempt, they may use their naval preparations against Spain and Portugal. Yesterday the new constitution was accepted by the Assembly with great joy. A translation of it will go to Mr. Delacroix. With sincere wishes, etc.

¹ From the Pickering MSS. ² Cypher. ³ Thus the cypher, but the plural is probably intended.

XX.

THE HAGUE, 19 March, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 13th instant, inclosing one for ——¹, I just received safely. In my first enclosure home it shall go. Mr. Wadsworth has just arrived from England. Through letters by him, and several items from him, and all that I can in any way get, I believe that there is no probability of the invasion's succeeding. Lord Auckland² I learn is publishing a pamphlet the one point in which is to prove that it is her interest and that of Europe that it be *made* and fail. This for several months I suppose to have been a general idea as I have long thought so—since the summer. Some time since it was suggested that the Emperor would mediate; I never thought effectively. If there be any reliance on the suggestion of this mediation, some extra objects of citizen Blauw's³ embassy to Vienna may be accounted for. He went in haste about three weeks since, and this nation you know is deeply interested in immediate peace. There is a *report* that the flotilla for 10,000 men at Brest has not exactly answered its purpose. What is however very serious I think is the mutiny and open revolt of the French soldiers at Mantua and Rome. This has subsided, but its real cause is pretty general—want of pay. The reason assigned is Berthier's⁴ being called away and Masséna⁵ sent. If anything can humble their views it would be a flaw in the sword—out of France. My dear sir, I would have told you before B[lauw] mentioned his idea of the intended departure, etc., etc., but I *knew* otherwise. *Your neighbor*⁶ is averse to it and it is ticklish to divide. The others are point blank for it. My last of last night urges the first of them, P[inckney] to go! I have long thought that they ought to stay till in March, but to have notify'd at home that they considered themselves as off in February. In truth, sir, the whole aspect of the [negotiation] became changed after 18 January, indeed on the 4th January. The most critical moments of the war are lost, or play'd with at all events, by this delay. The state of things is demonstration—why stay?⁷ You will believe me to be very seriously con-

¹ Department of State or the President.

² William Eden (1744-1814).

³ Jacob Blauw.

⁴ Louis-Alexandre Berthier (1753-1815).

⁵ André Masséna (1758-1817).

⁶ Gerry.

⁷ "I am very sorry that there is a likelihood of our friends remaining at Paris, while there is no prospect of their doing any thing there. Yet if my neighbor [Gerry] persists in staying, I think he must have some reason, and a good one, for it. Indeed with the temper of our House of Representatives at home it seems of little consequence whether the Commissioners stay or go. We shall do nothing until a change in that majority takes place. I hope something from the feelings of our people, and as far as the return of our envoys may affect them, I wish it immediately to take place; but it would not do to divide. Perhaps some small and remote hope may still be cherished by remaining until the descent shall have been attempted. If it should fail with any considerable loss, it may be thought advisable to stay and be on the spot to take advantage of a moment when ill success would more forcibly recommend conciliation. I place no dependence upon this myself, yet it may have its weight." Adams to Murray, March 29, 1798.

vinced when I tell you that I believe that their destiny will be mine, and painful it will be to me: but it seems and has long [seemed] to me that, even self interest at work to prolong its own gratification and ease by the invention of excuses for delay could not form even an argument of gauze to support its wishes. The thing is too plain—it is monstrous, and from the strange mixture, accumulated and increasing insult and injury—a supplicatory *appearance*, and not even a shadow of hope entertained. If it were not too serious in its probable consequences it would appear ridiculous. If any good were expected upon grounds of very remote chance, it would be something, and though the game can rarely be worth the candle in which HONOR is sacrificed to profit, there would be some profit but here I can see no chance, no profit. Our citizens, I believe in my soul, will burst at the delay. Government, I am sure, will not like it. You know I have always abhorred political anger and war, but if it must come, the mind that is to meet it ought to have some pride and not seem to its enemy to fight with that doubtful spirit which despair assumes when driven into a corner.

I wish I had a cypher for you, but your neighbor¹ loves, and always did, to be in a minority! I knew a man once of whom it was said in our state body that he had kept in the House of Delegates thirty years, and on being asked how? He said, "Look in the votes and proceedings, and except in such and such cases (about roads in Baltimore county) you will always find me in the negative. If a measure is good, it is not asked who voted for it; if bad, the negatives can always say we were against it, we knew it would prove a bad thing!" I knew the man of whom it was said. His name was Cocky Dye, a popular man, often speaker;² but I will not vouch for its accuracy, as it seems to me I have heard others mention it in America. But it is in truth a true story, as hundreds act on its principle.

In my last you will perceive that 00 was West India Islands, 000 combined powers, □ was France, and △ was Great Britain.

Whatever may be the danger of inspection it is necessary that I should tell you what I think true and of great importance. Spain and France are on the point of a rupture, or Spain and Portugal are on the edge of ruin. The Spanish fleet you have seen came in. It was ordered in by an express boat. France, as I think I mentioned to you three or four weeks since, had a plan of revolutionising three or four transpyrenean provinces, Bilboa, etc., etc.,—quite a *coup*. To do this Portugal was to be attacked through Spain. Spain offered to mediate, promised any peace short of the destruction of the Independence of Portugal. France offered to give Portugal to Spain and divide the Brazils with her. Finally, about six weeks since,

¹ Gerry.

² Thomas Cockey Dye, of Baltimore county.

about the sailing of the Spanish fleet, France came forward with specific demands to which she required an answer immediate and unequivocal; viz. she demands Louisiana and permission to march from 50 to 80,000 men through Spain to attack Portugal. To this she requires an answer, and declares that delay or equivocation will be taken as refusal, and refusal as a breach of the treaty and a RUPTURE. Spain immediately called in her fleet, and fortunately before a brush with the British. Last autumn you knew Spain sent men towards the passes of the Pyrenees—of these she has 80,000, such as they are. I learn most confidentially that she will certainly refuse these demands. Cabarus,¹ a man of warm passions, is inflamed by the defeat of his prime object in life, the embassy at Paris. He was, three and four weeks since (after his rejection), at Amsterdam, I understand for a *loan* for Spain, and failed; and he suddenly received an order to go to Madrid. I hear that every measure dictated by self preservation is at work through the clergy to rouse all Spain to the "sticking point." If there be anything to be regretted that a rupture should happen, it is because its time is bad. It may put back the invasion of England, without which the political existence of every nation is but a lingering disease. That is the "stone to be thrown" and the giant Hypochondria dies immediately, and quiet to the nerves might be restored. I have stated these facts, on which I rely, to the Secretary of State on the afternoon of the day when I last wrote to you, about the 12 or 13. I had not heard of this when I wrote. I consider this, other things concurring as the turn of the tide, if good use were made of it.

They will have a constitution here very soon. The executive are charged to purge the voters of all such as are not of the spirit of 22d January. Their majesties the people have abundant physicking here and all through Europe. This term sovereign people seems to me intended by the philosophers of Europe as a means of rooting out royalty from the heart of man, for they first dub the people as the sovereign and call him so while they trample him in the mud of misery and contempt. I have Mun's [Monroe] book.² I dislike

¹ François Cabarrus (1752-1810).

² "View of the conduct of the executive."

Adams to Murray, March 20, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 270; March 29, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, March 27, in Pickering MSS.

"It will be necessary immediately to publish their [envoys to France] despatches; for until the insupportable conduct of the French government as therein described shall be fully displayed, the opposition to efficacious measures of defence will be continued. We therefore wish the envoys out of France, unless they are in treaty, or shall have concluded a treaty." Secretary of State to Murray, March 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

"This day a motion was made in the House of Representatives, that the President should be requested to lay before the House all the despatches from our envoys at Paris, and their instructions. On Monday the motion is to be the subject of deliberation; no doubt it will be carried, and the President will doubtless comply with the request. Some inconveniences may result, but the evils following from the want of *universal* information among the people of the *true character of the French government* are immense, and some inconveniences and even dangers must be hazarded, to *display the principles of that government*." Secretary of State to Murray, March 30, 1798. Pickering MSS.

the principles of his party just so much as to rejoice that it is published. I do consider it a high breach of honor as between a gentleman with a secret trust and a government's rightful clothing him with that trust! He is lost. I fear unless our envoys at Paris have orders they will wait long at Paris! Adieu, dear sir.

I have received an answer to my memorial of 26 February on the piratical law. They have had it done into Dutch, and sent it to Paris to Mr. Meyer, to make the most of it—so they say.

XXI.

THE HAGUE, 3 April, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I last night received letters of the 23d from General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall] at Paris, and unless some very extraordinary thing occurs I expect that they will be off for Bourdeaux as soon as they arrange their credit with the bankers at Amsterdam, to whom they have written on this subject. General P[inckney] tells me that they have had an *answer*¹ to their long memorial of 31 January, "weak in argument, but irritating and insulting in its style"; and that the Directoire (or Mr. T[alleyrand]) say that though the United States have not shown in the choice of their envoys as amicable a disposition as they did in the appointment of a minister to Great Britain, yet they will treat with *one* of the envoys whose presumed disposition promises the most confidence in the French government!!!! This *one* is your old *neighbor*.² General P[inckney] says they *unanimously* agree not to accede to (so impertinent) an offer of this sort. Dupont de N[emours]³ came in afterwards and said, The Directoire, he believed, meant to send away P[inckney] and M[arshall], but there would be no rupture because they meant to keep Gerry!!! That they accused General P[inckney] of having exerted himself last year in getting the Royalists elected, and that this year he had but too successfully done the same in favor of the Anarchists, as electors with the choice of whom the Directoire are much enraged. The General speaks of it as a calumny, if any man believes it. So I suppose will end this negotiation!

If a rupture take place I believe that this government will *try* to remain neutral. They are daily more and more persuaded of our important trade, money, etc., etc. A few days since sixty odd of the first houses in Amsterdam and Rotterdam sent Damen with a petition in favor of the American trade, and against the French law for capturing neutral property, pointing out the ruin to this country, if it be apply'd against trade bound hither. But I shall not be surprised, nor will you, if I soon date a letter from the Helder.

¹ See "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 188.

² Gerry.

³ Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours (1739-1817).

You have at a stroke dashed my *projet* through and through. Certainly I did not predicate upon a supposed understanding and energy in other powers; still with a paternal bias I do think there are parts of this plan that war would render a respectable subject for reflection, and I suppose every projector feels the same. Whiston probably thought that he was right and nature wrong when his prophecy failed, and he outlived its period.

The Cisalpines are in a precious pickle. They refuse to ratify an hideous, but natural treaty, and Messrs. their Lords paramount have ordered a considerable part of the council of Ancients and two (I think) of the Directoire into arrest. The rights of conquest revert to France, and she will now treat them as they merit. She will teach them that they are but the artists who are to adorn her statue of liberty, and they must dress it out according to her taste. You observe that in the capitulation of Berne they agree to accept "the constitution *redigée* at Paris for all the Helvetic country"! My sorrow and indeed my indignation at all this cruel and barbarous mummery are abated by the operation which it must have in exciting the public mind in America.

A Captain Lindsay brought me my letters from Paris. He dined with General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall], but did not see Mr. G[erry] who he said was out at Mr. Skipwith's¹—I suppose philosophising. My dear sir, I am always most sincerely and truly yours, etc., etc.

Count Löwenhielm² has (on 21) given a note to Mr. Delacroix on the piratical law of 18. January—by order of his court. No answer from Paris yet, on mine of 26 February to this government.³

XXII.

T[HE] H[AGUE,] 13 April, 1798.

DEAR SIR: On Wednesday I had the honor to receive a letter from the President of the United States, of the 3d February, and though short it was highly consolatory, as it proved in its expressions of kind approbation that his ancient partiality for me from a young man, I have still the honor of possessing. Praise from such a pen would in seasons of tranquility be honor; but in such times as these, when the mind turns with anxious confidence towards those great and try'd men who are to preserve the great principles of liberty and social happiness from the wreck of the present moment, it is indeed consolation as well as honor. He writes also with the cheerful spirit of confidence in the success of the good and virtuous men who are

¹ Fulwar Skipwith.

² Gustave-Charles-Frédéric Löwenhielm (1771-1856), representative of Sweden at The Hague.

³ Adams to Murray, April 11, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 273. Murray to McHenry, April 12, 1798, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 299. Murray to John Adams, April 12, 1798, in Adams MSS. Secretary of State to Murray (two letters) April 4, 5, 10, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

now struggling with him against the follies and treachery of others, and tells me also that he had not received any intelligence from the envoys at Paris since their arrival! I am indeed sorry for this. The west winds we know may have kept back their dispatches. This brings me to *The* ENVOY Extraordinary's extraordinary situation at present at Paris, for by this time there is but ONE, though your Father made THREE. Many were called, *one* only chosen and that was the choice of the French Directory! Yes, sir, thus it is going. GERRY is to STAY, and they agree to treat with him; the others *expect* to be sent off, at least from Paris. General P[inckney] intends to try to obtain the favor of being permitted to go a little while to the south of France, on account of Miss P[inckney]'s bad health. G[erry] has told Mr. T[alleyrand] that he would stay, and T[alleyrand]'s letter is, that notwithstanding that the Executive show'd its insincerity in the present mission by the choice generally of the envoys, yet the Directory will treat with *that one* of them whose presumed opinions promise conciliatory dispositions—a thing essential in such cases, he remarks. At first, viz. 23 March, they *all*, we now see *apparently* only, determined to reject this insidious and most insulting offer, UNANIMOUSLY; but it seems, G[erry], who, *I* think, though he is your neighbor, sees not very far into a mill stone, determined to stay. I suppose under a firm persuasion that he will save his country, after all that has passed, after everything has been done save whipping the envoys, to demonstrate their *views*, so averse from our independence, their temper and principles so opposite to anything which the envoys would dare to accede to; and not at the moment when something decisive ought to have been known by the government; having amused them one six months, they have one other six months to play their game, masters of time and any contingencies that may turn up in Europe, or in America, and after all what can they do for Gerry? They must do something or he is ruined, for he has taken a responsibility upon himself that can be executed only by a great stroke of success, and that would indeed be glory; but every chance of that sort, to me, seems hopeless. Besides can it be supposed that though the Commission was *literally joint* and *several*, that it could be construed to give any *one* a power which was given to all three, if they all arrived? and that one elected by the Directoire under circumstances of calumny thrown on the government and obloquy upon the other two, and first named envoys? The extreme anger even to sickness into which this threw me may have darkened my vision, but I see nothing but improper things in G[erry]'s determination to separate and assume to himself in this way, and nothing but infernal consequences in America. Mr. Wadsworth sent me a few late papers. Among some which he saw at Amsterdam, he says he saw a letter of G[erry]'s to a friend at Boston

telling him how handsomely they were received at Paris, and how hopeful he is of settlement!!! Good God—He has mistaken the lamps of Paris for an illumination on his arrival, and the salutations of the fishwomen for a procession of chaste matrons hailing the great Pacificator!¹ Indeed his foible is to mistake things of common worldly politeness for deference to his rank of which he rarely loses the idea. This is to me a thing in him more pleasant than wrong, would he but keep it from deceiving him in great affairs; but, my dear sir, G[erry] is no more fit to enter the labyrinth of even Paris as a town—alone, than an innocent is; much less formed to play a game with the political genius of that city and that labyrinth without some very steady friend at his elbow. But there he is. You know the man, and though I know that he is a very well informed one upon Congress business and of a most friendly turn of heart—good husband, father and neighbor—yet I know him so well as to say that of all men I know in America he is perhaps the least qualify'd to play a part in Paris, either among the men or the women—he is too virtuous for the last—too little acquainted with the world and with himself for the first—and could do no possible good but in a relative character as one of three envoys. However New England is right, and P[inckney] and M[arshall] will make the weaker parts of the middle and south right also when they return.

Nothing important done in Congress—a long and good debate on Nicholas's² proposition to reduce the salary of the ministers plenipotentiarys at Berlin, Portugal and Spain to ministers residents, and keep up those of London and Paris only as ministers plenipotentiary.³ Excellent speeches against this. The gentleman in GREY⁴—still grey—he says that he agrees with Mr. Nicholas in principle, doubts its timing, but goes further and says the whole diplomacy ought at a *proper time* to be abolished. Consuls will do. Foreign ministers do no good; does not wish to increase our European connections. Seems to consider a foreign minister as a means of keeping up a CONNEXION and such sort of misery. Lion,⁵ a poor beast from Vermont, spits in Mr. Griswold's face in the house—56 to 48 for turning him out. But the Constitution requires two-thirds for expulsion; but G[riswold]⁶ canes him afterwards.

¹ "The morning after my arrival I was waited on by the musicians of the executive, and the succeeding morning by a deputation of Poissards or fishwomen for presents. Major Rutledge was kind enough to negotiate for me, by which means I avoided the kind caresses of the ladies, and an interview with the gentlemen. They expected fifteen or twenty guineas, which each of us, according to custom, was obliged to give them. When the ladies got sight of a minister, as they did of my colleagues, they smother them with their delicate kisses. So much for the *dignity* of the corps diplomatique." Gerry, in "Life of Elbridge Gerry," II, 159n.

² John Nicholas, of Virginia and New York (1761-1819). The debate is in *Annals of Congress*, 5th Cong., 550.

³ This will fail. The majority with Government seems to be six. The Senate 20 to 10. *Note by Murray.*

⁴ Edward Livingston (1764-1836).

⁵ Matthew Lyon (1746-1822).

⁶ Roger Griswold, of Connecticut (1762-1812).

Mr. Meyer ¹ has been recalled from Paris; he returned a few days since. He thinks the Directory will send a message demanding the repeal of the law against neutral trade with England. This government is in earnest, but it can supplicate only at present. I received your last, and am, my dear sir, with affectionate esteem, always yours, etc.

XXIII.

17 APRIL, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Since my last of the 13th I have received a letter from General P[inckney] at Paris, of the 8th. It discloses some particulars of importance, and one in particular which throws a clearer light on the point of view under which the United States are considered by the F[rench] Directory than anything which happened. I will mention in order the course of this affair, which I do consider as baneful in every aspect, except as it has demonstrated, or nearly demonstrated this conclusion *that France dreads a rupture with the United States, at PRESENT.*

You know that they presented their memorial. Though this was conciliatory, it was argumentative and proudly independent in its spirit—it was in truth unanswerable. The next step was, after a long delay, to know if any answer was intended; if none (so I understand it), to demand passports. An answer was at length sent—of this I informed you. During some time Mr. G[erry] (so my letter of the 8th tells me) had kept up a secret intercourse and interviews with Mr. T[alleyrand] and one of his secretaries, under an injunction not to disclose them to his colleagues. On the 3rd April it appears from the extract of the reply to T[alleyrand]'s answer ² (which was sent to me the 14th and which I have sent on), to which the initials of the THREE are subscribed, that they *all* had agreed to reject the proposal of treating with *one*, and assign strong reasons—among others this: that the proposal was not accompany'd by any promise *to recede from the demand of money* (of which I had not before heard) which had been heretofore held up as the condition upon which alone they would cease to capture our vessels, nor were any principles admitted respecting the adjustment of our disputes, etc., etc. To this answer I understand they *all* agreed. I cannot know if it were *sent*. On the sixth, which I mentioned, it appears to have been known to General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall], that Mr. G[erry] had told Mr. T[alleyrand] *that he would remain*; the others, too, knowing, if one was to stay, the others were to be ordered away. It appears that very decided explanations must have taken place after this between General P[inckney] and Mr. G[erry], as he tells me he has explicitly charged him with "his duplicity," and "stated to him the evil consequences which it would produce to his country." Mr. G[erry] (he

¹ Caspar Meyer.² See "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 191.

says), as his reason for staying, has told them that Mr. T[alleyrand] officially assured him "*that if HE (Mr. G.) did not stay, a rupture would be the immediate consequence.*" Here then I think we see land. Here is the point in which union and confidence unshaken in the envoys might have produced the reception of ALL, as a condition too, not as a favor, that they would as a preliminary arrest the depredations upon our trade, as the only condition upon which the envoys would stay. Do not then mistake my view of the subject. I do not believe they are convinced, or have given up a single point in their policy, but that *if there is to be a rupture* they think the present time a bad one for them and good for us; and that by keeping Mr. G[erry], without having pledged to anything but his official reception—a mere form, they are masters over the question whether there shall be a rupture or not, as suits themselves. They must have known from the calm countenance which the government and people of America have put upon all their flashy victories and threats, that there was no fear in the United States, and that the return of all the envoys would decide the councils and people of America. They knew this, and in the present state of the marine of Europe—of trade, colonies, and of their allies—they dreaded an event which might add the United States to the list of their enemies. In receiving Mr. Gerry they must calculate in oversetting the system which would have been adopted in the United States—had all returned. If they really feared a rupture, and I believe they do at present, union would have obtained the reception of *all*. If they did not fear it, they would have suffered *all* to go, and been *silent* if *they* meant to make it, and have so arranged as to make it on the departure of the envoys; but they do fear it at present, or they would not keep Mr. G[erry], and they wisely avoid the rupture at present in a mode that puts it and other events within their election, without a single sacrifice, or one concession, or promise, or ground even hinted at for an accommodation.

Had Mr. G[erry] said no, I dared not take this separate responsibility upon myself without an equivalent; afford me a defence, for this hazard, in breaking the commission; enable me to say to the President, I have done so because they have previously stipulated to recall the hostile orders for the capture of our vessels—and recalled them—and I will go at a moment's warning if I find they are not recalled, or if another vessel be condemned or harrassed, and so concerted with his colleagues, it would have been an apology for hazarding such a crisis in our affairs. I have so written to him, candidly telling him how widely we differ. This I thought due to him, because I have informed the government of the *public facts*, viz. his determination and what I conceive to have led the French government to adopt this line of policy.

The American ship *Farmer*, Captain Maccullem, Philadelphia, with sugar and coffee to the value of 150,000 dollars, bound for Amsterdam was taken on the 15, six miles off Helvoet, and carry'd in as a prize by a little one gunned French privateer of Dunkirk! Captain here today. I wrote to government, and went to Mr. Buys. He asked me the species of cargo, and if from a British island? spoke of the proclamation of September, (I suppose) 1796, as if that had anything to do on the question; will you let a French consul here try American property and execute your laws? I may write till I am blind in the present relations, etc., etc., etc. Mr. B[uys] goes to Paris to replace Mr. Meyer recalled. I *believe* he goes on that part of the treaty of 1795 which promises the Dutch an equivalent at the end of the war for her cessions in Brabant, etc., etc., to France, and that this equivalent will probably be East Friesland. But where is Russia to have her cut? Hanover? A treaty between Great Britain and France is also whispered as partly his object, Great Britain promising something formerly refused to this nation—Portugal the mediator. Highly improbable, I think. Araujo has returned to his old quarters near Harlem. Did he start it here? He is not in the world here. Dear sir, I am always yours *most truly*.¹

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.²

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR: *Sincerely respecting, esteeming and loving you,*³ I cannot conceal from you *my regret at the tenor of your answer to President Vreede's address to Delacroix* and the other foreign ministers at the Hague. I doubt even whether *any answer should have been given*. I am inclined to adopt your suspicion that the United States were purposely omitted, either at the instance of Delacroix, or on the part of the President to render more obsequious and agreeable homage to his masters Delacroix and the Directory, who would take pleasure in every opportunity of manifesting their ill will and contempt for the United States and their government. It perfectly corresponds with the general insulting conduct of the French rulers toward us. If the omission was designed, the speech could not be considered as addressed to you; and the subsequent official transmission of a copy to you only added to the insult. But if the omission could be supposed to be inadvertant, should not an explanation have been required, and the inadvertance confessed, prior to your returning an answer? And finally, when it was determined to answer I sincerely wish your expressions appeared to me as they do to you, "*mere phraseology*." Such for instance, as

¹ Adams to Murray, April 19, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 278.

² From the Pickering MSS.

³ Italics represent cypher.

these: that you "received with the greatest pleasure and deference a copy of the speech," etc.; when the speech by the omission referred to, indicated a careless inattention to, if not a purposed neglect and contempt for the United States: "To him (the President) and to the whole of the government of the United States, the late event will prove the source of the greatest satisfaction," when we could not but detest the prime agents and their objects. "Upon an event so auspicious to the Batavians you were happy to mingle your feelings of respect and warm felicitations," etc; when it was effected by force in repugnance to the sentiments and wishes of nine-tenths of the nation. And is not the following expression of a nature to give offence to Great Britain? That you were "happy to reflect that the great event" (the usurpation of the entire powers of the Dutch republic by a minority of the National Assembly) "while it adds vigor to the spirit, and activity to the power of the Batavian nation against their enemy" Great Britain, "will also give fresh force" etc.; and finally, was it compatible with a just national pride, under the circumstances which have been mentioned, to "wish that when the harmony and good understanding of the Batavian republic was pledged to the powers of Europe, it had extended to the government which you had the honor to represent"?

I observe, my dear sir, that all these expressions were forced from you, by an idea of the necessity of "going with the government *de facto*," "of following the stream;" while in your heart you felt "the sentiment of sorrow at the whole of this revolution." But although it has been the just policy of the American government to respect the independence of foreign nations, and therefore to acquiesce in the changes in the forms of their governments, and such were specifically the instructions to your predecessor in relation to the United Netherlands; yet may not such respect and acquiescence be manifested without paying a pointed homage to unworthy usurpers, and expressions of good will be referred rather to the nation than to them? It was in this spirit that in the credentials of our envoys to the French republic I avoided not only all flattering expressions, but even the customary style of address to the rulers of that country; for as during some time their treatment of the United States had exhibited them in the character of real enemies, and that they had insulted us to the very teeth, I could no longer call them "Very dear, great friends and allies." The address, you will observe, is simply "Citizens Directors;" and the wish at the close, not for those execrable tyrants and plunderers, but for "the welfare of the French republic." Of this manner of address, in this case, the motive to which I mentioned, the President entirely approved.

In one word, sir, it is evidently the disposition of the American government to speak to foreign governments in the language of sincerity; to express no strong sentiments that are not felt; and where custom requires certain formal expressions of civility, to use such as, like

the common professions of respect at the close of a letter, are universally understood to mean nothing.

You will pardon, *my dear sir*, the frankness with which I have opened my sentiments to you; *it has been an unpleasant task, because I risked an injury to the feelings of a man who is too respectable and too amiable to be wounded by a friend; yet you will forgive me in the reflection, that "faithful are the wounds of a friend" and such I am proud to call myself in addressing you.* Most sincerely, adieu!

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

P. S. I shall perhaps be obliged in my next *public letter* to touch on this subject; I have been the more explicit here, *that I may say little there.* The President and Mr. Wolcott *were affected as I have been;* I do not know that Mr. McHenry *has read the paper in question.*¹

XXIV.

24 APRIL, 1798.

DEAR SIR: General P[inckney] and Mr. M[arshall] are off—General P[inckney] on the 18th for the south of France, on acct. of his daughter's illness, with permission for ten decades; Mr. M[arshall] went on the 16th to Bordeaux, and is I hope at sea. Mr. G[erry] remains. These gentlemen parted, I *believe*, without visiting. Thus and thus only they rule.

Here everything is vexatious and humiliating—a fine ship, the *Farmer*, taken and carry'd into Helvoet by a one gun privateer close in with the land, now before what Mr. Delacroix calls the French Commissary of Marine at Rotterdam. My dispatches on board are now in that minister's hands. The consul at Rotterdam of whom I myself demanded them refused to deliver them. Mr. D[elacroix] refuses also, and says he must wait for orders; that they are a DEPOSIT from this consul, and he can not. I have reply'd, and he rejoined *criminating ship and cargo.* So we are even *HERE*—in this province. Of course I wrote and spoke to government, and on the subject of my dispatches very positively, calling on their immediate protection. In vain! Finding no answer even, I set off on Wednesday morning and arrived at nine at Rotterdam. My journey was fruitful of mortification. For though this consul received my remonstrances with politeness he was too strong to be overawed by a Minister of the United States. Dear God. In truth all the French agents act under the terror of their government. I wish some other agents did the same. This whole affair has made me almost sick. Among the letters are some to Mr. Bourne which Mr. Beeldemaker tells me are from Government from the seal. They probably contain dispatches for the envoys at Paris—ulterior instructions, perhaps, as the *Farmer*

¹ The postscript may not have been in the letter as sent, as it has been crossed with the pen. A second letter of the same date is in Pickering MSS.

left Philadelphia about the 12th of March. Thus they keep the envoys unacknowledged six months, and seize the dispatches which arrive at a critical period. I have set every subordinate spring into as much motion as I can. Respecting this ship, one of the principal charges in Mr. D[elacroix]'s last letter is, that "besides great quantities of English merchandise on board the *Farmer*" was "twice met by British ships of war and received protection from them," etc., etc.—that is they did not take her, and, of course, all that one robber leaves is fair plunder for another! It is enough to break a man's heart not to see our beautiful and rich merchantman armed. Five swivels and fifteen men with handspikes would have brought the ship to Rotterdam! The cargo at insurance is 150,000 dollars—sugar and coffee—in Amsterdam worth at least 280,000. One consignment alone, £14,000 sterling—in sugar; but I have scolded enough. As it is not permitted to me to scold and rave officially, I may be indulged in this pleasure to a friend.

Dandridge¹ is at Paris—Mr. D[elacroix] was so polite as to give him a passport ten days since.

Buonaparte (I hear from Paris) actually will command the army of Europe—Alexander in Persia—the British India probably their object, connected with stations permanently in Egypt; and that the Deputies from the army of Italy who complained of peculation, etc., are in the Temple. What can Spain mean by her late step against the emigrants, etc., and her whole conduct?²

Ireland is in a dreadful ferment, and, I *hear*, is declared in a state of rebellion and that some of the troops have joined the citizens.

Yours of the 11th April is the last I have had the pleasure of receiving; it came safely the 20th to me. In great haste I am, my dear sir, most truly and sincerely always yours, etc.

Count Löwenhielm comes in as I close this, and as he is always extremely kind to me so he is also in his remembrance of you, and begs his compliments to you.³

¹ Bartholomew Dandridge, secretary to Murray. Finding the climate of Holland injurious to his health he went to London and served under Rufus King. He applied for an appointment in the provisional army and received a captain's commission. See Washington to Murray, December 26, 1798. "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 128.

² "You inquire what Spain can mean by her late conduct? The key to it seems not very intricate. The Prince de la Paz had positively refused the passage for French troops to march through against Portugal, and in consequence of the bickerings which that controversy had occasioned, he had made some advances toward and accommodation with England. The French minister, therefore, besides declaring that the passage would be taken by force, if not granted, insisted upon *pain of an immediate rupture* (a menace as appears quite habitual to them) that the Prince should be removed. The King was *scared* (like our friend Gerry!), complied with all that was required of him, and took Saavedra, who thinks that the welfare and independence of Spain is in exact proportion to her servile subserviency to France. Hence the *cédules* against emigrants, and that against British goods. The next *cédule* will be to provide for the *défenseurs de la patrie* on their passage to Lisbon, or to abolish the Inquisition, the only prop still left to the monarchy. As to all these people who will be bullied even to pour the poison down their own throats, who can pity them?" Adams to Murray, April 30, 1798.

³ Adams to Murray, April 27, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 280.

XXV.

THE HAGUE, 27 April, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Buys has gone to Paris principally to concert through Vienna, and Spain and Portugal, a peace with Great Britain. This is a secret yet; he will fail, and it will not be then a secret. For France will never let H[olland] and Spain (who are both anxious for a general, and if not, a particular and separate peace.) If a British negotiation do come here (which is one object both of Great Britain and of Holland and of Spain), it must be because a general negotiation is intended—which I believe not in.

Is it true they have demanded some ships and money of Denmark. Levsen denies it. I tell him I hope his court will grant it, as it would be a pity that a little finger should be hurt in defending life and independence when money will save life; and that as the Danes act *the amiable*, it was natural this little sacrifice should be expected of them.

The constitution is certainly adopted by a vast majority of votes—perhaps 99 to 1. *None even permitted to vote but such as they, the agents, openly sent to reorganize the assemblies, thought staunch 22 January men.* A few members of the (Assembly Constituent) were excluded from the right to vote—officers of the national guard of burghers also; and great complaints poured into the Assembly in petitions all last week, and on Tuesday after the day of suffrage. The select few, protected by force, have in this instance generated and adopted this constitution, announcing it to be the act of the sovereign people. It was about as much the act of his majesty as the revolution in England—indeed not so much so. However, it is necessary to *congratulate* upon such occasions, as it would be if a lady were known by all the world to have been ravished and the marriage ceremony performed to save life and reputation on both sides. And here, also, you know there is an abundance of the cast off wooden salutations of the last century still at the very top of the best company. The same people who can disturb a congregation by their polite lowering of the hat on the sneezing of a fellow creature and who “recommend themselves” to you on the street every hour, would not forgive one if he suffered any day, in which there was much parade and music, to pass without felicitating them upon the occasion. They are indeed the very best people on earth. If I am permitted to stay a year longer, and to go through the regular salutes, and enjoy that state of mind in company, that tranquil uniform species of conversation in which the mind is undisturbed by any of its own energies or of those of others, while the

soul sleeps and the body fattens upon good fish, rely on it I shall become fat and worthy of the sty. In that respect this country really would be medicinal to both of us. It is an absolute opiate and smothers that quick motion of the intellect that I am certain has sometimes affected your nerves as well as mine. Everything announces repose here—dark shady walks, apartments darkened by shutters, blinds and thick curtains, mats and carpets, one straw, two hair mattresses, and one feather bed and two pillows, like their bergs piled up as big as a camp bed, and soft as down. In order to taste all this excellent preparation to assuage an over-active sensibility and to tranquillize the mind acting in great and feverish exertions, they ought to be FRENCHMEN.

I assure you that even this short excursion out of the thick darkness of politics has refreshed me, for this affair of my dispatches and other things have sorely irritated me.

Dandridge went yesterday fortnight to Paris. I expect him home in a week or ten days. He may perhaps see your neighbor¹ and bring us the secret—his philosopher's stone. I know him well. I know he has a kind and friendly disposition. He is however a minority man. He mistakes common things perpetually, and has a costive way of higgling between two ideas and even synonymous words that forbode feebleness of conception, digestion and powers. He knows also no more French than I do, and less perhaps of the French character than any American who has ever lived in any of our seaports a year. They will Seventy-Six-him-up in such a manner that he will be softened into the warm hope that now is the time and opportunity for saving the two republics—through him. When he was here I stuck close to him and went to Amsterdam with him, knowing the sort of politics and party he had been used to in Philadelphia and Boston. A thousand truths were new to him. It seemed quite new that the French were not all purity, philanthropy and real liberty; that the affiliated countries were abject and enslaved. After attending one day in the Wood to show him from many facts and the recent one, the 18 Fructidor (this was about the 24 September), that the French nation were not republicans and probably could not become so in our sense of the word, and that their government was a military and hypocritical despotism—a Democratic popedom—I said that it would be better for them not to have started the revolution, and from their hostility to us I wished they were now exactly as they were in '76. To my provocation but not surprise he turned short and said "Then you deny our right to Independence and the principles of our Revolution"!! I was not surprised because he had harrast me on other occasions by voluntary conclusions of this sort from what I would say when speaking on

¹Gerry,

the French. I told him with some peevishness; no, but that I found it utterly impossible to talk any more on a subject in which he seemed to have taken some concealed badness of design for granted in me, and of his own accord without reason associated every thing with this presupposed principle. However finding he still wished to talk, and as we blundered along, I started *parties* in the United States. I attempted, I believe in vain, to prove to him that there was a French but no British *party* in America. He cited the shopkeepers and merchants!! I attempted to show him that this was the real error of France or her pretext, and that she must be disabused. I talked myself deaf and dumb, I believe most perfectly in vain. However there he is—a little Daniel in the den. I pray God to preserve him!

I am this moment favored with your's of 19. April inclosing one to the President—but the hour of the post is close at hand. Yours, dear sir, always, etc.¹

XXVI.

THE HAGUE, 1 May, '98.

DEAR SIR: Were you within striking distance, as our Indian citizens say, I would send a beautiful Dutch nosegay to Mrs. Adams, from flowery Northwyck as a tribute on the first of May; but as you are at Berlin I will send the nosegay to you.

You have it in the piece cut from a paper sent to me from Mr. Bourne (who is as you told me a most good man)—the message from the President to the Houses² on General P[inckney]'s etc., etc., letter of 8 January. In this Mr. G[erry] agrees that there is no probability of success. Has the subsequent course of things the doing of that—the threat of which made them desperate—inspired him with confidence, or does political “love” also “hope when reason would despair?” Alas! I swear we have no language left but the mawkish diminutives of the minor poets in exclamations; manly sounds have been exhausted. From this message I do now even hope that something manly may be done and that they will have “stepped in,” not blood—but PREPARATION and energies of intention—so far, that when they hear Gerry on the side behind them, hallooing for them to return, they will not heed him. However, certain it is, when a certain party—the greys even—know that G[erry] remains, they will struggle hard. Then, if at all, will be the contest in which, if insurrection be to be resorted to by France, it will be try'd. Marshall too will get them as soon as G[erry]'s letters; for as he has begun by lettering away in New England, he will now attempt more and more to accommodate things there to his plan of remaining—by private letters. These are what his *predecessor* dealt largely in on purpose for PUBLICATION.

¹ Adams to Murray, April 30, 1798, extract in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 252n.

² Message March 5, 1798. “American State Papers, Foreign Relations,” II, 150.

I hear from Dresden that a commercial treaty is on the carpet between Prussia, Saxony and France, on the principle of exclusion of British articles.

Here also a commercial treaty is in some forwardness between Batavia and France, and, on our friends the Batavians' account, I fear the same principle and list of preferences will be adopted. If it be, they are deceived, because they are merely the brokers and importers, not the consumers; and as their whole stock is cash, it is their interest to be a free port. In confining our East and West India exports to this list they will abridge our choice of markets in the two Indies also, and hurt us. As a demonstration of a domineering principle over commerce it is also bad, and will I fear be attempted upon us.

Now if it be true that Buys went to Paris to arrange for a separate peace for Sweden and this country with Great Britain, I should not be surprised if France connives at it, for if she obtains a commercial treaty first with Batavia and Sweden on the exclusion principle, it would be her interest to let them make that peace of which her enemy could not avail herself commercially. I am, my dear sir, with sincere esteem etc., etc., etc.

XXVII.

4 MAY, '98.

DEAR SIR: General Marshall had embarked at Bordeaux on the 24 April for New York.

Things are coming to a point. The treaty between Russia and Austria, I hear offensive and defensive, with Russia somehow concerned to see fair play, is certainly a very important item. If a war take place again, and no Quixotic scheme is at bottom—no royal restoration and no division of France—God and man I firmly believe will crown it with honest success: *i. e.* the French may be circumscribed and old limits of territory regained. But I see that the pretender is hailed at Mitau¹ as Lewis 18th!! These are not times for compliments that prove the existence of a system of this sort.

I *hear* that great bitterness and some duels have taken place in Philadelphia among members of Congress about the first fortnight in March; but it is report only. I think it probably took place on the measures proposed on the message which I sent you in my last. It would test parties and call out great crimination on those who will still kiss the foot that kicks our country, and thus produce heat. I never hear from Philadelphia, scarcely. Whenever I do I inform you. Do *you* hear from Mr. G[erry]? I wish you could. I can not expect the honor. I hear through from Paris that *he waits for instructions* from Government! In truth France has for some time seen her

¹ Capital of Courland, Russia.

affairs wearing an ambiguous fortune and was afraid to produce a rupture with the United States. I am, dear sir, most truly always yours etc., etc.¹

The Constitution is thus supported: for it, 153,913, against it, 11,000.

XXVIII.

14 MAY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 8th, and the preceding ending the 3d inst., I have received safely and shall forward their contents.

Nollet and Vander Jahght² have been accused of some suspicious circumstances in the management of the public money, I believe, though I know very little of their characters or offenses, real or imputed. Both were in the highest form of the new school. The first was the deputy who carry'd the message from the revolutionary Constituent Assembly on the "*ever glorious*" 22d January to the members, the twenty, arrested in the little chamber where you took leave. He is now my neighbor, under military guard, next door, and will probably remain confined longer than the House-in-the-wood prisoners, who I understand will be liberated in a few days: I suppose to partake of the solemn feast prepared for the 19th to celebrate the organization of the constitution, etc. This is now organized *without any new election*. On the 4th the Assembly decreed to appoint themselves instantly to be two-thirds of the first and second chambers; twenty for the second, forty for the first. They did so, and elected twenty of their own body for the second chamber; then divided in procession to their respective apartments, and elected their presidents and secretaries. They have already exerted in two small instances their checking powers against each other.

The Directoire here are uneasy at the appearances of a convulsion at Paris, which I hear is expected by the 20th.³

Luzac is suppressed. This is on the 4th.⁴ The paper from Leyden is now the *News political of Leyden*. I do not know if he still directs it. It is said to have been worth 20,000 florins per annum to him clear. His *italics* produced this oppression.

I begin to hope that, concurrences being favorable, this government will endeavor to extricate itself from foreign dependence. They are deeply sensible of their situation, and now beginning to taste of POWER, it is natural they should grow restive; but I do not see their way out—I ty'd nine times round them.

¹ Murray to Pickering, May 5, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, May 8, 1798, in Adams MSS. Pickering to Murray, May 7, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

² Jacobus Nolet and Adriaan van der Jagt.

³ The peaceable *coup d'état* of 22 Floréal, An VI.

⁴ "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1793," 230.

It is said that an express arrived last night. Neufchatel¹ goes out. Treilhard² will go in, and not Mr. Delacroix: he will go into the Ancients.

Mr. Dandridge has just returned from Paris. He says Mr. G[erry] is the most uneasy man alive. He knows nothing of their intentions (and has not even seen the person of a Director) except that they wish to *receive* him but he refuses, and says he will not stay long. He has written to me in answer to my letter of 15 April, and vindicates his measure on the merit of PREVENTING a RUPTURE which was officially threatened if he went. This is his plea, the very reason for an opposite course. He certainly means well, but he has some substantial errors of opinion at bottom which will forever lead him into hesitations and error of decisions. He is in a thick fog of his own conjuration, and now cannot step to right or left.

By letters from Paris as late as the 6th from an intelligent man intimate with Mr. G[erry]—Mr. S.—and known to many members of government, it seems they wish to prevail on G[erry] to go home, provided he will pledge himself to draw our government into their views; but the writer says G[erry] will not do so. In fact G[erry]'s character puzzles them. They can make nothing of him. Frightened him they have. The same turn of mind that made him stay now operates against their further views on *him*. The great view will however be but too fully attained—a division of opinion.

This correspondent says that the knowing ones at Paris expect a great convulsion in England before the 20th. It is probable that as they expect one at Paris they will exert themselves to have one in England; and from the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the junction of Sheridan and other preparatory steps, the British government may have cause also to expect one. The opposition appear to me to be lost in reputation as men of *sagacity*.

The French here say that Buonaparte has gone to Toulon, and his object a junction of that and the Spanish fleets.

I hear nothing from Philadelphia—not a line. Mr. Delacroix writes to me that the *dispatches* are ordered on to Paris, the *letters*, to the consul, to be opened by him, and that this is conformable to the *ordonnances* of France and late decrees!!! I shall not answer till the *Farmer* is either cleared or condemned. Words absolutely are air upon such an insult and violation. Something that may be “clutched” and *used* too, is the thing we need. I have been very sick and continue ill. I am most truly, my dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

Who is your Banker at Berlin? Would it not be best to address to him? You know *mine here*.

¹ Nicolas-Louis, comte François de Neufchateau (1750-1828).

² Jean-Baptiste Treilhard (1742-1810).

Before I closed this (15th) I received (from Mr. Bourne) the inclosed message from the President of the United States. It is manly, and indicative of the true policy.

Mr. B[ourne] also tells me that you are appointed to settle a treaty with Sweden.¹ I sincerely feel pleasure you know in all your honorable movements, and rejoice in this. I hope it will lead to a minister plenipotentiary at Stockholm. Nicholas's antiplenipotentiary motion failed—by four only! Another election comes on this autumn, and I trust the times will point out an amelioration in Congress in the southern elections. I do trust in this.

XXIX.

18 MAY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I heard from Paris of the 13th from an intelligent American there. He paints Mr. G[erry]'s oppression of spirits as very great, and I dare believe that he is extremely miserable. I lament it, because I consider him as a friendly hearted and worthy man, and infinitely too good for the bed which in a moment of indecision he has made for himself. Such times and unlucky concurrences of feeble moments and trying situations are enough to kill a man healthier and stronger than he is. This friend tells me that he intends to send his secretary (Mr. Tazewell, nephew of the Virginia Senator) with dispatches to Philadelphia in a short time, and to follow in a few weeks. He has been lately assured by Mr. T[alleyran]d *that the Directoire has good intentions towards the United States, but could not now attend to his mission because of their engagements on the elections*, which by the day you receive this, will probably have ended in one more Fructidor. These sorts of speeches have a baneful effect. I heard that letters from Americans to houses in Amsterdam of that tendency, full of hopes of accommodation, and of friendly assurances, etc. etc., had been received, and wrote to Mr. B[ourne] begging him if possible to counteract their effect. Because copies of such, well intended, are sent off, and do immense mischief by standing on an extra handbill, FRESH and IMPORTANT—*Peace* with France, etc. The disease is hope, absolutely bottomless. Such trashy benevolence is its aliment. Today B[ourne?] tells me that Damen sagaciously and with great joy took him by the hand on 'Change yesterday, and wished him joy on the good news from Paris, telling him of all this sweet intelligence to and from respectable men, and thus, doubtless, goes to different ports in America what is to strengthen delusion, flatter pusillanimity and WEAKEN government. I know well how such insignificant pieces of intelligence affect even Congress, and how I have myself gaped for some refreshing drop from the latest arrivals

¹ Adams' title was commissioner, and his appointment was dated March 14, 1798. The first diplomatic representative of the United States to Sweden was Jonathan Russell, minister plenipotentiary from January 18, 1814, to October 22, 1818.

during various crises in late affairs. The smallest trifle aids a pre-settled hypothesis in such moments; much more when these seize on public passions and help to form that tide of national opinions to which some attention is always paid by members. Letter writers in such cases generally are inclined to soothe a correspondent with "they yet hope," etc., some from a trickiness in speculations, others from a sort of benevolence and without reflection. If on the contrary we are wrong in our calculation, we err with every appearance that can justify a prudent preparation against very probable evils, and such as, if they do happen, and we are not prepared, are ruin. So that preparation is but the principle of insurance apply'd to all we hold great and dear. The premium is nothing compared with risk and value.

As I before hinted I do think that Mr. Vreede and the other Directors begin to assert—with prudence—and as far as seasons permit, the Dutch affairs. As I have before mentioned (I think) Mr. D[elacroix] is to go. He is not absolutely *recalled*. He was apply'd to be among the Elders. I suppose he expected to be nominated among the Directors, and he, it is said, declined in a degree the seat among the Elders; but he is to be there. There is reason to believe that the Directory here disapprove and are even roused at his too rigid use of the *rights of friendship*, and the pretty positive assumption of some that ways and means have been found out to have this known at P[aris], and that his removal absolutely was on that score decided on and his acceptance of an elevated retreat was the consequence.

I understand that the brave *admiral*¹ and General D[aendels] are indignant at repeated proofs of an overbearing spirit in this gentleman, and have been very impatient ever since the 22d January, which was pushed by him into severities against the moderates, of which these two had no conception, in violation of an engagement that no violence should be offered to the persons of any member except removal from his seat. However that day was sanctioned by the Directoire at P[aris] again. The self election of the two chambers on the 4th it is said was owing to him. This it is said has given offence to *France* himself; and it seems, the work being done, the Praetor is made odious though the work stands. They say he has been too rough and gone on with too little regard to the temper of the Batavian nation. What a direful web of intricacy is *France's* system. Did you know a Mr. Du Cange²—a frenchman? He formerly was employed in Mr. Luzac's office. He has lived with Mr. D[elacroix] since he came in January.

The last reply of the French ministers at Rastadt seems full of great events, whether accepted by the empire or rejected. The

¹ Jan Willem de Winter.

² Braham Ducange.

Rhine alone will not do; trade is social and so are rivers. The *Danube* next is brought into view. This must show the progress of concession to ruin, I should suppose, past all doubt to all Germany—your north even. Vast indeed are *France's* schemes. The map of Europe with every river in it is doubtless the plat of his profound schemes; the accessions to these only the other three quarters of the world—the Danube, the Black Sea, etc., etc. I hear that a combination will take place of all the north and Germany with this object in view: 1. to limit the views of France at Rastadt conformably to what is now understood to be the concessions agreed to. 2d. to force him into a solemn engagement not only to arrest the present career of propaganda, but also to aid and assist the ally'd powers in discouraging the revolutionary movements in their territories, and to oppose any such movements in conjunction with them; and that this combination will be a pacific engine in its form and spirit and origin, but otherwise if its object be not obtained. Last autumn I had reason to believe that Great Britain had endeavored to excite in the north a sort of armed mediation of this sort as umpire between her and France to be used at Rastadt, or eventually to be used against either who should reject a reasonable plan of peace; but it failed. This Danube proposition, Kehl, etc., etc., seem to me thrown out possibly as points to be yielded as a merit, if much opposed. If this is not so, I should suppose that France must have arranged beforehand along the Danube, and with Turkey to move in her favor, if hostilities come on in a struggle on this point. She does nothing idly as far as I can see into her abyss of schemes.

In consequence of the promising stability of the new constitution, and the growing moderation of the Directoire and government (and those who were violent six months since are now the moderates), the imprisoned members will be liberated tomorrow at night; and a committee appointed to report on a proposition of amnesty in favor of those who have been chargeable with excess in their patriotism since 1794, I understand, will enlarge their report to include an oblivion to ALL of all parties confined since then. In truth our worthy friends the Dutch have really the sweetness of "the Bourbon blood," and are not cruel nor long ill natured. If the gentlemen of the country would step forth and support the government as it is—and here it is established, such as it is—I should hope that if an opportunity offered this government, thus internally sustained, would endeavour not to lean on a foreign pillar. All this I shall not stay long enough probably to witness; for if the merchants arm, as I hope they will be suffered to do under regulations as the President intends, it is pretty easy to see that I shall travel; very reluctantly, certainly, and inconveniently for the present, but under better auspices for my old age than if things are permitted to continue as they

have been between France and the United States. I am always, my dear sir, truly yours.

P. S. This government has also just arrested two of its *secret* agents whom it employ'd at Paris. These men (I will get their names) were in the same employment for the party who were imprisoned 22d January. As soon as they saw how the tide turned they went with it, and were employ'd by the present government at Paris. I suppose that they were commanded to come home, and are now arrested—for what I do not hear.¹

XXX.

25 MAY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Some very serious events will take place here I fear in a few days. General Daendels has quarrelled with Mr. Delacroix, was denounced to the Directory, set off to Paris on the 17th. Has been proclaimed as a deserter, and must now succeed in ruining this Directory at Paris, as [he will] probably be try'd here for his life. Indeed very serious affairs seem approaching. I fear to write fully by post.

A Mr. Humphrey² arrived at Paris express in 25 days to Mr. Gerry, I rather believe to recall him. By some means, on the 17th March the government had heard that he meant to stay, if all others went. The arming of merchants goes on briskly. Appropriations also do not seem much opposed. In great haste I am, dear sir, etc., etc.

No letters from you this nor the last post.

XXXI.

THE HAGUE, 29 May, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed letter which I received yesterday from Mr. King will tell its own story, and you will with me rejoice. Never, never were there such scoundrels! I hear that its effects at first were strong upon the opposition, but our friends suffered the moment to pass without tying them down to some voted proposition; and then some of the opposition began to apologize, and say they knew Talleyrand to be a royalist from the company he kept in Philadelphia, and

¹ Adams to Murray, May 25, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 295.

² Clement Humphreys. Mountflorencia dined with Humphreys on the 14th at Gerry's lodgings. "He did not get anything from Mr. G. except that Mr. G. inquired about biscuits, and if there were enough on their return; from which he concluded that Mr. Gerry meant to leave France in some short time. I have not received anything on the subject from Mr. Gerry." Murray to the Secretary of State, May 19, 1798. Pickering MSS.

"The information contained in the latter [No. 35] is extremely interesting, and if you did not pronounce on the matters stated as facts so peremptorily, and with a repetition, *that Spain will refuse both the demands of France (the cession of Louisiana, and the march of a French army through Spain to attack Portugal)* I should suppose you had been entirely misinformed; and as it is, I cannot refrain from doubting, knowing the debility and supineness of one party, and the power and imperious character of the other. If there had been an army of 80,000 men prepared since last October, it is strange that we should never before have heard of it. Should, however, the facts as stated be correct, I can account for them only on one ground; that acceding to the demands would in the result be ruinous, and resistance could not produce a worse effect, while it afforded some chance of success. *It is time, indeed, for the world to rise in arms against a monster that threatens to lay it waste.*" Secretary of State to Murray, May 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

that the Directory probably knew nothing of it, and would punish him! Dear God, this must be drivelling or treason! But I hear that generally the wrong have become right. But read, read; I will no longer detain you from the treat. I must tell you however that on the eleventh an armed express brig arrived at Havre from Philadelphia with dispatches by a Mr. Humphrey to the envoys and commanding their return. Gerry was not gone on the 18th, nor did he send H[umphrey] to General Pinckney till 16th or 17th. The probability is that the object of this express vessel in part may be defeated, as it was for them to get out of France before the inclosed publication should reach Paris, and that they may be imprisoned. I have heard not one word from Gerry on the subject, nor from him these four weeks. In America the public voice is high for bold measures. I am, dear sir, truly, etc.¹

XXXII.

1 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Last post I sent you a London paper containing copious extracts from the correspondence of the envoys at Paris, unfolding very circumstantial and direct evidence of prostitution on the part of *France* and her priesthood. Of course they will deny. If they do, I fear some very harsh treatment to General P[inckney] and Mr. G[erry]. Remember Quirini, the Venetian, and D'Araujo. I have not heard that G[erry] who had warning on the 13th May at night is gone, I fear that the same indecision of temper will keep him till they get the publication. The preparation of sea-biscuit will detain him ten days before he obtains a batch duly baked and packed. Humphrey who brought the dispatches on the 13th ultimo and who, as they were letters of *recall*, ought to have gone immediately, was not off on 16th at the post hour. Poor General P[inckney]. Marshall is probably in Philadelphia; his arrival will help to swell and point the popular feeling against the philanthropists. From Mr. King I learn (of the 18th) that on the first reading the *antis* expressed the heartiest indignation; but that after some days poisoned qualifying ifs and buts were thrown among them:—"of Talleyrand they always had a bad opinion; he was a royalist; the company which he kept in Philadelphia had proved that; but they had no idea that he was so bold an intriguer and so profligate a villain; and it was hardly possible that the Directory could know of this."² Yet I understand that they either moved or intended to move an address of approbation to the President for his conduct in this important negotiation; that they had met in Korkus (your worthy New England men call it) and had resolved almost unanimously to support government. Both are probable: the last mentioned course as the first impulse of disabused

¹ Adams to Murray, May 31, 1798, in Adams MSS.² See Jefferson to Carr, April 12, 1798. "Writings of Jefferson" (Ford), VII, 238.

enthusiasm; the first, as the effect of intrigue upon them and a consequence of love artfully rekindled after it had been shaken by high appearances of worthlessness. If they are not satisfy'd after ALL that has happened, they are fit for Venice, Milan, or ——, but not for Philadelphia.

I have seen the circular, it permits arming in defence. This may be best for the moment. It was all that the President could authorize, but it is war. Congress must do the rest. Defensive war it seems to me suits no government but a very strong one, that consults the taxed very little about the taxes. With us the people will be open to intrigue, if their passions are not war passions. Taxes will be felt and deliberately calculated like an expensive dinner when there is no appetite and no wine. Reason merely will not pay taxes; fear and avarice, and sometimes almost prudence in those who are to bear up with their property to support the war, must be drowned often in the din of the more careless passions and the love of glory. Enterprise, the sweet revenge inflicted and tasted in a vulgar way, by seamen in port and their friends in the country are necessary.

A paragraph is in a London paper of the same date, taken from some of ours, that the French are in the Floridas and their flag flying at New Orleans. This is not proof, but it needs little proof to render anything from them probable. The minister here knows nothing of it. I have long warned him against this cession, as hurtful to us, ruinous to Spain in her colonies. The posts on these frontiers I learn are given up to our troops.

Paul I seems a clever man by his manifesto.¹ He has a character to establish, and as this is the first time he has broken a spear, he must now proceed. All this looks like a link of a long chain—or is it the former convention for mutual aid with Great Britain? I hear that affairs at Rastadt are embroiled, and that the princes talk too loud for men of their modesty, unless supported behind by the Emperor. These little fellows are the mere shillings that make a guinea. They ought to be minted again; for separately, like every guinea in change, they come to nothing.

How I envy you that dear amiable tender hearted son of the church—call him Abbe Sieyès. I wish much to see him and your other *illuminated*, Nicolai, of Berlin.² Sieyès is certainly the pivot of the French affair. What is he at Berlin for? Caillard³ I respect.

At this instant yours is delivered to me, XI o'clock. Regularity is nothing except in the dialogues of the dead or something equally foreign to my way of living with those whom I esteem.

You show me that you know all I do about this and that, which you will find in this letter, yet I send it—"two morning guns Mr. Puff"!

¹ Proclamation on protection to trade, May 15, in "Annual Register," 1798, 237.

² Christophe Frédéric Nicolai (1733-1811).

³ Antoine-Bernard Caillard (1737-1807).

I agree with the players however that one cannot "make too much of a good thing," and there never, never was so good a thing as this publication 'bating its trimming and placing—*non hic locus*. I have a full pamphlet of it, and it is already dirty. It has been in a dozen hands and is read in the night by those who can not get it in the day. It is a thing of the most triumphant exultation that has been seen here. All, all are sick and trodden down. They scarcely at first believed that there existed spirit enough to say to *France's beard* that she was a prostitute and that they placed her as such in immortal types. It soothes, and exhilarates, and searches the remains of manhood in all who read, and I think will have a very considerable effect on this continent.

The English landed at Ostend and have disabled that place from sending out vessels for eight months. That was their object, and not to overflow to Ghent. But poor John acted as he has not done for many years on land, he got beaten and taken prisoner. 1400 are taken it is believed, though not by 500 of the enemy. The want of discipline in the British officers is everything. Their silver stew-pans, and delicate sauces, and superb travelling mattresses and camp equipage, all of patent and warranted articles, suit young lords in St. James's park, but are shabby apologies for that eternal drubbing which they have had the honor to take from the French grenadiers all this war. They are brave officers and men, but they are undisciplined and poor soldiers.

For God's sake make the king of Prussia read Homer and see the force and evil of division. The contest cannot long be between one king and another, if those crowned gentlemen will not on *some principle*, shake hands at such a moment!

I mean to endeavor to have *the publication* entire translated into French. Could you not have it done? If I do, I shall charge its expenses to government. They make me pay rent for this house! I shall pay 500 guilders; it is little rent, but really takes away with 200 of *all* my savings, upon my honor, for this year! The executive cannot help it. I know this. It is the law, the bond. It goes very near my heart. Yours always, my dear sir, affect'ly.

P. S. Last Tuesday I had an application from Hamburgh to know if vessels would be safe in coming to Rotterdam. I answered no, the French privateers take ours near the Meuse and bring them into Holland. The *Farmer's* cargo, worth 375,000 guilders, is just condemned by the French consul at Rotterdam.

Inclosed you have a note. This Major Mountflore¹ has been the Ariel among the consuls in France. Could not you do him a kindness—some consular appointment for instance?²

XXXIII.

5 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Mountflorencia has just arrived at Rotterdam and, as he could not come hither, as he waited hourly for a wind, I went yesterday to see him. G[erry] is not gone; General P[inckney] making ready to go; so is G[erry]. On the 28th ulto. THEY received the *publication* from Philadelphia, and Mr. Talleyrand will have a severe time of it reporting upon it for his masters. Nothing had transpired of what *they* thought and felt from this exposure. Vindication and revenge must be expected by us. My fear is we shall now wait to know if they deny it. Dear me!

G[erry]'s confidants and particulars have been a Mr. Codman,¹ who though not dyed in grain is deep dyed, Mr. Cutting² who openly reviles government; and dear, amiable, clean and sweet Tom Paine.

I fear that G[erry] will try to linger a little longer; that in proportion as things are desperate his fears will rise and his turns redouble, and that under the letter of recall he may hinge upon some expression giving a discretion, "unless a treaty is made or can be made." It is *reported* by a sailor who has a letter, he says, from General Marshall to Mr. Middleton, that the ship in which the General embarked the 20 April was taken at sea by the privateer to which this sailor says he belongs, and carry'd into Spain, and that Brown his Secretary was wounded. Nothing but the *time* is against the probability of this story. All quiet here yet. Dear sir, yours truly.³

XXXIV.

8 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: There is reason to believe that Mr. Delacroix was not recalled⁴ with so much gentleness as would appear from the letter of the Directory to Bernadotte. On the contrary his recall was a consequence of the intrigues—and more honest intrigues, if an end at all sanctifies means—of the moderates, headed by Genl. D[aendels], on some heavy charges against him. So that his recall may be considered as important, because it has originated here; and proves that something new is to be done here to which the present party are deemed incompetent. Or, it is but the progress of the T[alleyrand] system of breaking parties, and fighting one against another in each change, showing that in all their transmutation they are under the bidding of the great master of changes—thus to subdue more and more that internal strength which is formed by a union of men upon some accepted principles.

This moment I have the pleasure of yours of 31 May. You do not mention mine of the last, but one, post.

¹ Brother of John Codman, of Boston.

² Nathaniel Cutting, United States consul.

³ Adams to Murray, June 7, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 298.

⁴ The letter of recall is in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 232.

Daendels, whom I thought I had mentioned, quarreled with D[elacroix] and his confidential factotum Ducange on the 16 of May.¹ He abused these for the severities of the 22d January, so contrary to an express convention between Mr. D[elacroix] of the one part, and himself and the gallant admiral² on the other. He treated with a soldierlike freedom the acts of sequestration, and the 4th May, the self election of the two councils. He reviled Ducange as a fellow who deserved death. D[elacroix] had six days before received an alarming letter from the Directory at Paris, commanding him to vindicate himself against charges of the above sort (which had been made by General D[aendels] and others). Mr. D[elacroix] knowing that General D[aendels] was of all men the one who could exonerate him, if he could be brought over, and, it is believed, being resolved, if that could not be effected, to put the General in some situation that would ruin him with his own government, had him to a private family dinner, when the frankness and high spirit of the General soon showed him that the last must be his choice. There, at this dinner all this happened; then, after this dinner, his guest was denounced to the Batavian Directory as a counter-revolutionist. A new method of poisoning a guest seems to have been invented. The General went to Joubert, who esteems him, after the interview with the Directory on the 17th; he was even persuaded by his friend J[oubert] to take his passport and start instantly to Paris. He was to have been that night arrested; it may be doubted if the troops would have suffered it. At Paris he was well received by the Directory. Three things were determined in his presence, it is said: That Mr. D[elacroix] should be recalled, that Ducange should be chased from this country, that two agents of the violent men here, at Paris, should be arrested, and even the house of Mr. B. the unacknowledged minister was ordered to be searched for them. This helps to explain why B. has not been received, though there since 26 April. Probably the moderates here have prevented it. Certainly everything was ready for an explosion here, had not the General fired his gun too soon. Of this subordinate arrangement which has been very silently performed, I knew nothing till the first week in last month. I cannot write much which I wish to say on the views of parties, which form the important part of all such affairs. Thus D[aendels] has triumphed.³ I fear however that the moderates thus incur a debt of gratitude which will embarrass them. Their honest views are worth guilders, if the French would accept guilders in lieu of homage and allegiance. I fear some of my letters are missing. Surely I must have mentioned something of these things to you. By the bye, what I told you that

¹ *Ib.*, 226, 227.

² De Winter.

³ See Bielfeld's dispatches in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 352, and the "Précis historique," 635.

Mr. V. Hoofe¹ is reputed to have said 22d January of the priest is revived, published, enlarged to more than double, and the *last* is most credited. Some, about twice as much as the last was intended for the Goddess, whose priests it seems have follow'd those of you and prevented *it* from ever reaching the Temple. The goddess is enraged at this, and this with some other things will account for her bias to moderation which is generally more punctual and less needy.

No, I did not see Stone;² it is enough to read him. I have had his pamphlet and sent it a week since to Col. Pickering. The English to my astonishment *have* certainly gained their object, which was to cripple the canals and sluices without inundating, and the port of Ostend it is believed will no longer for eight months do its owners any service. My dear sir, Gerry is yet at Paris!! and letters to Amsterdam and Rotterdam from French and Americans say that he holds conferences with the French government, and that things are becoming friendly (and propitious is the word). I am written to, to know all about it. I answer it is false, that Mr. G[erry] is not an envoy at present, etc., etc. I do fear a little that man's more than infantine weakness. Of it you can not have an idea, unless you had seen him here and at Paris. Erase all the two lines above; it is true, but it is cruel. If they get hold of him they will convert him into an innocent baby-engine against the government, and to his utter ruin. I never hear from him, except the beginning of May, in answer to my scolding letter of 14 April. General P[inckney] says (date 26 May) from Lyons that he will weather out the storm. He foresees it, and sent me an extract from the letter of recall of the 24 March.³ I will copy the alternatives:

1. If in treaty with persons duly authorised, to remain and expedite the treaty; if you discover a design to procrastinate, you are to break off, demand passports, and return. For you will consider suspense as ruinous to the essential interests of your country.

2. If on the receipt of this letter, you shall not have been received, and, whether received or not, if not in treaty with persons duly authorized with full powers, demand passports and return.

3ly. In no event is a treaty to be purchased with money, by loan or otherwise.

Nothing can be more explicit. Yet there is Gerry clinging round the heels which have been spurning him and his government nine months almost, a government whose conception he has signed and sealed, and whom he has acknowledged he has no confidence in.

I do not know as to the ruin of Europe. I begin to think that this mighty power of France is greatly ideal, a species of hypochondria.

¹J. F. R. van Hooff.

²John Hoskins Stone. See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 297.

³Printed in "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 200.

Her armies can not be every where, her intrigues may. Both have been felt, and their consequences detested. The armies are moved, and her system established in the affiliated countries is so little plausible in practise, and put together with ligaments of so temporary a nature, all will tumble from her—not in one or two years. But indeed it can not last. It is too much opposed to common sense, to the natural feelings, which pervade the mass, though not the philosophers. Nature will resume her dominion. With you I agree that she will exhaust every nation not in offensive arms of the greatest part of its wealth, at least of its money, and derange the governments of Europe for a time; but it seems to me that her whole conduct is so outrageous—and so imprudent, that if anything could drive man into content with established governments, it is this Fury whom it has pleased God to let loose upon the world. We must become more a martial people than we are. I trust in a growing spirit of Union and a growing solidity in Government. With the two last we may, indeed, scorn the vengeance of France. Europe will be too vigilant to avail itself of any diversion of force at all competent even to a ten days march from our shores which she might send. Dear sir, I am always yours, etc., etc.¹

XXXV.

12 JUNE, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR: I thought that I had told you of General D[ael-del]'s affair with the Citizen [Delacroix], and all about it. Yes, he got a passport from his friend Joubert.

He has just returned triumphantly. The denunciation against him as a deserter and counter-revolutionist is neither taken off nor executed upon him, and he is now at his House near the Directorial palace, with his guard of honor, two French grenadiers, and I hear was escorted to town by French hussars. All the corps of the officers of both armies went yesterday to pay their respects to him. Something very important will occur probably by Saturday, as in a fortnight the primary assemblies meet to elect the *vacant* third. Ireland is in open rebellion.

You do not tell me whom to put my letters under cover to. Your last came safe, and the two inclosed went last night to Mr. Bourne, and will soon go. I also have a London edition of the publication. Nothing of *their* opinions on it reaches me. The tiger never bounds at his prey till he is sure; he will wag his tail and slink into the bushes if he finds innocence as wary as himself is cunning. In great haste I am always most truly, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

Not one word from or of Gerry.

¹ Adams to Murray, June 12, 1798, in Adams MSS.

XXXVI.

12 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: A Revolution took place today at half past four. General Daendels at half past four sent in some grenadiers to the Directorial palace, while Mr. Van Lange¹ and Mr. Delacroix were at dinner and seized Mr. V. L. The others, except Mr. Wildrick, could not be found. Mr. Delacroix came out in a perfect fury. He roared in a voice so suffocated by rage that it was a scream of agony; he abused them all vehemently to his own house. I met him near that; he was with his son and a Colonel of Hussars, and a mob of boys and blackguards behind him—a mournful spectacle I assure you, and certainly too much humbled for any foreign minister. V. L. was dragged, as he refused, down the steps. He then found he must go and went to the Rotterdam. His amiable lady I saw at the door three minutes after. She appeared to weep, as General D[ae]ndels passed her to go in with some grenadiers to search. Mr. Finje and Vreede are missing. Fokker, I hear, is taken, and he and Wildrick dismissed again. The councils were overturned at half past six. The President of the second Council, Visser,² seized on in his chair which was taken from under him. Midderich,³ President on 22d January and of the 2d Comr. arrested—De Beare Do, Ploos Van Amstel Do, Ockerse, Vonk, Vanleuven, De Lemon, Burdt of the I Council do, Wendam of the West India Company Do, A secretary of Eighbertstein (a secret agent at Paris lately) Do, De Lemon uncertain.⁴ The citizen minister went at six to General J[ou]bert and called on him to protect the Councils, etc., etc. The National Guards marched out of the court, and there was no resistance, no tumult, no disturbance, but the buzz of armed men marching and landing their arms. The French troops were out, their arms stacked; but they were not ostensible, and were unnecessary. Everybody seemed against the present power. Not so on 22d January—all was then visibly mournful.

A *provisory* Directoire is named, and a secretary to it, Mr. van Grasveld,⁵ who left his card as such with me at nine. I *hear* that this Council or Directory is composed of very good men. Two I know, viz. Gogle⁶ of Finance, Spoors⁷ of Marine, and, I think, Peyman⁸ of War—all very excellent men. General D[ae]ndels, of course, who is I trust a man of honor and patriotism, is at the head of whatever

¹ Stephannus Jacobus van Langen.

² C. Visser.

³ H. Midderigh.

⁴ Willem Anton Ockerse, L. C. Vonck, H. H. de Lemon, A. J. C. de Bere, Hobbe, baron van Aylva van Eberstein. See "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 542.

⁵ Carel Hendrik van Grasveld, a nephew of Daendels.

⁶ Isaïe Jan Alexander Gogel.

⁷ Jacob Spoors.

⁸ Gerrit Jan Pijman.

system may start. Van der Goes I believe will be replaced at the head of foreign relations. He is a man of worth and sense. The Constitution will stand. A proclamation¹ will be issued tomorrow or next day on principles very comprehensive, respecting the approaching elections in primary assemblies the last of this month, and the first principle will be to unite all parties if practicable. The views of independence which I do believe guide the most enlightened men of this new revolution, entitle them to the confidence of the Orangists, if they are not poor puny and puling things, yet prince-sick. They have lost their gilded yacht, they are in the water, and ought to be happy if they can save themselves in the long boat.

On Daendels' return on Sunday night, the officers and other moderates to the number of 300 at least would give him a fête at the Doel. On last night they gave it. To-day the four young men who were managers were arrested by the Directory, who the day before also deprived Joubert of the command of the Dutch armies. The Directory acted as if they were but to order, yet no means were provided for resistance. It was a mournful proof to me of the state of insensibility to which changes often repeated lead even soldiers to see the two horse guards sitting like wax figures on their steeds, with drawn swords and barbed lips, on each side the doors down which the Director Van Lange was dragged by the grenadiers. It is true that General D[ae]ndels was present; but the Directory had proclaimed that none should obey him. The bodyguards of the Legislative Councils acted in the same passive way; but all the soldiers and all the officers were against them—all. This was obvious even on the 22d January. A very respectable man, who commands a battalion (a Dutch one), told me on that day with tears in his eyes how unhappy he was—him, I had seen attending the high priest of *France* into the bosom of the Convention to make his speech. Unhappy, excellent nation! would to God they were independent!

The greatest part of the scenes of this day I saw. Mr. Dandridge saw almost all of which I missed.

Mr. Van Lange goes to Woerden as a state prisoner. No harshness will be shown.

I rejoice in this revolution on the whole. I have *more* hopes of Batavian independence. Would that Great Britain were wise enough to see her policy in liberating the worthy revolutionaries from all fear of her interference. In such a situation, *if occasions occurred*, I do believe they would assert themselves and extricate their country.

Delacroix's courier at seven was stopped at the port and sent back though he produced his authority. I am, I fear, a little malicious; but when excessive arrogance and mischievous tempers are mortify'd

¹ Dated June 12. It is in "Annual Register," 1798, 244.

they furnish a repast which even good nature may enjoy with triumph.

Yet always, dear sir, Dutch revolutions are truly dramatic—easily written, easily endured, and read without convulsions.

P. S. to 12 June, 1798. The inclosed I wrote at night on the 12th.

Today they have formed a legislative body of 42 *pro tem.*, till the subdivisions of the territory for primary Assemblies are complete. This will take more than a month. The revolution was not to have taken place till Roberjot¹ came; but on the 12th the government desired that at five that day two gentlemen² should be executed as an example to overawe the troops. The crime was, I assure you, that they were managers the preceding night at a supper given to Daendels. When D[aendels] heard of this, he seized the moment and acted. Buys is recalled by the late government. Slick Van Scholten, late of Stuttgart, was to go in his place. He is arrested. Schimmelpenninck goes to Paris as minister. When they get a little settled I mean to present a memorial on the late outrages against our trade which I have ready, but would not present to the others till I should see whether there was hope of their removal. They never answered one of mine, and I believe of no one's else! Despised within, impotent without, I mention the skeleton of the 12th. You will reflect and form opinions. Nothing is *right*, but all is better!

14th June, 1798. The Directoire whom I know are good—Spoors (of Marine), Gogel of Finance, Pijman of War. Late. Gerry writes me today that the government assure him that they have no hostile intentions!!! Did you ever see the like? The legislative body is composed of some of the best men certainly—corps have been purged and puked since you were here. These are such as you described to me as the best in the country.

The men of the House in the Wood are yet in duress. I saw them today. They are but prisoners of form for some days. A declaration has been tendered to them I think this morning "to submit their conduct for a time to military law." I believe they refused.

Entre nous—all, all the worthy men droop over the success of the 12th, though the means were necessary. You can easily judge what it is that a man who loves his country as they do would regret in *such* a revolution, so accomplished! Yet, other events concurring, they will do the best, and economise the remains of their liberties and independence.³

¹ Claude Roberjot (1753-1799).

² Pompe van Meerdervoort and Kretschmar, "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 656.

³ Adams to Murray, June 23, 1798, in Adams MSS.; June 19, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams" II, 309.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹THE HAGUE,² 23 June, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I have had the honor of receiving last night your letter of the 25th April. To say that it was a *painful* night's work to decypher such a letter, however kind, is but to do justice to the high respect I have for your opinion and due to the esteem which I feel for you personally.

As the errors to which it relates are past and the government which occasioned them no more, I will not attempt to give them any further importance by long explanations, because, sir, these could have no effect but to prove that while I frankly acknowledge that were the thing to do over again, I should now think myself bound to do it differently, yet that at the time I acted for the best, and that I rejoice that my motives have been in your eyes without blame.

No evil, it is my only consolation! has yet happened from this affair. It was on my presumption that I knew my ground, that I ventured; the governors again in power think nothing of such vapor. I have their esteem, I believe.

As you have deemed my answer censurable, I must presume that you have weighed all the small concurring motives that might arise from local circumstances, from temporary causes, from the usage of the diplomatic men here, from the change in diplomatic language in revolutionary scenes, and, permit me to say, from the contempt which [was] felt for the exhibition and its cause, and from everything which could tend to direct the judgment on an affair that struck me not as a matter of business, and certainly not for publication, but of pageantry.

The language adopted by you, sir, in the late intended negotiation with France had the omissions which policy enjoined, and that chaste simplicity which best suits great affairs: yet I would beg leave to remark that this language was not from a minister on the spur of the moment, but from the government itself on a great affair, in which it was measured by motives with a precision that was to be final.

I should be sorry to see the United States government use any other. I do not in the following remark mean to indicate my answer. Yet I confess I found some encouragement to trifle with usurpers, without a severe measuring of terms and opinions, in recollecting the reception of the flag at Philadelphia, and the style used by Congress, on that and other delicate occasions. These things, though a little revolting, I always considered as measures of mere policy, and that had government been stronger, and the public mind less distracted then than it is at present, such things would not have happened.

¹ From the Pickering MSS.² Cypher in italics.

I sincerely hope that no evil will arise from that sentence which is considered as not compatible *with our neutrality*. My word "*while*," so placed, I considered at the time as referring to their own anticipations of strength, etc., etc., and as placing that sentence out of the reach of political offence, however much that and the whole be below any criticism: for I am conscious that their piece, and all such on such subjects, are distorted from the strait path, are mawkish compositions, and as much below real moral and political dignity as they are offensive to sound taste.

In justice then, sir, to myself I must say that the exposure of the contrasts between *my despatch and my answer has extremely mortified me*. Not that I suppose you thought I *had two opinions*; but that you should have thought it necessary to *set at variance* the respective parts of each *to myself, to show a supposed deformity*.

In justice to you, sir, I must declare that had you been sensible of my respect for your opinions, and my high esteem for you personally, you would have thought that much less of *exposure of myself to myself* would have been sufficient to *make me cautious*. With you, sir, I am proud to work in the cause of our government and country, to counteract their enemies, and to labor with zeal: from you *a hint that I had acted below*, permit me to say, *my own personal dignity*, much less the point of a just national pride, would have made *a deep impression*. While I frankly however own that *my answer* contains many, very many faults, I consider that it was not intended for transatlantic eyes. I know that it can not a moment abide that standard. I cannot help lamenting that while it was tried by that, it should have given *the uneasiness* to you, which it has. Had that feeling been excited by it in the mind of a secretary to whom I should have been personally unknown, and by whom I might have been overrated as to judgment, and underrated as to that incessant zeal and those intentions and principles upon the present crisis which I boast to feel, I should *have felt less the rebuke*.

I am, my dear sir, sincerely sensible of the value of your kind and friendly opinions of me personally. These have consoled me; for I have been *mortified*, not at an *erroneous opinion*—I often am sensible of these—but at *the contrasts*. I ought to give you no further trouble upon this subject, and therefore will end this letter. Accept, my dear sir, my best wishes for your health and happiness at this crisis of our affairs, and believe me, etc.

XXXVII.

25 JUNE, 1798.

DEAR SIR: On my return from Utrecht on the 23d I had the pleasure to receive your 7th, 12th and 16th; and to-day yours of the 19th insts. At one period it is true that General D[aelens]'s affairs at Paris

were believed here to be bad. The tenth he returned in triumph, supped on the 11th, and next made the *change*; for, as the whole is predicated upon the principles of the 22d January last, and the constitution is to stand, they do not admit it to have been a revolution.

This change General Daendels effected in a manner extremely well and with great judgment, once admitting military machinery into changes of civil government as a conceded good; and in this case it could not have been made but by this admission. Necessity demanded a change and a very prompt one. The violent system of the government produced this necessity. The first open symptom of that system of terrorism was the immediate cause of the prompt movement of the military under their leader of the day who, though a favorite with the army, had some perilous obstacles in his way. I allude to the intended execution of Messrs. ————¹, who were to be the first victims, and on that day, too, criminal tribunals were organizing, 6,000 National Guards and armed burghers were immediately to be drawn round the Hague, and a scene of proscription, capital punishment and terror would certainly have taken place. France's priest was the principal instigator of these plans. He has been mortify'd and disgraced beyond any resentment of mine.

The papers of the Directory, of the three, for Fokker—Wildrik resigned on the morning of the 12th rather than subscribe to this system, these papers have been found in a casket with three keys in the possession of a mathematical professor, one of Finje's friends, who had the care of it. These, it is said will unfold a great deal of iniquity. Already certain traces are whispered to have been found in it of the miserable corruption of some who have held their heads high in the clouds and storms of Republicanism, of philosophy—Republicanism I mean. 5,000,000 florins at one period are spoken of, I do not believe so much, on account of 22d January. There is now reason, black and white enough, for the report I mentioned as what Mr. v. H[ooff] said on 22d January. 400,000 florins are the sum instead of two. Even the wretched creature Ducange, it is believed, touched 200,000. 500,000 were to have gone to the goddess's temple; it did not get there. Among the *papers* in this curious casket is a letter from young Dedem,² lately appointed to Cisalpine, but to stay a while at Paris—to intrigue. He is a handsome young man and seems to have been intended to engage the good offices of Mr. Meyer's late fair friend, Madm. Montalembert, at Paris. In this letter (which I will try to get a copy of, it is published) D[edem] says to Finje that the government (Mr. T[alleyrand]) begs that no money may be put into the hands of Mr. Buys or himself, as the

¹ Page 416, *supra*.

² Anton Boudewijn Gijssbert, baron van Dedem van der Gelder. The letter is in "Gedenkstukken, 1795-1798," 801.

government would avoid any of those appearances; but, says the sagacious young fellow, you must understand that to mean that whatever money is used must not be *openly* used! A very pretty illustration of Talleyrand's vindication against the indictment of our envoys—which, by the bye, is precisely that of a jack whore brought before a judge. She always begins the vindication of her character by attacking her accuser to show that he is no gentleman and ignorant of the world. This letter fortunately for the world, but blunderingly for the government here, they published, and without much reflection certainly, for it is an offensive echo of the American publication, in small. They try'd to recall it, and sent orders to Schimmelpennirck to explain it—if it offended. It, however, next day appeared in Grosse's papers! This precious casket "with all that it contains" is sent to Paris by Mr. S[chimmelpenninck], to be unfolded as evidence of the worthless character of its former possessors. Among the sums, 200,000 florins are said to have gone to the house of the arrested and imprisoned Director, and actually went to pay debts for wool—he is a wool manufacturer. In fact, my dear sir, it will I understand be proved that a monstrous scene of corruption took place. I am very busy or I would go on. I must say a word of myself.

(Confidential)

I have just received a letter from Col. P[ickering] in cypher¹—a severe reprimand for my answer to the speech of the President Mr. V[reede], to Citizen Delacroix and the foreign ministers, in which they omitted the United States, when they pledged their good will, etc., etc. Of this I told you.² My answer is considered as undignify'd and wholly improper! I sate up almost all night to decypher it—and to suffer. I am much mortify'd. My language of empty compliment—empty I meant it—is contrasted with my real sentiments which I gave in my account of that affair. Had I been a philosopher and meant what I said in that complimentary way, I should have been too exalted to feel the displeasure of administration. As I am, and as they know me to be zealous at least and faithful to my country and government, I did feel this contrasting with deep sensibility. I believe I ought not to have answered without an explanation. I see that this was an *error*. The Colonel's friendly expressions added keenness to the reproof. He knows or ought to know that one who values and esteems him so solidly as I do, would have sufficiently suffered from an *intimation* that he thought me wrong. From him and from such an administration at such a time too, a very little disapprobation would have been very impressive on me! Yours, dear sir, always.

¹ See p. 393, *supra*.

² Page 372, *supra*.

XXXVIII.

29 JUNE, 1798.

Yours, my dear sir, of 23 inst. has this moment come. I would not sit down to write till the post hour that I might write on your letter, should one come. My private letters, one from Mr. McHenry and one from Harper give me great hopes, and will help to confirm yours. My letter (same date as yours) from the Secretary of State also assures me of the defensive measures and grants of monies necessary.

Respecting the affair here of the 12th I principally stated things, knowing you to feel and think for yourself. All that you have said, has been said here by worthy men who seem to think themselves saved from our ruin as shipwreck by being cast upon a land of cannibals. There is, indeed, a weary political way which they have to tread.

We expect war here between France and Austria. Heaven send it. War in Europe is to my mind as necessary as scarifying is to prevent mortification. They are gone if they lie still.

This government have sent me an answer. It is merely to assure me that they will do all in their power to obtain more respect from France to their violated territory and our trade within their limits; and with Mr. Buys's memorial in May to the French government in consequence of my repeated re-clamation, etc., etc. His memorial is even strong. The answer to it is also sent. It is as might be expected from a government reckless and careless of their suffering allies. Though all this is really affecting to me, for I esteem this nation, the answer of the Ministers of Marine and Colonies to Buys reminded me of the Canon Sedillo in Gil Blas, who in giving the character of Gil's predecessor says, the rascal thought hard of sitting up perpetually with me and breaking his rest for my ease!¹

Our own arms must guard our own ships. I think I foresee some hot water here, whenever a skirmish shall happen near this coast, and one of our successful merchantships shall come into the ports here afterwards—and be pursued probably. Such a scene would be excruciating to our friends the Dutch, who wish us well (and themselves in us), and who rejoice at our spirited preparations against the general enemy. Have you seen Harper's speech 31 March, and Allen's² of Connecticut—most excellent and honorable to our country? The only hitch that our friends have over the Jacobin members is on their sense of shame. This will not last; but the country, as Allen says, will *compel them* to alter. Pray observe—if you have any secret intelligence to give the Secretary of State, try if possible, as I mean to try (through a private letter to *him* in cypher),

¹ "He, forsooth, did not like to watch over me, and looked upon it as a great fatigue to spend the night in contributing to my ease." Book II, chap. 1.

² John Allen (1763-1812).

to get him to lock up your letters from general inspection. A curious thing has rendered this caution essential—particularly if you ever name *names*. I lately received a letter from an American gentleman¹ on this continent, complaining partly of me as well as of a *member*, viz. this gentleman last autumn sent me some intelligence from Paris where he dined with public men and a late French agent of the United States (a Frenchman). The intelligence was a little curious. I mentioned it and its author, who was then in commission of United States, I think in cypher to the Secretary. The other day this gentleman received a letter on affairs of business *through me* from Philadelphia,—some old accounts were its object. They had differed on them. This *member* actually threatens him with the vengeance of France (thinking him at Paris) on account of the intelligence he gave me from Paris! if he does not agree to do so and so, saying that by a single whisper to a certain person in Philadelphia he can be revenged. These letters were opened at sea and came to ME sealed by the post office of Hamburg. Adieu, my dear sir, yours most truly.²

XXXIX.

THE HAGUE, 3 July, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The papers which I have seen up to the eighth, the private letters, all echo your reports from Berlin. I have almost wept with tumults strange long to me on reading the papers which portray the rising energy of the country. Gentlemen too just from Philadelphia of the 12th may confirm all. The sensation had become so strong that it was hazardous to utter a word of apology in Philadelphia, every where but in Congress; and there Allen, Harper, and others, have put these gentlemen on the defensive. My colleague too, General Smith³ is round, and goes boldly into strong measures. In fact I now breathe and believe that war is the only evil we shall encounter.

Here is a new secretary of French legation—Mr. Pichon.⁴ Your brother, to whom I offer my compliments, will remember him a secretary to Genet and Fauchet. He hangs upon our subjects with an air of apparent solicitude, praises the instructions which I lent to him, and talks with such amiable conciliation, that I almost suspect he is sent on purpose here to work as far as he can on me, to lead me perhaps to say they are amicable. Thank God, I think I know them and their ways. I still think they *fear* a rupture. I am convinced, too, that all they now hear of preparation, of the spirit and will pre-

¹ Francis Childs.

² Murray to John Adams, July 1, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," viii, 677; Adams to Murray, June 30, 1798, in Adams MSS.; July 3, extracts in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 329; Murray to Pickering, July 2, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

³ Samuel Smith (1752-1839).

⁴ Louis-André Pichon (1771-1850).

pared with disdain against them, ALARMS them. Still they will go on, plunder as much and whine more. Sardinia and France will be at war in less than two months. They are alarmed at Switzerland. Talleyrand was to have gone there, but does not. Will Prussia open her eyes? Yours, my dear sir, truly always.

XL.

6 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I have seen a Baltimore paper of the 26th May. The ship arrived at Rotterdam the 2d July. In this paper, under the Congress head of the 24th May, I find that Mr. Sitgreaves¹ moved four resolutions which, of course, were laid on the table at the request of two members—McDowel from N. Carolina² and Venable of Virginia.³ The object of the motion was to authorize the private and public armed vessels of the United States to take or destroy any French cruizers that might attack them, or attempt to search on the high seas, and to retake United States vessel from French cruizers, and to authorize the public armed vessels to take or destroy any French cruizers within [] miles of the American coast. From the temper of the house I expect these will pass. Many Americans have lately been with me, among others a Mr. Miller of Philadelphia, who furnished the Ministers with 318,000 dollars worth of provisions. He has gone on to Paris to get his money, if he can. He left Philadelphia the 12th, I think, of May. He gave me many details of high animation that, with the papers which I had for a day been reading, put me into a tumult of feelings. The addresses it appears by the latest arrivals pour in upon the President applauding his career. They are, indeed, at last approaching that point for which I have absolutely pined for years. It is more reasonable to meditate than to talk about so interesting a spectacle as our country is becoming. South of the *ancient* dominion ("of chaos and night") I find nothing yet that can cheer one; however, the impressions which the correspondence must make could not have had time to work. They have had, it is true, all the experience of Europe for six years before them, and have not believed. Marshall's arrival and General Pinckney's will settle the mind in those regions. On this I firmly rely—unless France gets hold of the Floridas, or gives a *projet* to them that may embark them in wild acts before the arrival of these two men. Harper stands again, he tells me in a late letter, though he wished to go back to the bar; but he will now see it out. Ames⁴ is better; he has been very ill. I wish that he were in a pleasant situation. I like him so sincerely and so admire him that I lament he is not well

¹ Samuel Sitgreaves (1764-1824).³ Abraham B. Venable (1760-1811).² Joseph McDowell (1756-).⁴ Fisher Ames of Massachusetts (1753-1806).

set as such a brilliant should be. That Mr. Allen I like much—he has placed the citizens *at the bar*.

I am not sure that *France* will condescend to join issue formally. I still doubt if she will avow the state of war to exist. A *continuance* of her hostilities is all she *can* do, if our people are not French, and I am sure they are not. Where are her allies, if they are driven to join her against us? Where in two years their colonies? and whom to fall to? To be free and independent I hope, if my projet is not practicable. And if it were, the continental part might be made a State or States. Still, as to our worthy friends here, they will tack, lay to, and go as near the wind's eye as possible, before they will go into the tempest—but must go, if *France* says so. If Great Britain were not oak in head as well as heart, she would settle affairs here by disavowing any interference in their affairs. A pledge like that once given, and *other things* concurring, I tell you, my dear sir, the Dutch would retake Holland. That pledge not given, *France* will have it, and King Log may live at Hampton Court till dry air and natural pleasure grounds kill him.

The five Ministers, Gogel, Pijman, Taddema,¹ Spoors and La Pierre,² now the interim Directory, have pledged themselves to each other, not to accept a place in the new Directory after the meeting of the Constitutional Councils which are to be elected in a few days. This disinterestedness—for they would have been the men—is highly honest as well as politic, as it will abash their enemies. In fact all that they can do they will, to do right and to save the country. I tell *you*, however, that unless Great Britain would give that pledge, they cannot save it, as long as *France* lives.

Sardinia, the kingdom of, may be considered as a bury'd monarchy. All the tricks now playing off between Cisalpine and Liguria—*names* are things now—are guided by the administrators at Turin, Milan and Genoa, according to events. The French troops, now moving as umpires towards Piedmont, will act so as to embroil, or to overthrow that devoted monarchy. The allies of Rome must always appeal at Rome. I know much of this affair from a good source.

They are alarmed at the countenance in Switzerland. Champigny³ was suddenly ordered from hence thither on Rapinat's recall;⁴ in four hours after he was countermanded. Talleyrand was to go; then that was altered, and it was decided to *treat* with the Swiss.

Will P[ussia] join A[ustria] and R[ussia] and Great Britain?

¹ Reinier Willem Taddema.

² A. J. La Pierre.

³ Champigny-Aubin, of the French mission in Holland.

⁴ Rapinat (1750-1818), of whom Saint-Albin said:

“Le pauvre Suisse qu'on ruine
Voudrait bien qu'on examinât
Si Rapinat vient de rapine,
Ou rapine de Rapinat.”

It is *said* here that the new Jason has gone to Egypt. Whatever is most improbable is most likely to happen in these wild times. I still believe he is loitering, awaiting Rastadt. Dear sir, yours always, etc., etc.¹

XLI.

10 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of 3d July came safely. My writing so constantly, though not with regularity, is the best proof I can give you that this is clearly a trade whose balance is very much in my favor.

Not long since I had the honor of writing to the President and laid down this idea, which I know perfectly may be mistaken, viz. that in these times good men must not only exert themselves openly but must work in the dark, because the Jacobins do so; that good means must be combined and worked in the same *manner* as the bad means are, otherwise the last will prevail. It was a vindication of a letter on a delicate subject which I wrote to him, and for his correction of the doctrine if he did not approve. But I tell you, my dear sir, that though *no means are sanctify'd by the end*, which is the doctrine of the Jesuits, the illumini, and of Godwin, yet the events which daily occur show that the good men have too much reliance on open force, and do not enough employ themselves in countermining. Hence they and their fair battlements are thrown into air, while their worthy sentinels are looking from the turrets and see no enemy. Nor can they! They are under the fortress, and, if to be conquered, they must be met with the dark lanthorn and in the mine. The peculiar character of the age, too, in giving one new variety to the list of dangers and hostility points out the mode of safety—open force may be fairly said to have effected little or nothing for the last nine years! The peculiar character of these times is plotting by principles, by bribes, by secret combinations, by letters and books, and by *words*. Ingenuity is not enough exerted to *find out these*. Except the two last, all is profoundly secret. The *second* article can not be defended on the principles of self defence even; but unless the men of honor will go into the dark, they cannot uncover the villains who work in it. I do not know how I have written so much on this, when I only meant at first to tell you that the populace of B[erlin] ought to have been kept to their old prejudices, and that the king has in my opinion taken the path which will lead him in some little time hence to the same table d'hôtel at which the king of Piedmont (as the French papers call him) will soon be! I have for two years been thinking on this subject, however, and since your

¹ Adams to Murray, July 7, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 332; July 10, in Adams MSS.; Secretary of State to Murray, July 9, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Murray to John Adams, July 7, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Murray to Pickering, July 7, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

intelligence respecting Mr. Grove's¹ declaration in Congress I have had some solicitude—less than I should have felt six weeks since. Of Sottin² I had pretty early intelligence, and *knew* from excellent authority that he was the principal contriver of the insurrections in Piedmont and of the conduct of Liguria. Of course, as soon as I heard of his appointment, which was, I think, the last week in June, I wrote immediately to the Secretary of State a short letter, solely on him and on Garnier's³ appointment.⁴ Gerry had surely done it before. Lord! Lord! that poor gentleman is certainly the greatest bitch that ever was laughed at and gulled by perfidy. Yes "BELLAMY of HAMBURGH."⁵ I have seen his whitewashing. But still this B is not Y. I think Y is one Haudville, I think living with T[alleyrand], his known man of confidence and his reputed natural son. Never was a triumph more complete than ours in this whole affair. This B went last winter to London to get money for the American stock in the hands of the poor Dutch—I mean the American-Dutch debt here. France, if he had succeeded, was, it is believed, to have got this paper in exchange for Dutch rescriptions, and thus made Holland the debtor instead of the United States to the Dutch creditor! The job was counterworked, and a certain bill was past—*entre nous*, as to the last. The Chevalier D'Araujo *knows* this B of H[amburg.] X, *entre nous*, is a Mr. Hottinger a Swiss, naturalized, and no more an American than Talleyrand is, who was naturalized and took the oath. He has kept it. I can not get Dedem's letter. It was bought up by government, and was certainly *imprudently* published by an *error* of a clerk. But in the *Chronique Universelle*, No. 2002, II. Messidor, you will find it.

I hear nothing from nor of Gerry. Discoveries made in a private Cabinet of Van Lange, Finje and Vreede, demonstrate a great waste of money—on V. L.'s account alone, 230,000 florins.

The Secretary's letter was extremely friendly and even affectionately so. I can not complain of it, but on the whole am grateful for it. It was private, and in the main, right! Yours, dear sir, always.

¹ William Barry Grove, member of Congress from North Carolina. "Annals of Congress," 5th Cong. 1307.

² Pierre-Jean-Marie Sotin de la Coindière (1764-1810), whose appointment as French consul at New York was reported.

³ Jacques Garnier de Saintes (1755-1817), consul at Wilmington, N. C.

⁴ "I find that Sotin, late French minister at Genoa, is recalled from thence, and is to go as consul to New York. This, be assured, sir, is a very important event. He it is who has been the active agent there in embroiling the insurgents against the King of Sardinia. He is a dangerous man, subtle and contriving, and will do every mischief in the power of a wicked intriguer, with an experience ripe and fresh from successful practice. There can be but one design in sending such an incendiary from the rank of minister to that of consul, at such a time, and to such a place!

⁵ Garnier, a member of the tumultuary convention, is destined as consul at Wilmington; which, whether in Delaware, or North Carolina, I know not. Both these indicate probably the last effort at insurrection." Murray to Pickering, June 29, 1798. Pickering MSS.

⁶ See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 329.

XLII.

12 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Dedem's letter to Fynje merited your curiosity. There is very little in it however. I cannot obtain a copy to send; and it is not worth copying. He says that in an interview with Mr. Talleyrand lately, Mr. Talleyrand took him aside, and advised him to request the Batavian Directory "*not to put money in his, D's, hands—that the French Directory disliked intrigues and that such a sum would seem as if used for corrupt purposes.*" "*This,*" says the sagacious minister, "*required no comment. Of course I told my colleague Buys, who entirely agreed in opinion with me, that it was meant, that WHATEVER WAS DONE MUST BE DONE IN GREAT SECRECY.*" Nothing but a conversation with M. Rewbell,¹ in which R. laments the necessity of interposing in Dutch parties; for, he observed, it struck the world as if they tampered with their independence, advising him that parties ought to unite. A passage upon Meyer's favorite, Madame Montalembert, in which he promises by paying her debts to draw her over to their side, has roused Meyer, who has published like a true knight and called Dedem hard names. Dedem has also returned and published what doubtless he thinks a vindication² of his letter—not respecting Mr. Meyer—in which he avows that all this time he was deceiving the Directory here, and that his real object was to accelerate the change that was to upset them! That's a vindication for you, from a man scarcely bearded.

Yes, I thought this letter so curious that, though I could not obtain for my use a French copy, I got a Dutch copy as a favor from a friend and sent it with some remarks to the Secretary of State. It all helps to illustrate; it shows too how cunning the goddess grows, throwing deeper shades on shades around her failings. How alive her sensibilities are to [mis]representation, and how anxious to hide what the world, she thinks, consider clearly as her weak side! Why else this solicitude of reputation, when the steps taken, like the demureness of a whore at a christening, betrays both shame and rapacity. Alas, the goddess is known by her step. *Multo nebulae circum DEA perdit amictu.* It will not do; a certain halt in her gait betrays her.

After all, however, the plans and management of France are deep and judicious, considered as means related to objects and to say nothing of right and wrong. These aside, and she has more sense than all Europe together. See her plans now making in the Mediterranean; her Malta, which, had Russia been five years of age, she might have had probably by consent, and manned it with Condé's knights; her island of Sardinia, for it may be considered as her's; her Greek islands, which she will swindle from the Turks; her Egypt,

¹ Jean-François Rewbell (1747-1807).² Printed in "Gedenkstukken, 1793-1798," 659.

plan looking to India, the first stroke of which will overstrain Great Britain—even the avowal of the project!

Did you or your brother know a Mr. Jones of New York? Mr K[ing] writes that a meeting took place between him and Mr. Brockholst Livingston about a piece in Greenleaf's paper of which Livingston was the author, and poor Jones was killed on the spot, and that Jones was an excellent man!

The rebellion in Ireland is nearly done. They expected aid from France!

I am anxious to know how the capture of Malta, and the threat to the seaports in Italy if they admit a single British ship, and the fate of Piedmont, will affect the phlegm and the fire of Rastadt. These things are very important either as to peace or war. What a dreadful thing that there are not in Germany a PEOPLE, nor a COUNTRY GENTRY! Without these all is cold mechanism without soul.

I do not hear from home. I mentioned the late *hint* respecting a person having seen my dispatches in the office, etc., etc., in strict confidence. I see that he acts *right* now, and I reserve it both for better and ocular authentication of his *hand and letter* before I use it—and for any other season.

P. S. Sardinia, the Kingdom of it, lost. The French are to support the present government, but this is under capon of Brune a French general¹ under the pay of Cisalpine. France, of course, will in some time, after she shall have established her machinery through the instrumentality of this shadow of royalty, excite the patriots to demand a free Republic; and she is not the person to resist the will of the sovereign people thus manifested. Then away goes this Janus of Italy, this besotted and miserable biped, who with the best army in Europe for its size could give up his posts of Coni, etc., etc., etc., at a time when the days manly resistance would have ruined Buonaparte—and now, without a blow—his country!

This affair is certainly very important in respect to the Emperor if a war come on against him.

Buonaparte will keep 6,000 men in Malta, and send his savants escorted by two frigates and two Maltese gallies, and some soldiers to reconnoiter "the land of Egypt." One very pleasant thing will result from this searching spirit. Egypt will become known to us—to me a *terra incognita*, for I do not believe that Savary² was there—or further than Cairo, if there. They are also to take possession of Candy; for the Porte is with them, notwithstanding the influence of the Greeks at Constantinople.

Here the Haarlem Gazette states that Congress have ordered our ships to take all French vessels, etc., etc. It is not so in Sitgreaves's

¹ Guillaume-Marie-Anne Brune (1763-1815).

² Anne-Jean-Marie-René Savary (1774-1883). He was with Desaix in Egypt.

resolutions of 24 May—only those within [] miles of the coast, and such as attempt to make or have made prizes of our vessels. Again, my dear sir.¹

XLIII.

17 JULY, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR: Yesterday I received your favor of the 10. I have been a little engrossed by the consul and captains who wished for advice, for on the 13th I received a letter from a respectable authority at Paris² of the 9th, informing me that an order for an embargo on our vessels had been sent to the north by couriers and to the south by telegraphers, on the arrival of M. Dupont at Bordeaux, about the 3d, in twenty-eight days from New York, who brought the news of our armed public ships having been sent out with orders to take and bring in all French cruizers near the coast; and that a *bill* had passed the House of Representatives to suspend all intercourse with France and her possessions. By a secret channel I learned the next day—for this excited my inquiries—that an embargo had been laid the 10th at Flushing by the French, and that it might be expected in these ports in a few days. On the 13th at night I wrote to the consuls at Rotterdam and Amsterdam; and on getting this, on the next day, I thought myself at liberty to put government to the expense of an express to Amsterdam to warn the American ships to set off. My advice of course on the 14th to the Captains and Mr. Beeldemaker was to send off the ships. Yesterday I had a second interview with a member of the ———, as I had on Saturday with another on this subject.³ Every thing will be done that can be done to avoid any acts that may commit this government to a hostile course against the United States. We both however must think alike as to their *power*—of their sincerity and good wishes I have *no doubt*. Ah! I do indeed pity them to the bottom of my heart! Alas, they have been severely cured; the whole of the druggist's shop has past through them; bitter, bitter it has been. Thank God, our country seems saved.

The following extract from Mr. King's letter of the 3d which is an extract from his friend's at New York⁴ of 3d June ought in regular descent to belong to you, unless Prussia may have taught you that elder-brotherhood is a feudal idea. At all events it ought to refresh you as a son and a citizen.

¹ Adams to Murray, July 14, 17, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 336, 339; Murray to John Adams, July 17, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," viii, 680; Secretary of State to Murray, July 14, 15 1798, in Pickering MSS.

² Not a line from Gerry! he waits for something which I hear he calls "an ultimatum"!! *Note by Murray.*

³ "If an embargo is laid here it is contrary to the wishes of this government. I have had an interview this moment, and received confidential information that if one was laid, it would be contrary to their wishes, *but*, that I ought to send off the ships. To you, sir, I hope and believe that I shall not apply in vain, that measures of vigor may not be hastily applied to this unhappy nation!" Murray to John Adams, July 14, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

⁴ Robert Troup. The letter is in "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," II, 328.

Says Mr. King "one of my friends writes me thus: "*No public officer ever stood higher in the confidence and affections of his country than the President does, whose firm and manly tone of conduct has regenerated all our revolutionary character, and placed us on an eminence from whence we can behold with safety the machinations of France.* So irresistible has been the current of public opinion, that within a fortnight past it has broken down the opposition in Congress. An important bill which authorizes the seizing of French privateers found upon our coasts passed a few days since *without opposition!* And yesterday we received accounts from Philadelphia that a bill, suspending all commercial intercourse with France and her dependencies until the adjustment of our differences, passed the Committee of the whole in the House of Representatives without debate! and no doubt is entertained that it will become a law!!"

The islands will fall into chaos and negroism, if this last be well executed. I should like this to happen, and France after the war to regain them, revive them, and then, *know that we can wound her, or any mother country!* And we can do that, *and more!* and I hope *will!*

I wish your *plain economist*¹ were a fortnight with the President and a few others at Philadelphia! His German blood would have a quicker pulse. Dear god, they are still disputing at Rastadt about the feudal rights of the left-bank nobility, while the French are making conquests greater than Turenne in his brilliant campaign dreamt of!—addled in heart and head!

I will again try to get you Dedem's letter, but I sent to you lately such a miniature likeness of it and its author, whom you knew when he was young and who is now very old indeed, that you would not find much in it; but I will try.

How did your brother bear the port and uniform of a soldier at the review! Dandridge takes lessons of a French grenadier in the small sword, and I think of being expert at the back sword. We are quite belligerent, and both hope to shine in at least militia feast days, if this country becomes too hot for us. My dear sir, I am affectionately yours always.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.²

THE HAGUE, 18th July, 1798.

Private.

DEAR SIR: This morning I had the honour to receive your dispatch (and a few lines from you) of 28 May, with respect to my *number thirty-five*.³

¹ The King of Prussia. "The King appears to be of opinion that a wise and economical internal administration is the best defence, at least for the present. He is, therefore, active, industrious and parsimonious. His conduct will recommend his government, if in these times any thing can do it." Adams to Murray, July 10, 1798.

² From the Pickering MSS.

³ Cypher.

The intelligence which you doubt, is yet true, I still have great reason to believe. That it was not communicated from *Spain* is not surprising to me; it was probably not known to any one who would communicate it. This I know, that the principal discoveries that have been obtained of the internal traitors of *that country* were made by *M. Le Count Cabarrus at Paris*, and a list of them transmitted to *Madrid* where it is still a secret, not to be used until a favourable moment, though the gentlemen are watched. It was at the same time that he obtained a clue to the intelligence. He could no longer stay there, but went to *Brussels*, where in a very few days *his agent brought him* the intelligence secretly. I had received this intelligence from *the minister of Sweden*, the Count de Löwenhielm, a warm friend to *the United States and myself*, and a true opponent of *the French*. He had it, I knew, from *the Minister of Spain*.

Solicitous to confirm the truth, or to correct error, I was impatient, and went to night where I expected I might fall in with *the Secretary from Spain*. I found him. I knew that his principal *estate* was in *Mexico*. I told him that I had often warned *him and the minister against the cession of Louisiana* as destructive to *Mexico* and other colonies, but that there was much reason to apprehend that it was done notwithstanding every principle of sound policy. He assured me on his honour that it was not done. I told him he might not know as much of it as I had known, and that I would assure him in confidence that in *February or January* there were some pretty strong symptoms of such a thing. He answered that he would in the same confidence tell me that it had been then proposed, and to ease my apprehensions he would state the whole affair, which he did with little variance from *number thirty five*, except that instead of *eighty thousand*, both on the side of *France and on that of Spain*, *half the number* was the fact. He told me all the particulars of the *Count Cabarrus* and of the discovery, and I found that the *demands and their refusal* were exact, and one thing more in addition to the others viz. one other of *forty million of rioux*, the value of which I do not know, nor does it seem as probable as the others.

Count Cabarrus, a man of talents and well versed in the wretched wiles of *Paris*, discovered these things and informed *his Court of it*. *Siguez* carried the propositions to *Madrid*. These were made by him, but the determination of *the council* had been previously arranged for their rejection. To do this, and gain time was the work of *much intrigue*. The recall of *the fleet* was the first object; the second, the change in the position of the army from *near the frontier of Portugal*; the third, *the rejection of the new minister Siguez*. All was *negatived*. So it is. Why they did not exert force I know not, unless we may suppose that the career against Switzerland occupied them too much, and that their views on Piedmont very important, because Rastadt promised little submission, might afford a solution.

The same gentleman assures me that there are more soldiers than I stated, though not all together.

As this was closed by a wish that it should be considered *as confidential I put it in cyphers*. With you, sir, in this way *characters* will be *safe*; in the *books* they *might* not be so.

He told me that if war breaks out under favourable appearances, it was very probable that *Count Cabarrus* would go to *Berlin*, provided they have the least hopes of *resistance* to arrange with *the King* its operations, and to stimulate that *court to the war*. As this last is merely his own forecast I mention it as such. Certain I am that no disposition is wanting.

This letter, sir, can be no further important than as it may tend to shield me from the charge of a too easy faith in this instance. So exceedingly wrapped up in mystery are such affairs that a judgment far more accurate than mine is might find it difficult to catch the truth between a faith too easy and a hardy scepticism—a rare faculty.

Mr. Soderstrom would be glad to know that *the minister of Sweden* is respected by you, sir, through me. Permit me to assure you that he is justly entitled to your esteem even. *The President of the United States* ordered me to cultivate him. He is an excellent man, and a warm friend of the American government. In fact I believe we have one enemy only on the Continent.

By a letter of 24 June Mr. Smith mentions Mr. Pickering,¹ who I presume is well.

I congratulate you, my dear sir, upon the crown of your labours in that high tone of the American nation which excites universal admiration among all governments and all nations, except our enemies. I am with sincere respect and esteem, truly, dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

XLIV.

20 JULY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Rastadt has not actually risen, but it's dissolution is daily expected. Seltz² has broken up in heat. So decisive are appearances that General Joubert was ordered on the 16th past to go to Mentz to take the command. Hatry³ comes here. I fear that Joubert's removal is also connected with no good wishes to this country. He was Daendels' friend, and is a good man. Another French general left this with his aids yesterday. They are weak in Belgium and in the north. I think from Mayence they mean to make a vigorous push into Germany. In truth their positions are *chosen*—the Rhine, Switzerland, Piedmont—excellent points. What will Great Britain do? If she would move, 10⁴ might I think. I know some hints that lead me so to think, and 11⁵ too. As to 6⁵ I cannot

¹ John Pickering, Jun.

⁴ Prussia?

² See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 306n.

⁵ No available cypher will explain.

³ Jacques-Maurice Hatry (1740-1802).

say. I should however hope much if one bouncing victory were gained. In what manner will 8¹ bring her force to bear?

The present drift of France towards us is to *lament* and to swear that it is surprising! Never more astonished in her life. Just as everything was getting into a very pretty way—directory trained by T[alleyrand] into the very best temper, all things ready, even the details per Mr. Gerry to negotiate on—the government of the United States take *provoking measures*. Mr. G[erry] will do *nothing*. Says he has no powers, and *will* go away. That if the United States would but send an envoy soon, things might be better arranged than *Great Britain!!* expects! Upon my honor this is *her* language, and this will be her language through hundreds of letters to the United States written by either fools or knaves, with the intent to divide, or under an absurd hope. I have REASON to *know* this. Fear not that anything by word or pen escape me that might incidentally lead to their plan. I listen. I would, if I could, listen to the lowest whisper from them to UNMASK their plans—to treason and to murders, if they would tell me.

Sieyès I suppose is costive—and presents none of the *molliæ tempora fandi*. A pleasant scene you had with those wits of short memories. Otto² bore a very good character with us. I am far from being surprised at the yawn of the Abbé at such a scene. Doubtless there were p. philosophers there present that obey'd the gentle goddess at the same instant, out of complaisance to the precious abbé. I have heard that a certain Count O.³ is of that school; he was probably present. They will soon have a king captive, to swell the triumphs at Paris; for him of Sardinia I consider but as a prisoner at large.

Nothing important here. I told you that the prisoners were enlarged last Saturday morning; those of the 12th June also, two or three excepted. By the bye. The precious casket's contents were prohibited by the goddess. They stopt at No. 6—nothing very important. The attempt to give up *Flushing* entirely to France would have appeased. Her nerves cannot bear such things! I wrote last post. I mean to have the act of 20 May, prohibiting intercourse with France, published in the papers here. I am always, my dear sir, yours.

I have heard that when Buonaparte sent his demand to the grand Master and little misses of Malta; *the Knights!* met; and a French knight formally proposed to give up. The other French knights said yes, we have sworn to fight the Turk, but not our own country. The thing was arranged.

¹ Russia?

² Louis-Guillaume Otto (1754-1817).

³ Adams asked for an identification, but Murray did not give one.

D'Azzara¹ is sick of his dear friends. I suppose he saved his paintings and *vertu*, and now is careless. His eyes are opened. What a wretched set are the nobility in general of this wretched continent!! I am almost daily beset by the gentleman² whom I mentioned as probably known to your brother—all complaining tenderness, conciliatory, full of wishes, and fears sometimes too—for us. Is there no mode of stopping things! NONE that I dare to think of. The government and nation have taken their ground, reluctantly, but there they are, and all Europe cannot shake them. I know of no way. I have no right to judge or go between them now. I write the whole exactly as it is with my remarks to the P[resident,] that he may know that their plan is to pretend that they are *surprised*, and all things actually arranged for adjustment, and that he must expect and guard against these tricks which will go in *persons* and letters. To *him* and *him* alone I write—in cypher and *private*. Letters from Americans to me from Paris hold up this hypocritical cant, not intending to deceive me, but because they are deceived. Such will go to the United States and be published. To guard against this I write to the President.

A letter of Bourne's is alluded to in one of our papers as holding up *hopes of accommodation*—last March. Poor Bourne is excessively uneasy, writes to me to vouch for him, which I have done to the Secretary,³ and I wish you would. He is perfectly right in his politics and a sound good man, and will be now very cautious. And he says he *did not so write!* Excuse this Popelike "paper—sparing" way of emptying my pen.

P. S. Yours of 14 July came a little after I had folded this. Yes, the commercial intercourse is suspended till France does us justice, and past, I think I mentioned it so in a late letter, without debate, as I *heard*. Yes, sir, that is the blow that will be felt in the head and belly of the French colonies; and though hunger makes a tyger dreadful, nothing so tames man as very, very spare diet. They can be and I hope will be blockaded and starved into *some terms*. *Those*, I agree with you, ought to be *thought of* by the United States, their real mother—if to feed and support be maternal. *What* those should be, I am not so certain. Your plan is more feasible than my project in

¹ Don Joseph-Nicolas d'Aza (1731-1804).

² Pichon.

³ Murray wrote to Pickering July 8, 1798, on Bourne's fears. The letter is in the Pickering MSS. In the same letter he said of Mountflorenc: "I do not know what this active and faithful officer of the United States expects or wishes for from government. I only know that his embarrassments are very serious to himself, at being obliged to leave Paris before any attention could be given to his private concerns, so sudden was the necessity for his departure after the 28 Mar, when they got the *Publication*, etc, while Americans who had acted so as not to be endangered staid with safety and are there yet. Its being understood that he enjoyed the honor of your confidence was used, I fear, by some of our countrymen against him, in a place where submission or lethargy alone can make friends powerful enough to protect. I wish, sir, that the President might know his present situation. He would make an excellent commissary of stores or in the army—indeed a good officer any way."

the first instance. I will state my *fears*. That these places would be the rendezvous of all the worthless English, Irish and American renegadoes, and would be a little hornets-nest—a young Algiers. What sort of government could such fellows have? A negro despotism I fear, with a set of white Devils as counsellors and council. Baiting those *fears*, which I concede the moment that the point of government could be settled, and your project is comprehensive yet neat; and practicable by means which lie in a circle that we can fill without distant and independent contingencies—which were the faults of mine. Yours is the longitude established in your room, and mine a circumnavigation dependent on wind and weather to get at it. You see that my *project* works under other opinions, but I have half given it up; it was too dependent on others. Some show of resistance must be permitted to a projector. Would that the King of Sardinia had made even as much. But I have seen for some time that mine would be good, if all were finished as I wished; yet that it could not be, nor would not be, attempted even, at present. Of course I have no merit in yielding it, and to yours. Last year I saw a dialogue between Sonthonax¹ and Toussaint² (I think) in our papers, in which the subject of the independence of the French colonies was hinted at. It ought to be thought of, digested and communicated to our government. I have wishes but not much hope of this worthy “fat and lazy” land again. Yours, my dear sir.

Entre nous strictly—I should not be surprised if in some little time you see Count Cabarrus at Berlin. Know him if you can, and help him.³

TO CITIZEN SPOORS.⁴

THE HAGUE, 20 July, 1798, and of the
Independence of the U. S. A. the 23d.

CITIZEN MINISTER: I had the honor last night of receiving your note in which you inform me that the embargo laid lately at Flushing by the Batavian Commissary of Marine at the request of the Commissary of Marine of the French republic at that port, on American vessels, had been withdrawn by your orders.

I was convinced that an act in appearance hostile could not have proceeded from the Batavian government, and I therefore did myself the pleasure of waiting upon you, citizen minister, in person for an explanation. The candor and frankness with which my application was received inspired me with a high confidence in the principles of the Batavian government; and the promptness with which the con-

¹ L'Éger-Félicité Sonthonax (1763-1813).

² Toussaint Louverture (1743-1803).

³ Murray to John Adams, July 22, 1798, in “Works of John Adams,” viii, 685. Adams to Murray, July 22, 1798, extract in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 322n, 343.

⁴ Minister of Marine. From the Pickering MSS.

descension of your Commissary at Flushing has been corrected, will enable me in transmitting your note to the government which I have the honor to represent, to confirm by a fresh instance of amity, those sentiments of esteem in the American government, which I am happy on all occasions to have the means of enlarging. Accept, citizen Minister etc.

XLV.

THE HAGUE, 24 July, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . On my *question* we do not differ, I hope. Garat¹ and I do. Never *plot* good, but counter-plot evil. A conspiracy, for instance, by *good* means, but exerted in a *plot*-form. Every other means to be exerted, however, that can be drawn from the good men of the country, as is now done in the United States.

I believe we could do something among the 6 [Dutch?], if *Great Britain* would.

I fear that a partition of Batavia is thought of by France and listened to by Prussia. Can you not know. . . .

Dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

Gerry, Pichon told me, has his passport, and I *hear* is to come this way. I will try to send him to B[erlin?], to take a degree of Doctor in balancing.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.²

Private.

THE HAGUE, July 25, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Three days since I saw in the *Spectator*, of New York, of 26 May last, an article taken from Porcupine's Gazette of the 19th of the same month, in which I have the honor to be mentioned. The substance of the article is announced to be that of my dispatch to government, *number thirty five*,³ and its matter is divided with a method that shows the dispatch to have been *well examined* and its object to be exceedingly laudable. Since I had the honor of receiving yours of 28 May, I examined, tho' not instantly, my dispatch *No. 35*. The publication of this article having excited serious soltitude to me *and to some others*, I will with candour re-examine the divisions which appear in the public papers. There are three objects mentioned as *demands*, 1. 2. and 3. in the course of the newspaper order—the fourth is an offer on the part of France.

No. 1. is that which was the very important one, the others do not so immediately touch us.

In the first place I would remark that this whole business was wrapped up in a mystery that has not been fully explained, and it is now conceded *by the persons who possessed the information*, that though

¹ Dominique-Joseph Garat (1749-1833).

² From the Pickering MSS.

³ Cypher.

my statement was that on which a reliance at the time, March, was due, yet that *since* there is every reason to believe that these propositions ought to have been stated thus: No. 1, perfectly correct in its nature and the penalty annexed. No. 2, as an *object* in contemplation, upon which negotiation should take place when Portugal should have fallen, if the troops had marched through. No. 3, as an *object* in the contemplation of Merlin to take place on the accomplishment of the designs against Portugal; and No. 4, the guarantee also as eventually the consequence of the rest. All the three last as a *projet*. No. 3 being the plan of Merlin not to be announced; Nos. 2 and 4, as part of the objects of negotiation but not as *demands*. That the demands were three, the march of 10,000 men; 2d. the No. 1; 3d. the grant of 40,000,000 *rioux*, and these immediately.

The most that can be done by those who stand *third* from him who *discovers* designs like these, is to be correct in the outlines of the projected plans, and they must often mix in their statements thus obscured by the channel thro' which they pass, conjecture mistaken for assertion, and intentions and designs reasonably unfolded by what is avow'd, for part of the demands and *declared* objects. Much more liable is this third person to error when the whole is mysterious and secret, and when there are imperious obligations upon both parties to keep each his own secret.

The effect of such publications must be hurtful to the minister giving information of *this sort*; though true in the outlines it cannot from the nature of things be *proved*. These paragraphs when the minister's name is *printed*, or designated, are read with eagerness by the diplomatic men in Europe, on the one side as matter of triumph, on the other, to gain caution towards the minister whose correspondence might thus unfold *names* to the ruin of themselves. The American government it is believed in no case deposits *means* of obtaining secrets, in the hands of its ministers. Industry and the confidence arising from private friendships are their means for coming at secret intelligence. I wish never to have any other. I beg leave to remark that it is impossible for any minister to avail himself of these his only resource, when confidence is destroy'd and even his society considered as dangerous, which will be the case if such things are published.

I have always; sir, considered myself as bound to state not only what was authentic and to be known by newspapers, but also to form opinions, search for probabilities to be collected from things not generally known, and to look upon the government as my most confidential correspondent, to whom I might unfold my whole opinions and all that I could collect which I deemed useful. You will do me the justice to think that this was both difficult, and hazardous to reputation, as far as it is concerned in a man's never being erroneous

in his judgment, and that the times which have distracted all Europe, have presented no very clear plan to my eyes upon which I could work; that the genius of the whole year from the peace of Campo Formio in October, 1797, has been intrigue and secret plots, and that tho' a time of continental peace, yet that, as a proof of this, three nations, the Papal dominions, the Swiss and the Sardinians, have in that short time, lost their independence by these means, and that in this time intrigues and plots have often been shifted, suspended or substituted. As I do not remember often to have dealt in egotism, I hope that I may be pardoned in this instance. I am convinced that the subject matter of this letter, sir, will be found to be important as long as any ministers are kept in Europe. I am with perfect respect and sincere esteem, dear sir, Your most obt. Servt.

XLVI.

THE HAGUE, 27 July, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yours of 22d I have this moment received, a few minutes before the post hour. I have nothing to tell you of, except my own errors arising from cursed precipitation. I requested Bourne to give public notice to our captains of the passing of a law of Congress which suspends intercourse (commercial with France). I did this on the authority of private letters to me and to Major Mountflorece, that the BILL was a LAW, having past all the forms. On the 23d I received a letter which led me to see the error of all these correspondents, who had mistaken the bill for a law, at least so I presume. I wrote to B[journe] then to suspend the notice and, if too late, to put my note into the Dutch paper.

I have little doubt but that it is *a law*. I gave Champagny notice by note on the day the advertisement came out, that, though by my request, it was *premature*, etc., etc., so nothing can happen there. Alas I learn slowness under a hackle! . . . Yours, dear sir, truly, etc., etc.¹

XLVII.

2 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: You must before this have seen Talleyrand's valedictory letter of 24 and P. S. of 26th, or 8th Messidor,² to Mr. Gerry; perhaps, too, G[erry]'s answer and also T[alleyrand]'s reply. All that I can say of T[alleyrand]'s letter is, that if we did not *know* them, if we did not

¹ Adams to Murray, July 28, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 344n; July 31, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, July 29, 301, 798, in Pickering MSS.

²"American State Papers, Foreign Relations," III, 218.

"You will remark, sir, that in this whole piece, which seems written with much address, that the leading idea on which they rely is the construction of the *terms* of the commission; and I know that they will attempt to fling the odium of a rupture on the United States under this construction, and say the government intended war, but held up a negotiation as a subterfuge; and that they sent *good instructions*, but marred these by the men who were sent with them. This will be *said*." Murray to Pickering, July 28, 1798. Pickering MSS.

believe all they *say* as said more with a view to deceive and to divide, and all they *do* but as adding fresh stores to their system of intrigue, one might be deceived by some parts of that letter. To me it appears built on two things: first, *their view of detaining G[erry]*; for they assert as the basis to which the opinions of the French Directory have a constant relation, that G[erry] was competent to treat, and that he remained thus invested. But that just as T[alleyrand] was prepared with his propositions and much of the detail, the *avis* arrived at Havre and G[erry] deemed himself incompetent to treat; and that *this view* had nothing solid in it, but was adopted by them to amuse us as long as possible, see the extent of our patience and have (as they imagined) a good excuse even to us, when that patience should be exhausted. Another thing, too, the second, really seems very plain, that they are disappointed and a little anxious on the unexpected rousing and energy of the government and nation. For the language, abating some passages of inextinguishable insolence which is in their very marrow, is very, very different, indeed, from what the grand nation holds to smaller nations and republics especially; and especially what she has been accustomed to hold to the United States. They have lowered their tone. I have not *seen* G[erry]'s answer. I have heard of it through merchants. For every body can know what Mr. G[erry] is about, particularly when immense projects of pacification! are held up—except the agents of government. Letters to merchants state that he rejoices at the pacific disposition of France, but urges (what he ought to have offered as the *sine qua non* of his stay there,) the necessity of recalling the orders against our vessels, giving up loans, and not insisting upon apologies for what General Washington and the President have said; and that a neutral nation be the place for holding a new negotiation. This last I do not include in what he ought at all to do. I *hear* in the same manner that all these points have been acceded to by Talleyrand's reply except the last, which is not *negatived*; and that orders are promised to restrain privateers. But the information respecting Talleyrand's reply is not correct. I have *seen* an official manuscript copy of this reply on the 31. Admitting that they *can be sincere*, this reply does smooth the passages to peace more than any other, as it assures positively an order to restrain the privateers *in the Antilles within the limits of the laws*. So far it is an act offering *something* as to a sense of their own injustice—*nothing* as to the basis of our grievances, which rest among other things on *these laws* themselves. This letter also renounces loans and is silent, if I remember well, upon the other supposed propositions of Gerry. It is however free from any ebullition of insolence. This letter proves that the very idea of a suspension of commercial intercourse has gone home to their hearts, and that they justly tremble for their colonies. Thus the public

mind is to be amused and chequered into varieties, again, of hope. To these things I yield nothing of my assent. I am convinced of one thing only by these things, which we both I think foresaw in substance as their view in detaining Gerry—that is, that this is done to divide by Gerry and that they are alarmed! and that if we hold on with a steady hand, they will come down. In the meantime *events* will decide whether they will have an opportunity of being heard. If our career shall have begun, new prospects will open to us in the colony scenes, and the die will probably have been cast before Gerry or his propositions reach Philadelphia. Marshall had arrived at New York before 23d June—an important event—and General P[inckney] was to have left Bourdeaux the 15th July. But an embargo was laid there the 11th, and I hope he will go across to England and take his passage time enough to decide the complexion of the South Carolina elections this autumn.

One circumstance I will tell you in confidence, I mean not strict, which has appeared so important to me that I have written it to Col. Pickering in a private letter. I was a few days since shown a confidential letter (official) from Hamburg, in which it was said as a matter of great pleasure “*a Mr. Droghan has just arrived here from the United States on his way to Paris. He brings letters to M. la Fayette, to Merlin and Talleyrand from Mr. Jefferson and others, with the hope of averting war between France and the United States!*” So it is you see. This Mr. D. of whom I never heard is thus, *if the intelligence be correct*, a deputy from the United Americans, who brings his “Erin go bragh” and his calumet to be offered at the shrine of the Directory. I have thought it possible that the name *may* be D. Rohan, the Irish patriot, if he is D. R. As it was spelt, it was Drohan or Droghan. If this be so, their tone will rise, unless Mr. J[efferson] and others have been *reduced* and consider peace as the only means of the salvation of their party. Had I an 100 guineas I would know what this envoy brings with him, and what are their plans; for I believe that knowledge is, like policy at Paris, a saleable commodity. As it is, I think I have put the inquiry into a train that will enable me in my third from this to tell you perhaps a little more.

I had intended to bid you adieu here under the warning that so happily the small Dutch sheets hold out to me, but I must tell you more of Mr. Pichon. He is often pressing me on the subject of our affairs. All conciliation and assurances of amity, and with an urgency that confirms me in my opinion that he is ordered to do so. He corresponds confidentially with Mr. Talleyrand, has shown me an extract purporting to be from Mr. T[alleyrand]’s letter, and shown me an official copy of T[alleyrand]’s reply to G[erry] in manuscript. This he showed me on Tuesday 31, at breakfast, having

insisted the night before at the Spanish minister's to see me before the ceremony of the installation of the new legislative body, an attendance on which at ten till one, prevented me from writing to you. This added to the other he insisted on as affording every basis for a new negotiation. Among other *arguments* for one, he urged that a war with the United States would be to the highest degree unpopular, that many very improper things, which could not be justify'd to the nation, had been done. I told him as I had before done, after remarking upon the *inadequacy* of Mr. T[alleyrand]'s letter and some passages in it, that of what could now be done I was no judge; that in my opinion the government had done every thing, and had long been more patient than I wished, etc., etc.; that I saw no way out, and had no right and durst not point out a way, if I saw one; or step between the government and that line of policy which necessity had forced them into and the French Republic; but that there was one way too obvious to be mistaken, which was, a great spontaneous act of justice on the part of France; that no envoys were necessary for that. His idea is, and it must be theirs, that new envoys will be sent, or ought to be. I told him I could not say what would be the course which the government would pursue, but that I did not believe that negotiation would be renew'd by the United States until some very solid *fact* showed, proved that there existed mutual wishes on equal terms. His object is plain, viz. *to induce me by protestations the most fervent, TO BELIEVE THEM SINCERE*; that the objection to MM. P[inckney] and M[arshall] was *personal*. General P[inckney] having been rejected by an *intrigue* !!¹ could not be unprejudiced, they thought—General M[arshall] being considered as *unfriendly*; this they consider as personal objection) *and to lead me so to write to government*. I have, I believe, satisfied him that this I cannot and dare not do, and that nothing but *facts* I would undertake to write on, and to draw consequences from, to government. He insists that these letters of T[alleyrand], with a solemn *official* pledge of *amity*, and the *orders* respecting the West Indian privateers, and the acknowledged interests of France on colonial account in the friendly commercial intercourse with the United States, are the pledge I want. I had promised him in June that his *name* should never be mentioned to government as he feared publication,—at his own request. I have mentioned him *once* only previous to that promise, to the Secretary of State, and *told him*, "I had mentioned him as secretary of legation, and as talking to me in a way that I could not account for."

Since, I have mentioned him and an interview to the President, in a *private letter*, for the purpose of giving my opinion of the course which I thought it probable they would take in trying to make amicable impressions; and, in particular, because I considered his

¹ It would be curious to know whether it did not proceed from the "disgraced minister." Note by Murray.

interviews as intended to use me for the purpose of preparing a good reception for Gerry. But I write not to government upon the subject. Take a caution from this, viz. I wrote to Bourne four or five days since to this effect, that their *language* altered and was more amicable, but that their *conduct* was as hostile as ever. I have no copy of my letter—a few lines. Yesterday I saw a letter from young Mr. Otis Ammeden at Amsterdam, which congratulates Major M[ountflorenc]e on the pacific appearances which exist between France and America, agreeably to Mr. B[ourne]'s intelligence from Mr. M[urray]. This is the first time I have been mistaken by B[ourne], who is a good fellow and sound American.

I will tell you also in confidence that this government had instructed Mr. Schimmelpenninck, at Paris and De Winter (both are warm friends, depend on it), to exert every means of producing a spirit in the French government conciliatory to the United States, as her interest, and especially on account of her allies, who will be ruined if France and United States go to war. His intelligence for fifteen days has been given verbally to me, and more particularly on the fête of the 31, and is, that it may be rely'd on that every step consistent with a just regard to France herself shall be taken to accommodate all differences with America—they *believed*. I told Mr. V. Goes that as to T[alleyrand]'s letter it was, I feared, too artfully written; that we were, I conceived from what I saw in our newspapers, infinitely beyond the point of being charmed by words; that facts alone, I suspected, could calm what facts and indignity had roused. I am not surprised at their efforts, nor at France as using them as the channel for her temporising policy. Early in July I wrote a short (private view) roughly to prove, that if Holland joined in the war, she would be ruined; and intermixed statements to prove that France herself could not hurt us without touching on the thread of any return of amity or the causes of the quarrel. This, though crude, they sent on to S[chimmelpenninck] I know that before, they had urged the necessity of keeping out of the war. Again, my dear sir, adieu.¹

XLVIII.

3 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Just before the post hour I have the pleasure of receiving yours of 28 July. All the preceding also are received, but I have not time to look over my presscopies to find my letter that smells of Cumae. I *believe*, however, you will find a full explanation, if you will ask Mr. Childs in a confidential way about the contents of a letter from Philadelphia, opened at sea by a privateer, and which came inclosed to me, and was sent on by me to him at Dresden. I cannot tell you by letter. He can. I perceive the

¹ Murray to John Adams, August 3, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," VIII, 686.

member is *right now*. I have advised C[hilds] to tell him that he will publish him—at his own time. If C[hilds] has been long at Berlin, my letter must have missed him, but will follow him I hope.

Schimmelpenninck was not received, I believe because his constituent was intermediary, revolutionary, and great events were apparently approaching, that rendered it a good piece of unprincipled policy to let things remain exactly in a state in which, if it was necessary to divide or sell this country, no *ceremony* would be violated. They have no *minister* here; that is the reason, at least the ostensible one, as there was but an intermediary government. But S[chimmelpenninck] does business there. The Dutch are terribly frightened at the posture of the United States, bold as she beards it with her grand nation. They love us for it, but are frightened absolutely into *action*—a great effort; and S[chimmelpenninck] is now, and has been, working three weeks, to try to induce France to arrange amicably with the United States. De Winter aids in this; both, believe me, are cordially our friends. One other point these work to: if war come on, to steer Batavia clear. From their great efforts on the first I suspect they doubt success upon the last. Part of the *acknowledged* and conceded points by the French (him whom I really consider as ordered to talk to me and show me letters, etc., etc.!) is, that if the United States and France go to war, the allies of France will be totally *ruined!* and the colonies of France endangered. This to demonstrate their sincerity, as logicians cede weak propositions *in candor*, to take vantage ground. Of their sincerity to negotiate I have no doubt. It is not their interest to risk their colonies just now; but of any spark of sincerity to lead a negotiation to a fair and honorable end, I have no idea. If they could negotiate away twelve months, we are worse; they may be better, as their enemies may be fewer, and it would take six months to bring men into a neutral country to treat. Six more could easily be whiled away. In the meantime we, like poor Switzerland, would lose the benefit of COOPERATION, and, like her, have to fight it out—I hope with different success!—during a *long armistice* with Great Britain. For of a *peace* I have no conception for years. Much as I wish for fair accommodation I dread France's envoy at *Philadelphia!* I have never hinted at this to P[ichon], who might push it to Mr. T[alleyrand], with whom he corresponds confidentially. Sir, it would be to rally every sort of Devil from the Mississippi to the Delaware, and his house would be the scene of all sorts of seditious deputations. The B[ritish] minister would also have his levee, not of Americans! but of *others*. *No, our government is stronger, acting by its true constitutional grandeur, in a scene remote from the domestic feuds, than in Philadelphia!* So I think. I see nothing which we can trust to but arms, always keeping a hand open to shake, when

facts show they mean to do justice. Besides, I do think that the treaty ought to be broken, if it costs a war, or it will ruin us. In my long conference with P[ichon] he avoided crimination; I had a fortnight before checked him on that score. I used none, except as far as an absolutely free exposure of the injustice, insults, etc., etc., offered us amounted to it. I stated my own disapprobation of the *sojourning* of our envoys, and told him I had urged them to be decisive in the autumn. He recurred to the President's speech¹ as a very grievous thing. I laughed at it as sheer pretence, and quoted Lepeau's 4 November. He admitted it was wrong. I told him that that had contributed much to rouse the people of America, and that I had felt it so strongly, that I wrote a small pamphlet against Lepeau, but could not get it published. I had done so, and went to Leyden and read it to Mr. Luzac, whose patience was so *satisfy'd* that he said he could not publish it. Indeed he could not, and no one I believe in this country would have done it. Now if ever you wrote an angry pamphlet you know by the time you have gone over twenty or thirty sheets, one's passion has so subsided as to leave little energy to struggle against great difficulties of translating *secretly*, and publishing clandestinely. So I gave it up, and with this precious shred of egotism I will beg your pardon for so much letter scribbling. . . . Dear sir, yours again, etc., etc.

XLIX.

Rec. Aug. 12.

Ans. Aug. 14.

6 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yours of 31 July came to me today. I thank you, and am better though feeble.

I think I mentioned that a Mr. Droghan had arrived at Hamburgh with letters from Mr. Jefferson and others to Fayette, to Merlin and Talleyrand, ostensibly to prevent war. As soon as I heard this, which was Sunday was a week, I set a friend in motion at Amsterdam to observe if he arrived there, and to gather his object. On the 3rd this envoy extraordinary reached Amsterdam—but not Droghan, though so spelt in the letter *shown to me*—but *Doctor Logan* of Philadelphia. Your brother, I dare say, knows this propagandist of sedition and philosophy. Yes it is Dr. L.,² with these letters as above. My friend got his confidence, and a sight of his passport. It is from *Mr. Jefferson* and *Judge McKean* guardedly worded, as a friend of science and humanity—the gibberish of hypocrisy. I learned that he would be at Rotterdam last night and start for Paris today, and I took a step

¹ That of May 16, 1797, read at the opening of the special session of Congress. Murray to Pickering August, 6, 1798, in Pickering MSS. Adams to Murray, August 4, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 350n.

² Dr. George Logan (1753-1821). See "Memoir of Dr. George Logan of Stenton," 1899.

to have him summoned this morning before the municipal body there, to say who *he is*, *from whence*, *whither going*, *what passports* he has? I know he has a French pass from Hamburg. This I could not effect before near nine at night, though I set about it at five P. M.

My motive was to ascertain, if possible, in a *public way* all that could be got from him, for the two channels of my private information I could not readily expose; and this affair may merit future discussion and proof. I have taken steps to trace him at Paris, and if I can learn anything worthy your attention, I shall tell you. I do consider this as an infernal job, and the true high road to dependence in France—the very thing which the French Directory at this time could wish for!—a party envoying a Jacobin-American to them at such a time! They will use it as they ought. If they grant favours, they will and ought to expect homage in return! I had suspected, and so wrote 29 July to the Secretary, that this mission either was to assure France that the faction would *be ruined* if war came on, and that nothing but peace could save the remnant of French influence in the United States; or *something worse*. The first conjecture, I now rather suspect, is the *present* opinion and perhaps object of this emissary; for he told my friend (considering him throughout as *one of them*) that a war would destroy *republicanism* in the United States; for that, what he dared to call the British party, were certainly powerful at present, though he did not think they could long continue so. He entirely held up the government party, *i. e.* the true American independence party as British.

He told my friend that the suspension law had past. He wished to get on quick to Paris and to recall Gerry, who, by the bye, will I fear loiter at Havre, and I hear was four days going thither, for he is off with his budget of *projets*. To delay him one step at Rotterdam if possible was one more motive with me, that Gerry may be gone; for these interferences must tend more to divide France and the United States, or to draw them together on terms dishonorable and ruinous to the United States. I *hear* that another *express* vessel is sent after Gerry, but not from authority (I mean I do not hear this from authority). I can not yet hear whether the ministry of Rotterdam summoned the Doctor. I lament that I had not earlier notice of his arrival at Amsterdam and his intended journey to Rotterdam, for certainly I would have found a way to know a little more accurately what he is after. As it was, I would have had him arrested but that *it was impossible*, because he bore a *French passport*. I hate to exercise *power*, but in this case I would have even stretched it. He was probably off early; and I learned at eight P. M. yesterday evening that it was very likely that this gentleman would sleep the other side the Maase, as he was a traveller intending to go this morning to

Paris. Those paragraphs in Porcupine¹ I saw in the *Spectator* of 26 May. I have explained to the Secretary where the real project differed from what I mentioned. The whole was communicated to me *confidentially*; and on my word I do not believe that more than three more except myself here knew of it. I have since ascertained the true line, which was not drawn by my communicator in March; he had not had it in his power at that time to separate what was *conjecture* from what was their known *intentions*; nor their *plots* connected with these *intentions* from their *demands* openly made. Of course I could not distinguish between them, yet all was from very high authority. The *demands* urged by Siguez were 1. March of 50,000 men through—2. Louisiana and the Floridas—3. 40,000,000 rioux. Conjectures and partly discovered plots were connected with the 1. I have written complaining of this as hard on me; as cruel to others. I write now private letters to the Secretary, and nothing but publishable things in my public dispatches. Yes, I know Stoddert.² He is of George Town Maryland, a most excellent judicious appointment. Stoddert is a revolution whig, a federalist, a true American. He is perhaps Mr. Cabot's equal (I heard he was appointed), which is saying a great deal, and more a man of business, about 41 years old, marry'd, late a partner of Col. Forrest,³ wealthy and well connected, and a man of sound judgment, active mind, not polished by very high literary elegance, but more, strong and clear. He writes well too, and is much respected.⁴

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁵

Private.

THE HAGUE, 7 August, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed I have the honour to send duplicates of 29 July and yesterday. Receiving no news of *Doctor Logan from the government*⁶ and seeing it mentioned in a Dutch paper that a new Envoy was appointed for France by *Congress*, I set off at ten at night last night accompanied by Major M[ountflore]nce and arrived a little before two, he had not past Rotterdam. My object had he been there, was to have seen and conversed with him and if possible to have penetrated into his object and to have been guided by circumstances of evidence in *having him arrested*. I knew that he bore a passport from the French agent at Hamburg and that nothing but very strong evidence indeed would have detained him in this country under

¹ "Porcupine's paper announces that government have received dispatches from you mentioning the proposals from France to Spain made last winter. I wonder that the government continues to permit such publications." John Quincy Adams to Murray, July 31, 1798.

² Benjamin Stoddert (1751-1813), appointed Secretary of the Navy, May 21, 1798, the position having first been offered to George Cabot, of Massachusetts.

³ Uriah Forrest (1756-1805).

⁴ From Washington to Murray, August 10, 1798, see "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 71.

⁵ From the Pickering MSS.

⁶ Cypher.

arrest more than six hours. The peculiar way in which I obtained the original intelligence that enabled me to set in motion a useful vigilance upon his motions, confined my operations and obliged me to trust much to the interview I meditated. This did not take place; by day light every inn was enquired into. and he was neither in town nor had arrived.

The late change *in the municipality* assured my object, as far as enquiry short of *arrest* could be cary'd. I apply'd *to the President*; he *promised to try to see all his papers* under the apparent suspicion that *he was an Englishman*; very little it is probable is trusted to paper. I communicated my *object* freely, because in fact the letters which he bears, from whom and to whom, and their object, is known to the government and was so *before I knew it*, some hours. *They have acted in this affair with the greatest cordiality and promptness.* It did not require much force of reasoning to show that this sort of clandestine interference would widen a breach which it is so deeply *their interest* to see *closed*, besides *they* in the true spirit of experience *are against all Jacobins* and are *with us in all things in their power.*

We returned at *three P. M.* today, having done what could be done, and mortify'd at my disappointment.

You will perceive, sir, that every thing connected with *this government is in strict confidence.* I thought that if it were known at Paris that *this mission is discovered* it would certainly tend to break it and disconcert it. The disposition to effect some thing clandestine in this way and at such a time being I think proved by what is now ascertained—for it can be proved; the next best it struck me was to *prevent any machinations in France*, and to lead them to see the necessity of working openly and with the government, if they have an idea of peace. I have therefore informed the *secretary of the French embassy* of the arrival of this gentleman.

I have just had *an interview with Mr. Spoor.* He told me *in confidence* that he had just then received a letter from *their minister at Paris* who had proposed *a mediation of this country to Mr. Talleyrand*, by a note and in conversation confidentially; that he expressed in return his warmest wishes to accommodate, and said he would show the note and give an answer very soon.

If such a thing be *likely* to be proposed *officially* to me, I shall avert it, if possible, and will not listen to it in any shape, but as a *silent and confidential piece of information for you*, as opening a side door thro' which any communication¹ might reach each government, and as a thing not for the public, for I have no right to accept a *mediation* as a measure formally announced. It might tend to distract the councils of the *United States*, and the *Dutch*, tho' friendly, are not in a situation to exercise impartiality, and to be qualify'd for anything

¹ These phrases are not in cypher.

further than as the mere *channel of propositions* should affairs take that turn.

Great pains are taken in every shape to bring on a *negotiation with America*. This is a natural consequence of the energy and power of the United States combined in a view of the *present* state of Europe. It is *their* interest to commit themselves to *nothing and gain time*; but of *their sincerity* in the object of *negotiation* there is no *proof* that has come to my judgment. I hear of no relaxation in their plundering system. *As my private opinion* I on all confidential occasions say that *we can dispose* of their colonies, hurt them more than they can hurt us, and that *I do not look* for another negotiation unless their depredations are stopt and *facts* announce an amicable spirit on principles compatible with the honour as well as commercial interests of the United States.

What has been already done by government has had a most powerful effect in raising the reputation of the United States. *They* however appear to me to be no further affected than to feel an alarm for colonies—and disappointment. I am, dear sir, most faithfully always yours,

L.

Rec. Aug. 15.

Ans. Aug. 18.

10 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: On Tuesday, hearing nothing more of Doctor L[ogan], I set off in the night for Rotterdam, hoping to meet with him, and to arrange a little with the police to have public proof of his passports—and perhaps of his papers; but he had neither past, nor was he there.

I have thought it best (not hearing last night of his having past, but on the contrary that he certainly had not been in that city) to inform Mr. Pichon, who called on me at two, the whole affair as to the Doctor's object, letters, etc., etc.; and that the government of the United States would know in thirty days of his voyage, and object, as I knew of it in July and had written. I had it in my power positively too to state his language against Talleyrand and that of the party, and stated that one moment's attention to him, or any man not authorized by government would only tend to widen the breach. That the party was down, stript to a very few, and that if they wished for anything, they must expect it from government alone. If this Doctor be an authorized fanatic, which I believe him to be, I thought it would break the project to let them know at once that *the whole* was discovered; that else, they might endeavor to make something of him. *Entre nous*, Schimmelpenninck is trying to bring forward the mediation of this country. T[alleyrand] has officially answered that (so I am *told* CONFIDENTIALLY) that they will accept it, if the measures already taken by them to arrange amicably with the United States fail; but till they have been try'd, they decline it. This I tell to Colonel P[ickering] in a *private* letter,

and inform him that I do not inform any one in America besides of anything respecting this ticklish subject.

Have you seen the *arrêté* of the French Directory of France to call in their privateers in the islands, to give them new commissions, limiting their operations within the LAWS.¹ They pretend to hold this up as a measure of returning justice. I tell them it is *necessity*, and of self preservation. In truth the bare hanging up of the bill of suspension has worked at Paris like a shock, and has spread from the pulses of individuals interested in the colonies to the public bosom.

This *arrêté* is published, and was brought to me yesterday by Mr. Pichon as a peace offering.

Dear me! how delicious is even hypocrisy when it covers an acknowledgment of the power of one's country; tones altered, entreaties for negotiation; but observe, I believe nothing of all this, except that they wish for negotiation and a chance of exercising their "diplomatic skill." Certainly no man can doubt that *now* they want a suspension of our measures, a diversion of our strength from them, by means in the adoption of which they commit themselves to nothing except giving up points that were made to be given up—as *loans*, and *apologies for the speeches*, and a promise to *enter upon* arrangements on spoliations. These are stated in T[alleyrand]'s *reply* (in manuscript) to G[erry]'s answer, as points conceded as a basis. As to the *mediation* of their friend Batavia, it *can* be but a mere channel of propositions, if war do not come on immediately. No *arbitration* of this sort can be thought of a moment. Dear sir, I am always etc., etc., etc.

P. S. As I was closing this, yours of 4th arrived. I thought I had told you of Gerry, his applications, delays, and success, and departure for Havre, where he arrived the 28th, having quitted Paris the 24th. Four days from the joys of Paris to the melancholy barque of his country at Havre—this lingering is dying along out of France.

This moment I received the Leyden paper; its contents are highly important. I inclose you one, lest you also may not have before seen the news in it. Strange, we must learn these things from Dutch papers. In truth our establishments, viz. that of the State Department, are poor and niggardly. Colonel P[ickering] works more than any attorneys clerk—manually works. It is impossible that he *can* attend to the inferior objects, as transmission of papers, etc., etc.; he ought to have under secretaries, men of talents. This I have often urged in vain! If I can, I will have Logan arrested, if he is in this country. I have *sounded* government. At first it was observed he bore a French passport. Again, dear, sir.²

¹ "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 222.

² Adams to Murray, August 11, 14, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 345, 349; Murray to Pickering, August 13, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.¹

Duplicate. Private.
Flus'g, Brussels.

THE HAGUE,
13 August, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The appearances of a clandestine political intercourse of some sort, carry'd on by a party in America thro' Doctor Logan of Philadelphia² were so strong that I thought it my duty to request his detention at Rotterdam until I could see him. I applied confidentially to Government to have him and his baggage arrested and an order to detain him with all possible civility was actually issued 'till I could see him, but hearing the same night that he had gone on to Paris by a different route, I had the order recalled. The order was officially recalled next morning.

I am, sir, deeply sensible of the high responsibility which I took upon myself in this step, but times and circumstances justify'd my conscience and my judgment. At such a time, when the President had declared by his message that he would never send another envoy 'till he had proper assurances of a due respect being paid to him; at a time when every effort was making in the United States to weaken the measures of government; knowing as I do the reliance that the government of France has on a party in America; the arrival of Doctor Logan at Hamburg with letters from Mr. Jefferson and others to Merlin and Talleyrand, struck me as a measure proving the design of a party in the United States to negotiate something relatively to the existing dispatches. My intelligence came also from such a quarter as could not be doubted. His object was said to be to prevent a rupture, to do this he was it was said, furnished with letters etc. etc. to etc. etc.

About a week afterwards I was inform'd by a gentleman of great respectability (whose name shall be given if it be necessary) that he had seen the Doctor, who show'd him a passport or open letter signed by Mr. Jefferson and Judge MacKean and told him that he was bound to Paris.

On the 9th I saw in the enclosed paper of Leyden, Mr. Harper's declaration respecting a conspiracy. The coincidence of this with the arrival of the Doctor and his declared objects—declared to confidants only—the knowledge of the letters which he bore, to such men as a Director and the Minister of foreign affairs of France, his passport, with his passport from the French political agent at Hamburgh, together with the negative proof arising from the avoiding to see the consul of the United States at Hamburgh, and bearing no passport from the government of the United States, led me to believe that his journey to Paris was a political interference between the government

¹ From the Pickering MSS.

² Cypher.

of the United States and that of France—a mission bearing as much authenticity as men in high station, but incompetent by our Constitution to hold political foreign relations, could give him—that such a mission in the existing state of things, even if *the Doctor's* object was merely to avert war, was in the greatest degree dangerous, as it would tend to foster the wishes of France to make use of a party in the United States at the expense of Government, break in upon the effects which the idea of union and energy were certainly producing, and open a new source of influence, even by any concessions which France might make to oblige a party, in points on which even the government of the United States had failed. In fact I considered him as a missionary authorised by individuals to act in political relations and therefore worthy of examination at least *by the minister of the United States*.

Taking into view the mysterious nature of a mission whose object or part of it was communicated at Hamburgh to *political agents of other nations* but concealed from *the agent of the United States*, knowing also that *the Doctor* had confided something which *Mr. Pitcairn's* friend was enjoined rigid secrecy upon, relative to his object at Paris; considering the critical posture of our affairs and the well known temper of the French government to make use of private deputations for the purpose of dividing a nation and destroying its sovereignty, on pretence of the will of the people being at variance with that of the government, *I did think myself bound to see this agent*, and I could not be certain of an opportunity of *examining him or his papers except I had him detained*. A mission from unauthorised men at such a crisis I conceived to be the most dangerous measure, and the point to which France would wish to bring us, as she did Genoa, Venice, Holland and Switzerland at a period when the government of each of these was attempting by *regular means* to avert their destinies. *I therefore intended to have him arrested* and had he been, *I would have examined his papers*. Never having seen him to my knowledge, I certainly acted from no malice personally. I submit the whole of my conduct to government confidentially if they please. He must have pass'd on by Gouda and not by Rotterdam, as I have received constant intelligence from my friend the President of the Echevins (sheriffs) of Rotterdam who rules the police and who in consequence of my request when I was there on Wednesday last would have examined him and seen his papers as far as possible without his arrest, and independent of any order. All this has been exceedingly painful to me; but in such times I thought hazards of responsibility due to the cause of the government which I have the honour to represent. I am with the highest respect and sincerest esteem, dear sir, truly yours, etc.

LI.

14 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I will tell you confidentially (I have so written to the Secretary of State) that I requested an order on Friday morning for the Doctor's arrest, till I could examine him. At night I had reason to believe that he had already past to Paris, and I recalled the order. This was a strong measure. I know it; but these times demand some hazards. Relying highly on your judgment, and feeling your friendship with a sincere pride, I beg you tell me your opinion right down and *entre nous* on this step; and generally inform me what steps you think a minister may justify respecting arrests, search of papers, etc., etc.; and when there are strong circumstances to authorise a suspicion of a clandestine political intercourse between *individuals* and a French Directory and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I thought I was perfectly right, though not perfectly safe. From Hamburgh, I learned day before yesterday, that a Mr. Benjamin Hichborn has arrived there; and I know by a letter yesterday from Amsterdam that he wishes Dr. Logan to wait for him at Amsterdam, that both may go on to Paris together. H[ichborn] is a thorough Jacobin.

I have put some machinery in motion at Paris, which I hope may afford us a glimpse of their objects and conduct.

Is not the Hero of Italy beaten by Nelson? We *hear* so. I am, my dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc.¹

LII.

17 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Mr. B. Hichborn did not wish to see Doctor L[ogan], but some other friend at Amsterdam. From Mr. B[ourne]'s letter I concluded it was the Doctor. Mr. B[ourne] himself informs me it is a mistake.

Mr. Luzac has given place to an address from the military of all Jersey Governor Howell,² an old Whig officer and an able man, at their head—great spirit and some poignancy in it. The answer too caught the poignancy and returned it. They were so excellent, and at such great weight in the scale of the Union, that I enclosed them with descriptions of official characters and prest L[uzac] to publish them. I see he has. He is our steady friend on all occasions. The affair of 12th June saved his paper in its new character, as it was intended by the usurpers of 22d January to entirely suppress that paper, on account of the extracts and abridgment which he published of X, Y, etc.

I hear not from America. The enclosed scraps³ are all I have. They [are] from a friend in Europe. Baltimore has subscribed in

¹ Adams to Murray, August 15, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 350.

² Richard Howell (1753-1802), governor of New Jersey, 1794-1801.

³ None with the letter.

June 90,000 dollars for building vessels of force,¹ and every one expected war. The Senate had past a bill annulling all treaties with France. To dissolve the 17th article and the guarantee of our independence, will be worth all the bustle and expense I think. No news. I am just going to see the new Directory installed, at half past ten. I hear no more of Logan. —Yours, my dear sir, always.

As I close this I have yours of 11 inst. I must send you Jerry's letter, as you do not mention it. I have not a moment to say more than amen! to your holy imprecations and aspersions!²

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.³

Private.

THE HAGUE, 18th August, 1798.

DEAR SIR: *A man high* ⁴ in the confidence of the Government General told me yesterday at the installation of the Directory that *I should receive a communication from Government* in a very short time respecting evidences of an amicable disposition in France. I believe it will be a more formal proof of what I very lately mentioned, viz., the proffered mediation of this Government and the answer, that it would be accepted, if the measures now pursued by France for adjustment should not succeed.

The only use that I can be of will be in communicating to you *confidentially* (if you so think it most for the public service at this crisis) evidences of what they *profess*, leaving the weight of declarations to you, sir. That the French are *solicitous* to have a *negociation*, independent of any preliminary conditions, and prepared to treat under circumstances more favourable to the United States than lately, I have now no doubt. If *I could thro' this government* get them to come down yet lower and make the assurances of a reception to American envoys "worthy a great and independent nation," it would be done in such a way as not to commit the American government on the point of sending any. For you know that neither power to do so, nor any disposition *is in me*. *The Dutch minister at Paris is a man of great talents and warmly disposed towards the cause of the United States of America; he does all he can to this end.*

As to Mr. Talleyrand's letters to Mr. G[erry], I consider them as abating in insolence precisely as intelligence of American energy and union arrived; as displays of deception and fraud, but of deception exerted to cover those condescensions which they are ashamed to make without fraudulent apologies, as deception to veil their real

¹ I do not admire this mode of attempting to support government, unless in desperate cases and rebellion
Note by Murray.

² Murray to John Quincy Adams, August 18, 1798, in Adams MSS.; one of August 21 was probably of too confidential a character to be entered in the Letter Book; Murray to John Adams, August 20, 1798, extract in "Works of John Adams," VIII, 688.

³ From the Pickering MSS.

⁴ Cypher.

impotence and the consciousness of it against the United States in the eyes of a quarter of the world in which hitherto they have not been obliged to exert these last arts in this humiliating manner.

If the public mind could be undoubtedly calculated on to remain firm and in tone during *a new negotiation* without leaving it in a state unfavourable to great efforts, should such a one at last fail; and if the virus of *treason* be sufficiently subdued in [the] *United States*; and if it would be possible to uphold defensive and preparatory measures during so long an interval (for it would take ten months), *I should suppose that a negotiation* might be hazarded. *I do not write thus* to any one, sir, yourself excepted. If to any in future, it will be confidentially *to the President*. Paris papers state Mr. Gerry to have gone on board the *Sophia*. General Pinckney was to leave Bordeaux the 5th inst. The editor, Mr. Luzac, of the within paper, hazards a little in obliging me, or rather manifesting his zeal for our cause in publishing what you will find in it. Had not the 12th June come on, the paper was to be entirely suppressed on account of his extracts respecting X and Y. I am with sincere esteem most truly, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.²

Private.

THE HAGUE, 23 August, 1798.

DEAR SIR: It was in vain to attempt to regulate the communication of the intelligence respecting the mediation before mentioned, in the way I wished, that is, in such a manner as that the knowledge of it should have been confined to the three governments concerned. Yesterday a repetition of what appeared on the nineteenth in a Dutch paper, appeared with more form, and as "*authentic*" intelligence, "that Batavia had offered her mediation to France, who accepted it with pleasure provided the measures already taken to conciliate the United States did not succeed." This was the substance of the paragraph. Mr. Van der Goes disavow'd any knowledge of it, and expressed his regret at its appearance.

The enclosed "*confidential communication*" as it was marked by Mr. Van der Goes is from the Batavian government. The reason why it is not authenticated I am informed by Mr. Van der Goes, on whom I waited for an explanation this morning, is, "*that the United States may, if it be agreeable to them, avail themselves of this knowledge of the dispositions of this government*"; that an authenticated paper officially and formally offering the mediation would place this government in an awkward predicament, because it might be refused on grounds that could not be pleasing to this country and thus expose them; that this paper, together with the verbal communications made

¹ Received January 24, 1799.

² From the Pickering MSS.

to me, would be sufficient to let the government of the United States see that, if it were agreeable to them, they may avail themselves of this government as a channel, as intermediary ground, through which the United States and France might make approaches and sound each other. That is all I believe, sir, that they mean by a tender of mediation. They say that Mr. Schimmelpenninck had no orders to make an official offer of mediation. He made an unofficial one and Mr. Talleyrand answered by an *official* note.

It is possible that the first suggestion of this came from Mr. Talleyrand; it is also probable that the publication of it here is from the French, who would give an *appearance* of a conciliatory disposition in the eyes of America and Europe. It may also have come from some Dutch individual, (for it has been *reported* from Paris) to give an *éclat* of independence and importance to this nation by publishing it.

Not having heard from the United States since I had your favour of 28th May I neither can, nor have any right to form an opinion, on the intentions of the American government. As yet from the published letters of Talleyrand I do not see the *assurances* which the President declares in his message of 21 June to be *sine quibus non* of any other embassy. The enclosed will I understand be sent to Mr. Van Polanen. I have mentioned in July the approaches to the present step of this business.

Mr. Van Polanen will not be ordered to make an official communication, but a confidential one to you, sir.

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of the letter of Mr. Talleyrand to Mr. Gerry at Havre, covering the *arrêté* of which they boast, but of which no one here is the dupe, as it is to bring the conduct of their West India privateers merely within the provisions of those very laws which constitute part of American wrongs. I do not send it for any thing more than as purporting to be a copy of that letter as it was given to me by Mr. Pichon; as such and I supposed that it might arrive, such as it is, before Mr. Gerry, who I hear has sailed from Havre. General Pinckney left Bourdeaux in a Prussian [vessel] called *The Hope of Emden*, I think, on the 7th inst. I am with the greatest respect and esteem, dear sir, your mo. ob. sert. etc. etc.

P. S. A few days since I enclosed a copy of the enclosed "confidential communication," to the President in great haste, as I had just received it. Of Dr. Logan I *hear* through private letters that he has private interviews with Mr. Talleyrand and abuses the American government, avows the people estranged from it by its severities, and insists however on a redress of our grievances, and that France must do this promptly. One letter insinuates that he speaks as if he was authorized, sometimes. These letters are from individuals, and I believe the intelligence, particularly of his abuse, etc., etc., etc.

Colonel Hichborn has not yet passed. It was not Logan whom he wished to meet at Amsterdam but his nephew¹ I think. I am told his objects, however, are apparently merely mercantile and speculation.

The French deny with infinite solicitude that Logan brought letters to Merlin and Talleyrand, and that he has any political business at all, but I know better. It is *something* however to bring them to forswear their friends.

LIII.

24. AUGUST, '98.

DEAR SIR: The Dutch offer their mediation as I told you, and I inclose the *informal* paper to the President and Secretary of State—*privately*, for it was given me *confidentially*. They fear to have a formal offer of mediation rejected on grounds that might be painful to them. They are *very sincere*, God knows, in their wishes for peace, particularly since our ENERGY has pointed out a few thousand additional reasons.

No, I *think* I was right. I foresaw that Logan's mission would be soon so *notorious* that P[ichon] would know that I knew it. By telling him I told him of the vengeance of the American government, if L[ogan] were treated with, and also of the opinions of *that party* of T[alleyrand] to whom he is devoted. It has failed. They do secretly receive him, and L[ogan] abuses our government, and says the *nation are against it!* because of the severities of Mr. A[dams]. Here is a traitor without legal treason. Such language ought to be treason, if held in any foreign country. A bill was before the Senate the 7th July, declaring France and her people and dependencies ENEMIES of the United States, and all who adhered to them TRAITORS to the United States. I hear it will pass, and pass the House of Representatives.² Observe, Harper's assertion was 21 June. I am in haste (which is wrong towards you, my dear sir), most truly yours.³

LIV.

28 AUGUST, 1798.

I have yours, my dear sir, of 18 and 21 instant. I always expected from your kindness a clear opinion on points about which I asked it as a friend. L[ogan] has actually past. However, I am well satisfy'd *now*; but I think I should have been right, if I had *succeeded*; and though hazards always cost me much pain, yet I did think that that was a hazard that I was bound to run. This is not gasconade. I really considered him as *treacherous* and possessed of papers of immense importance. However, peace to this plaister of Paris philanthropist. He, and perhaps I, too, *escaped*!! Nelson left Naples 18

¹ Andrews.² It became a law July 7, 1798.³ Of a letter from Adams to Murray, August 25, 1798, only the first four lines are entered in the Letter Book, probably for the reason mentioned on p. 457, *supra*.

June; it is stated he returned about the 6 or 8 July to Sicily, after going to the neighbourhood of Alexandria. This is almost *impossible*. I have a letter from Col. P[ickering] of 27 June. No news. A letter too, (open) for Gerry; a second recall, emphatic and cutting enough. I must write on other days than those of the post to you, for I have been answering Col. P[ickering]'s dispatch all the morning. I am affectionately, dear sir, yours, etc., etc.¹

LV.

31 AUGUST, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I so understood, that *the publication*² was stopped, and my numbers, which I ordered, ceased to come. Some symptoms of public spirit have shown themselves here. Their history cannot be long. On the 12th inst., as by the L[eyden] Gazette you have seen, this government published a restraint on the excesses of the French privateers within the waters and limits of this nation. It was sent round to our corps. Champigny, who had heard nothing of it, was astonished at its boldness, and demanded an audience. He spoke, I hear, with a good deal of freedom, and exprest his surprise that so strong a measure should be taken without his participation and concert. They answered that the participation and concert had been at Paris. He was satisfy'd and detailed the conversation in substance to his minister, T[alleyrand] at Paris, inclosing a copy. We were all a tip-toe to see an *experiment* made. The *case* soon happened which tested the regulation. Two prizes (Dutchmen I hear) under Prussian colors were taken near the Maase, and brought into Flushing. This, about 25th or 26th. The Dutch commissary there seized the prize masters and put them in prison. The French commissary demanded them, was refused, went away, returned with a few French soldiers, and took them out of prison. On the 28th the two privateers concerned were found at Helvoet, and were taken possession of by the guard ship and tow'd inside the dock. So stands the fact. Something more interesting has been understood since it happened respecting the probable fate of the regulations of 12th, which regulations, unfortunately, by speaking of their loss of independence if such excesses are permitted, may be in a measure considered as bringing into practice some principles of dominion which, if defeated by France, will wound the pride of the nation and lower it yet more. Now a few days since, about the 26th, Champigny received a letter from T[alleyrand], in which T[alleyrand] says no concert as alluded to was had at Paris; that Mr. S[chimmelpenninck] did have a *conversation* with him on this subject, but he denies that the concert supposed did exist. On the other hand, it is said here that before the publication, a copy was sent to Mr. S[chimmelpenninck] at Paris, and that he laid it before T[alley-

¹ Adams to Murray, August 28, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 354n.

² Of Luzac's paper.

rand], who, with his own hand, corrected and interlined some parts and that S[chimmelpenninck] perfectly understood a consent and participation that foreclosed any objection to its practice. A principle of pride has hitherto very much restrained this republic from working in concert with any French minister *at the Hague*. They work at Paris. This has its inconvenience, and has nothing but an empty appearance in its favor. On the principle of the rights assumed as the basis of the regulation of the 12th, I understand the French say, by your treaty of 1795 we have a common right in those very waters over which you say you will exercise exclusive dominion. If this question be discussed rather than decided, some useful light might come from it.

You wish to know the members of the Directory. I have called them in my note of ceremony "distinguished citizens, etc."; that is all I know of them, except from report that they are men very respectable indeed in the sphere of their former lives: Mr. Van Hasselt,¹ a merchant of Amsterdam, and member (I think, President) of that Municipality; Mr. Hoet,² Procurer General of the Court of Justice of Groningen; Mr. A. F. R. E. Van Haersolete, procurer of the Finances of Guilder and Arnhem; Mr. Ermerings,³ employ'd in different posts before and since the Revolution. Tholer, Zealand. They received us the other day in a very gentlemanlike manner, and seem to be agreeable men. They are of sound politics. Mr. De Lewen will be chosen today, I learn, as a fifth. Van Leyden says he is an uncommonly clever man. V. L. is president of the first council. Mr. Van [der] Goes stands *second* on the nomination for Director—Van Hooff *first*; but Van der Goes will be Minister of Foreign Affairs, I believe, today.

The measure of raising the embargo which is decreed in France, they do not seem to inclined to attribute to its real motive, the suspension law and other energies of the United States. No, the *Publiciste* of the 8th Fructidor says L[oga]n, the "*brave*," has received it as a present from a Directorial dinner! The Dutch are willing to attribute it to Mr. S[chimmelpenninck]'s exertions, which have been I believe *aiding* and have certainly been wise and sincere. Pichon, *contra*, is willing to attribute it to our conversations here. Their affected laugh at our "three frigates and one bomb ketch" proves that it is due to our attitude at home.

P[ichon] goes to Paris in a few days. I understood as much from him the other night as that he had been sent here to work with me; that La Forest (late joint commissioner with Fauchet, *vide* Fauchet's No. 10), being given to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, his being sent here, and the whole of the American affair being entirely surrendered since the middle of June to Mr. T[alleyrand], are all evidences that

¹ Jan Willem Van Hasselt.

² A. W. Hoeth.

³ François Ermerings.

they are sincere, and that things will be brought to a friendly conclusion, if we will but enter upon negotiation.¹ I told him on his telling me this, to vizt. that all the papers which he had lent to me, and all that he had said upon the intentions of the French government he had said by order of his government, that, as I had often told him, I had no authority to speak with him or any one on this subject, but that I had seized the opportunity which his correspondence with the minister afforded, of incessantly and candidly displaying the only principles upon which the peace could be secured and war averted; that I had wished to open the eyes of his government by convincing him of certain truths respecting America before it was too late, but had done this without order or suggestion from any one. He said that a great change had taken place in the mind of his government on American affairs, that it was now clear to them that they had been deceived by men who meddled on both sides of the water.

He had mentioned the paragraph which you will see in Luzac's paper about L[oga]n. I referred to that, and mentioned his assurances that L[ogan] would not be treated with nor attended to. He said the paragraph was taken from an anarchial paper—and that he attributed it to the *Americans* at Paris. He gave me a manuscript copy of the *arrêté* taking off the embargo, in the beginning of the conversation, and offered to show me an authenticated copy in his hand.

He stated over and over as he had often done the interests which France had in not going to war with us—loss of colonies, junction with England, future fortune of America as a powerful nation—in fact the sweetest flattery to my ears in developing the power and fortunes of America, urging, pressing a negotiation. But the post hour arrives. Yours of 24, you will perceive, reached me this morning. Yours, dear sir.

Gerry is at Portsmouth—chased in.²

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.³

Private.

1 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR, *Mr. Pichon* was sent here, as I suspected from the first conversation which I had with him in June, by his government to aid, as he avows, his government, in bringing about an amicable adjustment of disputes with the United States. He told me so the 29th August at the Spanish minister's concert in a long conversation

¹ See Talleyrand to Pichon, August 28, 1798, in "Works of John Adams," IX, 262.

² Murray to Pickering, September 1, 1798, in Pickering's MSS.; Adams to Murray, September 1, in Adams MSS.; September 4, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 359.

³ From the Pickering MSS.

which I had with him, alone. He mentioned this incidentally, when in the course of our conversation I mentioned the doubts which we might justly entertain respecting *the issue of the negociation*, which he asserts France wishes for, should new events arise in Europe pending that work. To add proofs of the disposition of his government he said among other things, that the change which had lately taken place in the management of the American affairs which were now entirely submitted to Mr. Talleyrand; and Mr. La Forest's being given up to Mr. T[alleyrand] and his (Mr. P[ichon]'s) being sent here, show'd that there existed sincere intentions; and then informed me that he had in truth been ordered by his government in whatever copy or paper he had shown to me, and to converse with me for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation. He declared that the eyes of his government were opened, that they saw the full importance of putting an end to the dispute, that our relation to their colonies and trade, and the future strength of the United States in prospect within a few years, were points of view under which it was their interest, the avowal of which was an evidence of their wishes to put an end to every dispute that endangered our esteem; that La Forest was well known to be friendly to the United States; that it was true he himself had a sincere attachment to many gentlemen who were not supposed to be opposed to France, but that his knowledge of America served him on this occasion, and from his conviction of the importance in a political and commercial point of view of putting an amicable end to the dispute, he was considered by the French government as a friend of the United States as far as was consistent, and for that reason had been sent here; that Mr. Talleyrand and Mr. La Forest and he would be almost ruined, if they failed to bring matters to a happy end. In the beginning and, indeed as the object of the interview, he put into my hands he said a manuscript copy (which is in his handwriting) of the *arrêté* withdrawing the embargo, and of the two letters from the minister of marine which I have the honour to enclose, offering to show me the official *arrêté* which he had open in his hand. These he boasted of as some evidence of the acts of justice which I had urged. He told me at the same time of a Jacobin paragraph respecting Dr. Logan which is in the inclosed Supplement, and which he imputed to some of the Americans at Paris. After I had informed him that I was not authorised to open my lips upon the subject, I told him that as to any new negociation I saw no expectation of it, unless assurances were given of a treatment worthy the minister of a great free and independent nation, and that even then I did not know at all what might be now the intention of my government; that these expressions in the message of 21 June were measured words which had a reference to two things, the causes

of the dispute and the circumstances attending the attempt on our part to settle it, twice; and that the assurances mentioned ought to be as formal and solemn as the declaration of the President had been. He insisted that these assurances were given in Mr. T[alleyrand]'s letters, the late ones, and also in the acts of the French government, viz. the *arrêté* on the West Indian privateers, and this, raising of the embargo. I said this was matter of inference, if it existed, and was not what I should understand as the assurances mentioned. Wishing to know if any mode of compensation had been in their minds for our immense losses, I spoke of this, as what I considered as absolutely essential if a negociation were ever again thought of. He said great offers of West India commerce would be made on that head as useful to us and to them. Now, sir, that I have troubled you with this sort of intelligence it may be right for myself to observe that, though I do not consider anything which this gentleman has so often said to me, as he now declares by order of his government, as official, yet in the peculiar attitude of our affairs, and the absence of the means of obtaining any ideas of the manner in which the French government *talks* upon our subject, I believed that it was my duty to write thus to you. They wish to produce a new *negociation*. To penetrate further into their views is beyond my power. If our country preserve its present dignify'd position, their ultimate views, if not sincere, would probably [be] impotent to hurt us. This gentleman, having exhausted himself here, is to return in a very few days to Paris to the Minister.

The enclosed letter, sir, as well as those which I lately sent copies of respecting Dr. L[ogan], are from individuals at Paris. This I received, the others were not received by *me*, nor do I personally know their authors. The gentleman to whom they came assures me they are perfectly worthy of credit. The gentleman who writes the inclosed, I know slightly; it will give you, sir, the impression which seems general at Paris respecting the Doctor.

Colonel Hichborn is at Amsterdam. I owe it to justice to say that his affairs are merely *commercial*, and concerning an appeal cause against Mr. James Swan to be try'd here at the Hague.

We hear nothing authentic of Buonaparte. Two French privateers which had violated this territory were, on 27, taken possession of by the Dutch guard ship at Helvoet. A misunderstanding exists respecting the act of 12 August of this government, restraining the excesses of the French privateers, between the Batavian and French republics. It will be explained. Mr Gerry was on the 16th August at Portsmouth. I have the honour to be with sincere respect and attachment, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

LVI.

Rec. Sept. 13.

Ans. Sept. 15.

6TH SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I omitted last post. I was excessively busy in making up some letters for home.

Yours of 28th I received safely. I doubt if there be any certainty of Buonaparte. Since the Man of the Iron Mask there has not been such a mysterious affair.

Two Americans, Messrs. Skinner and Hinckley of Boston, breakfasted with us on Tuesday (that also kept me from writing), just from Paris. They have been high French, at least Skinner has been, till within a year. They are now full, brim full of indignation and scorn, and play'd me one of the pleasantest tunes of satirical abuse against France and her ruling set that I have long heard. They insist that new convulsions will happen. Heaven speed them to the happiness and tranquility of mankind! They say that a great alteration in the treatment of Americans has lately become visible.

Pichon has at length told me that he was ordered by Mr. Talleyrand to communicate with me. I have not written to any human being upon his subject, except the President, the Secretary of State, in *private* letters, yourself and King; so that whether there be anything worthy of attention or not in all that I have written, the President will confidentially and silently judge.

In my last *dispatch* on Tuesday, I inclosed and *mentioned* (first time *officially*) a communication officially made to Mr. Skipwith of the *arrêté*, raising the embargo, and the letters of the Minister of Marine, respecting the liberation of American seamen. They say among the prefatory motions, "they will not deliver themselves up to the passions of the British Cabinet, but faithful to the interests of the American nation"—"a *people* whose liberties they have protected," etc., etc., "decree," etc., etc. They are sore and alarmed at consequences, if war be unavoidable; sore to be obliged to knuckle to a government and nation whom they have recently treated so insolently. By letters just from Paris, and from MM. S[kinner] and H[inckley], I learn that Logan makes little or no mystery of his mission, and the general conversation among the Jacobin Americans is that he was the envoy of the patriotic party. They add, while they execrate this sort of proceeding, that L[ogan] has done all in his power to prevent them from going to war, and to produce a better conduct in them. That at the dinner given to him by the President of the Directory he gave "an honourable peace with the United States," but that Merlin¹ said "No, sir, I shall give that myself." This is all dramatic. Yet it is all very different from this time last year, my dear sir!

¹ Philippe-Antoine Merlin de Douai (1754-1838).

St. Domingo gives symptoms in favour of your idea! In fact the *nature* of the affairs of the United States, and the direction of her views, are changed very much. At least great objects present themselves that were dormant a year since. What they will do I do not conjecture. Mr. Dandridge goes to Mr. King on the 20th as Secretary. He has long pined in health here, and wished to go to America. I have a great esteem for him, and we mutually parted with regret. I wish you to give me your opinion on the subject of salary. My own opinion is that the minister is not entitled to touch any part of the 1350 dollars of the secretary's salary. D[andridge] says otherwise, if the Minister has no secretary and does the business. This question has had no cause for being started till now, as Mr. D[andridge] has had his salary agreeably to law, vizt. at the rate of 1350 dollars a year; and if I have another, he will have the same. But I shall be without one near six months. If I take any in that time, it will be a gentleman now here. But I do not wish to have any, if I can do without one, till a nephew of Mr. McHenry¹ arrives. For I am absolutely almost exhausted—certainly to little effect—but by very unremitting labour, such as it is; and this climate is destructive to sedentary men of a sickly character.

I understand that the French government *approves* of the regulation and (*practise* under it) of 12 August against their privateers here. Affectionately, dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. As I just have yours of 1 inst. I will trouble you, my dear sir, with a few remarks on which you will reflect, and as with your usual kindness and cordiality give me very explicitly your idea.

They do consider T[alleyrand]'s latter letters, connected with the *arrêté*, and the raising the embargo, and his last to Mr. Gerry at Havre, which was a renewal of assurances of an amicable nature, as *the assurances*. I conversed with Mr. P[ichon] as soon as I saw the Leyden paper that had the message of 21 June. In this, which pleased him very much *because*, said he, *the President has as much as said that if France gave him THE ASSURANCES, he would treat, and we have anticipated this and given the assurances*. I differed from him on this, and told him that the expressions in that message were doubtless very measured, and that the conditional terms had a precise relation to the causes of the dispute and the circumstances under which it had been treated by them on the two attempts to negotiate. That free and independent probably had a reference to those parts of the dispute which had a bearing upon our freedom to act as an independent nation. So far as to the causes. That "great and powerful" were an assertion of ourselves by which we meant to abide in any struggle, and probably might be referred to the circumstances of offence, under which our offers of amity had been rejected with

¹ John McHenry.

some appearances that could only be excused in policy towards a St. Marino or any little mountain state; but which would not be tolerated by a nation like ours which was actually, intrinsically and relatively, particularly, a very powerful one. Of course that as the apparent denial of all this had been by two great *acts* of the French government the admission of it would be expected, I believed, in a manner and by matter as explicit and avowed as the acts had been that rendered these assurances necessary. That his government, as I had often stated to him, had a fair and honorable pretext under which it could retract its career, and make assurances, vizt. "the recent knowledge of the *published instructions*, which he had translated the last of June and sent on, and which agreeably to Mr. Talleyrand's letter to him about the 15 July, were considered as exceedingly satisfactory, and by himself as great, cordial and magnanimous. That till now his government had not had the pretext to save that pride or wound which they might think would be inflicted in the face of Europe. That they ought to seize on this and make good a retreat which would do them honor, and which the temper of all neutral states rendered a very politic thing. I had often stated my doubts candidly to him, viz. if the assurances were given, and it were for *me* to decide whether there should be a new negotiation, I should hesitate very much. Why? Because, though I believe that you wish to *negotiate*, I see nothing in that but what merely suits your policy; but I see no change in your way of thinking on the United States as to those great principles, which in truth are the dispute; and I do not see but that you would only negotiate till any new victory intoxicated the French government as B[ona-*parte*]'s peace¹ did last fall." He attempted to persuade me that their eyes were opened; that they saw how deeply deceived they had been; that they saw our relative importance and acknowledged it by their present conciliatory turn; that in European negotiations with a neighbor they must act as they did, but with the United States, after two negotiations had failed, they would close this third fairly and honorably; that they knew, if they were to be guilty of such perfidy to the United States, they must never expect her friendship; and that they would lose too much to hazard such a measure; and professed the sincerity of his government.

Last night he sent me a note wishing to call. I appointed seven. He came, said he had stated my conversations to Mr. T[alleyrand] confidentially, my objections and doubts, and had received at Mid-dembloch² (I think is the name) a letter from Mr. Talleyrand which he returned to show me, before his little tour was ended. It was an *official* letter from Talleyrand to him; he was, he said, ordered to show it to me. It was, on my recollection and once reading, a sort

¹ Of Campo Formio.

² Medemblik, in North Holland, would be a strange route for Paris.

of assurance on some of the points of our conversation, and pretty explicit and very soothing, with a small spice for M. Murray who was a loyal American, neither F[rench] nor B[ritish]. This he show'd me in high confidence, vizt. that nothing he said or did should be *published*. They *dread* our presses!! I assured him of this *at first*, and often since. My object has been to let certain truths reach his government through him, and to lead them to deeds and words that, without committing our government to anything, might put something in their power. T[alleyrand] denies solemnly any political intercourse with Logan, and says that he informed Logan that it was his wish that he should postpone agricultural experiments to some other period, and nearer home. P[ichon] says that Mr. T[alleyrand] was offended at L[ogan's] appearance there, and at the noise he made, and was solicitous about the impression this might make on our government. Anything in this may go to the *P[resident] privately*. Dear sir, yours.

NOTE. Hichborn's business is purely commercial, and a law suit with James S. Swan¹ of Boston.

Do me the favor on the receipt of this to give me your opinion in five words respecting *salary*—when the Minister has no secretary.

What news does Mr. T. Adams bring from Dresden?²

LVII.

Rec. Sept. 17.

Ans. Sept. 18.

THE HAGUE, 11 September, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Your 4 September reached me yesterday. Logan carries out propositions I hear with him.

Mr. Schimmelpenninck and Admiral De Winter breakfasted with me this morning—just from Paris. They say that Logan certainly had nothing in view but to prevent war, and that he spoke plainly as to the necessity of mild measures. As to his party, I believe that it is not subdued, but humbled. As to conviction, the best of them have left them upon it. The remainder must be kept down by public opinion and constables—their disease and disaffection are moral complaints. No political remedies cure such, but I do think that they are as contemptible in the eyes of America as ingenious wicked men can be. I agree with you. I have long urged that the first opportunity favorable to popularity, for that is one of our divinities, should be seized *on to draw the line*, and to know in time on what our noble constitution had to rest. So many independent nations have fallen, and will fall (as X³ will), for want of that line being drawn timely, that I have for more than a year

¹ James Swan (1754-1831).

² Adams to Murray, September 8, 1798, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 360n; Murray to Pickering, September 8, in Pickering MSS.

³ Prussia?

thought it essential to us. But there will be no civil war. The strength, wealth, virtue and science of America are with government. Rest assured of it, France is impotent towards the United States, or she would not have knuckled thus of late. Yet I can easily suppose that her present condescensions have ambiguity in them. If her party is weak, too weak, they conciliate; if strong, strong enough, they form a fund for sedition to argue from, to say, see! France does justice, yet you will quarrel. Nothing but British gold can account for this! But, sir, her party is, to my belief, contemptible, and would shrink from a struggle.

Schim[melpenninck] told me he saw Logan often. The first time he saw [him] he addressed him thus: "If, sir, as some say, you come here to gain the influence of France in support of a party in your country, I consider you as the worst of men; if you have no such object, but as an individual try to prevent war without that object, I shall respect your principles, and I beg you so to tell Mr. Jefferson from me, sir." He says L[ogan] confessed to him that having seen *Holland*, and Belgium, and Paris, many of his opinions were altered. S[chimmelpenninck] considered him as an enthusiast. L[ogan] told him that his object was not to gain the influence of France to a party, but to prevent war. S[chimmelpenninck] assures me that whatever may be their *motives*, he is convinced that they are sincere in their wishes to negotiate and settle amicably; and that they will give the most *positive assurances* to receive any minister the President may send. S[chimmelpenninck] has worked a good deal to open their eyes; his own have been opened only about a year. He is now *convinced* on every point.

I had a letter the 9th of July, which stated the acts. Now and now only are we in a state to negotiate, if it be policy at home to do it at all.

I have a sore right-hand thumb and write with difficulty. Yours, my dear sir, always.

LVIII.

14 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: *Holland* (?), from all I can learn very confidentially, is on the verge of a war with *France*, to join *Great-Britain*. There is great uneasiness as to the issue, and I learn that it will be decided in less than three weeks.

I have sent a copy of the letter which I mentioned to you from T[alleyrand] to P[ichon]¹ to the Secretary of State in a private letter.² All I aim at is to lead them to put it in the power of the United States to negotiate or not, and in a way that can not commit

¹ Dated August 28, 1798. See "Works of John Adams," VIII, 690; "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 241.

² Dated September 8, 1798.

the United States. In this I act very reservedly, depend on it; and merely state facts, or rather what seems to me to be their present views; but always as things which must be guardedly received, and always as confidential intelligence. At last, in Luzac's paper of this morning, I see General W[ashington]'s charming letter.¹ I am always, dear sir, truly yours.²

LIX.

Rec. Sept. 24.

Ans. Sept. 25.

18 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I forget if I mentioned that Mr. Maggorin, the French Minister for Hamburgh, had been here. He brought letters of introduction to me, though he was to stay but a day. He began by assuring me that he had had an interview with Tal[leyrand] the morning of his departure, and that there was a fixed determination to accommodate our dispute fairly and amicably.

From the arts of solicitude which are made use of I begin to think that it is very probable that they will make propositions that may cover the subject matter of our dispute, viz. indemnification by exclusive trade to the islands for a term of years, and flattering assurances and proposals for a treaty; and do this with the view of breaking in upon our *Union*, provided no negotiation comes on! I shall not be surprised if they make very open and strong proposals, and calculate upon the effect of these, *to divide us*, if they are not listened to. Whether, if they do make such, it would be sound policy to listen to them, even if it be practicable to uphold the present temper of the Union pending a new negotiation, is a question that is all important to think well of at home. If the country seems cured and solid, a negotiation might be risked—as far as I can judge, in the dark as I am on many points; but if not, if this energy which delights us is from partial sources and is not solidly bottomed, I should not hesitate to say that war ought to be a resource of *choice*. From my papers as high as 14 July I do not see all I wish. The South seems silent, and ready for either side from that silent reserve.

I see the French are prisoners in Ireland. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc.³

LX.

Rec. Sept. 26.

Ans. Sept. 29.

21 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I am but just settled in my new dwelling in the Voorhoud, and have been of course a little harrassed by slow movements in rainy weather. The Hotel des États Unis is large and even hand-

¹ Either his letter to the President of July 4 or July 13, 1798, on his appointment to the command of the provisional army. "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 15, 37.

² Adams to Murray, September 18, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 365. In it he mentions a letter of September 15, "not copied."

³ Murray to Pickering (two letters,) September 19, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

some, but it is a perfect cave in dampness and cold! I have hired a smaller house, and a cheap one enough, next door to Scholten's and of the same size. It is dry, has all the winter sun till three P. M., and no canal. All the coals and grates and stoves that I could set in motion, did not give us one dry day nor night all last autumn and winter. Here I am convinced we shall enjoy better health.

Col. Hichborn has been with me. To me he speaks with liberality and conciliation. In fact, however, he and all such would go lengths, to us unwarrantable, for an accomodation. He has involved himself in French property. I believe has a house now at Paris, and great concerns in France; fears confiscation and personal injury if war come on. His doctrine, of course, is "Peace—peace, when there is no peace"!—as the President has pungently quoted to a half-way address from sweet Virginia.

H[ichborn] says that a Mr. Woodward, whom he calls a high federalist, has lately gone in a vessel from Bordeaux, specially permitted, bearing proposals from the Five Kings of Paris to our government. That T[alleyrand] at first did not like to trust them by W[oodward], because, said H[ichborn], he was a federalist; but Barlow persuaded him it was best for that very reason, and so they were sent by W[oodward;] that these proposals meet all our demands. I know nothing of this.

While I write I receive yours of 15 September. As to Logan, my dear sir, I know he has had this intercourse; so I have constantly written to government. I state their denial as a proof that they lower by little and little, that they durst not avow it. The change took place some weeks at Paris, and the watch-word given out among our Jacobins there was that L[ogan] had had no political connexion, etc., etc. T[alleyrand]'s two letters to P[ichon] deny it, and the *real* object was that I should send copies of both. I would not, of the first, because though in P[ichon]'s hand, it had not T[alleyrand]'s name to it. It was, I saw, their object that I should send these, and the injunctions were that P[ichon]'s *name* should not be published, nor the letter. But as you state, it was for *government*, and probably with the view too—viz. deny to government L[ogan]'s connexion, but let the public effect of his mission be in fact in their favor. Therefore it was that I have so explicitly stated to government that though they *deny'd* to me, yet they had received L[ogan] in a distinguished manner, and T[alleyrand] had often seen him at T[alleyrand]'s own house or office. In fine just the course of facts, public and private, and declarations, etc., etc., so as to furnish materials for opinion, with opinions of my own with their grounds. But above all, my dear sir, all this is purely with the P[resident] and the S[ecretary] of State, in confidential letters, and to no other man or person in the

United States, and not a hint except to Mr. K[ing] and to you, to whom I have mentioned, I think, the whole. I can not be certain, but I think that they will give "the assurances." By next post I will extract a little from T[alleyrand]'s letter which I mentioned.

Their object will NEVER cease! never. They will go on in their attempts to divide us. Against them we must for an age keep up a system of vigilance and counteraction—then we shall outgrow them.

If they get a negotiation, I am convinced that they will still work at our roots, at our opinions; and if they saw their party increase from that critical interval which takes place in the national mind under probabilities of accommodation, they would again be intoxicated and again be insolent. In fine, if Jacobinism be not scattered and defeated, if the public mind be not completely made up—not merely to war, for that is an effort, but to stability of government opinions which appear to promise habits in their progress—my voice would be, no negotiation, but war. If on the contrary all this be, I would try negotiation beneath the shield, accompany'd by our armed vessels and raising of regiments, etc., etc., etc., as in WAR. Then if we got out, it would be victory over our own Jacobins and over their masters, and strengthen the government and every good principle! Affectionately yours, dear sir.¹

LXI.

Rec. Sept. 30.

Ans. Oct. 2.

25 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Yours [of] 14th and 18th have come safely. I have kept you informed of whatever I do or am about, because I know it would give you pleasure, and also to avail myself occasionally of your opinions.

Pichon has perseveringly gone on ever since his arrival with conciliatory language and exhibiting what he considered as proofs of amity. I told you of T[alleyrand]'s letter to him of 11th Fructidor (30 August, I believe) which was in fact for me and for the government. In the beginning T[alleyrand] said, that M. M[urray] "a recu comme tous les hommes qui sont à la tête des affaires des États Unis, *les impressions que le cabinet Britannique a se donner contre nous*. Il croit les mesures de son gouvernement justes, et les soutient; mais il a raison, des lumières," etc., etc.

To the marked passage I objected as a thing which would force me to be totally silent in the whole letter to our government; that they eternally introduced Great Britain to our disgust and offence. He lamented that it was in—as he did in the other papers respecting our dispute; but said that as to these expressions they were but a burst of anger against Great Britain, whom they believed to have taken

¹ Adams to Murray, September 22, 25, 1798, in Adams MSS.

pains every where to ruin the character of France, and not as an imputation on us, or meant to assert any influence of Great Britain over us or myself; for that the Minister a little below declares that you are neither "il n'est ni français ni anglais; il est franchement Américain." In fact as every other part of the letter was free from offence and this doubtful, I would not withhold it.

I had stated to P[ichon] from the moment I saw the letter to Gerry in which T[alleyrand] says, "if he brings your qualifications or recommendations"—speaking of the new envoy—that these were offensive expressions and betray'd a perseverance in that spirit which refused to the United States the free choice, and that they would certainly be resented. T[alleyrand] to this (for P[ichon] said that the letter was intended to meet some of the remarks I had made to him at different times) says: "Lorsq'il a fallu rénoncer a traiter avec cet envoyé, que ne mettait d'importance qu'à savoir comment une négociation se reprendrait plus tard, je lui ai donné les assurances les plus solennelles sur l'accueil que recevrait un nouveau plénipotentiaire. Il était loin de ma pensée d'insinuer que le Président du le faire partir des États Unis au lieu d'investir de ses pouvoirs quelqu'un que fut en Europe. Bien moins encore que l'envoyé dut débarquer directement en France au lieu de l'annoncer d'un pays voisin. J'ai voulu dire seulement que le Directoire Exécutif était tellement prononcé pour le réconciliation, que tout tatonnement était superflu, qu'un acte de confiance envers lui provoquerait la sienne. *Je serais bien mal entendre si l'on trouvait dans mes expressions une restriction sur la nature du choix que pourrait faire le Président.*" He gives his reasons for those expressions in continuing: "J'ai voulu encourager M. Gerry par les témoignages d'égards que ses bonnes intentions méritaient quoique je ne puisse me dissimuler qu'il manqua de décision dans un moment ou il pourrait facilement tout ajuster, il n'en suit pas que je le désigne, j'avouerai même que je le crois trop irrésolu pour être propre a hâter la conclusion d'une affaire de ce genre les avantages que j'ai louez en lui sont communs a tous les Américains qui n'ont point montré de prédilection pour l'Angleterre—peut on croire, qu'un homme qui proffesserait haine ou mépris pour la République Française ou se monterait l'avocat de la royauté, puisse inspirer aux Directoires une opinion favorable des dispositions du gouvernement des États Unis? J'aurais déguisé la verité si j'eusse laissé du louche a cet égard. Ce n'est pas blesser l'indépendance de ce gouvernement que de signaler, en amie sincère de la paix les écueils qu'il faut éviter." To this I observe that this also was unfortunate, for this was a string that had been so rudely touched as to offend the United States if it now were merely touched; that as to this friendly solicitude, circumstances had placed the two nations in such an attitude as to make even that a point of much delicacy; that on this choice and all its rocks we must be letf

free, either from controul, advice, or distant hint; that if France believed the government sincere in ever sending a mission, it must also give credit in this respect to the means or organs made use of. You shall have what he says on the mediation of Holland:

“Quant a la médiation de la République Batave et de l’Espagne” (of which I had not heard as to Spain), “Je ne sache pas qu’il en soit sérieusement question, et elle paraît absolument inutile. Les États Unis pourraient hésiter dans l’état actuel des choses a s’en rapporter a leur impartialité, et d’ailleurs je ne vois aucun point qui ne puisse être arrangé directement”!!

At the conclusion: “Un seul mot doit suffire d’ailleurs. Nous ne voulons que justice de la part des États Unis. Nous la demandons: nous l’offrons à leur gouvernement il peut se reposer sur la loyauté du Directoire.

“Vous ne douterez pas, Citoyen, que je n’approuve les communications qui votre zèle vous a fait rechercher avec M. Murray, puisque je mets à même de les reprendre avec les données officielles. signed, etc., etc.”

I find the hour of the post leaves me no time to say more than, dear sir, yours truly.

Anything in this letter is at your service for transmission confidentially to the President or Secretary, if you like.

LXII.

Rec. Oct. 3.

Ans. Oct. 6.

28 SEPTEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The paper, of which I gave you a few extracts in my last, I sent in a private letter to the Secretary, always informing him that I have never written a word on the subject of French affairs to any one in the United States, but him and the President for many months. As I believed that P[ichon] was sent here for such purposes, I thought it best to report confidentially every thing. I thought that what was said and shown to me might help throw light on things said and done elsewhere which reach our government; that it might explain—when compared—might detect perhaps in some cases and confirm in others, in fact, that it added to that store of intelligence, authentic and inauthentic, which the government at this time would wish to increase, and that my aim was to get something for nothing. I have rejoiced that we agree in this idea—that of the policy of leading or forcing them to give the assurances explicitly. I have had much to combat in Mr. P[ichon] (who is considered a man of talents) to convince him that the assurances were not given in the meaning of the President’s message of 21 June last. He considered the letter of the Minister, of which I have given you some extracts, as definitively plain on score, and as to “*the assurances*” I have shown him that if

they had been explicitly made in that, the President would never condescend to act on a paper written to him, Mr. P[ichon], at the Hague; that this was impossible, and that the supposition laid bare an idea that I was sorry to see should still remain after our present career was known, vizt. that it will be a mighty easy matter to induce the government and nation of the United States to catch at little informal symptoms of good will in a French Ministry! That this was an error which would lead to a withholding of those measures of justice and that formal ceremonial of explicit advances on the part of France which was necessary, not only to avert war, but also an inextinguishable hatred against her very name. That as France professed through him a conviction of her errors and of our importance, and of her disposition to have a fair and honorable negotiation, she ought to adapt her conciliatory measures to two points, *justice* and the *manner* of showing her willingness to give it; that she ought not to consider the United States and herself in the ordinary relations, from which always the right to have ambassadors received honourably is *inferred* as of common right, because, having twice explicitly refused to gratify that right, it was necessary for her to give "the assurances," that a right (imply'd), twice refused, ought to be expressly announced; and it was fit in the P[resident] to wait for that before he sent a third trial. That the only ground on which a nation can have an apology for refusing to hear ministers of peace, viz. a suspicion of insincerity, was removed *by the instructions*, and it was now seen that this basis of refusal, if it ever existed, was not sound. In every conversation I assured him that I had no authority to open my lips on the subject. He has been, or appeared, convinced about ten days since that *the assurances ought to be given most explicitly*, and says he has so written, stating my remarks. Pichon has gone day before yesterday. On the 23d instant I threw on paper and gave him a few remarks to show that France ought to give "the assurances," etc., etc., and the President to expect them.¹ This I guarded top and bottom with the solemn declaration that all our conversations had been on my part unauthorized, and as an individual, and that that paper was so unauthorized. I know that he will show it to Talleyrand. Should they attempt to make use of my conversations in a character more important than they merit, my declaration is in writing to contradict it.

In a late *Rédacteur* is a piece of a singular character, insolent and ridiculous: "by dissolving our treaty of 1778 they say we again become *colonies*, and that we must be considered as *English* in the issue of this war," etc., etc.²

¹ A copy is in the Pickering MSS.

² See p. 479, *infra*.

The Ex-hero of Italy, I think, seems in "the house of bondage," and in a worse state than the Israelites who had some right to expect miracles to save them. "The Holy Koran"! that proclamation is a wonderfully wretched pleasantry—much worse than Bourgoyne's! and if the letters published from Constantinople be true, will probably terminate as his did. Except in the fighting and *projet*, I should have liked to have been with the Ex-Hero in that venerable land of pyramids, of catacombs, and labyrinths, and of Nile! Those poor wretches and fiery Beys, confound them, are too well acquainted with the hypocritical whining and the deadly voracity and character of THE CROCODILE to listen with confidence to a proclamation of fraternity and love at first sight! so kind and tender of the interests, and so interested in the happiness of the gipsy nation the first moment they saw them. Nay probably from report of the many endearing qualities which that amiable and oppressed people possessed, quite independently of their wealth, it is quite romantic; nothing in my reading like it, except the consequences that have follow'd this effort of philanthropy, in a case somewhat similar, which I think I once before mentioned to have taken place between Quixote and Ginès de Passamonte (I think was the slave's name)—the rogues knock down their deliverer and take their old practices.

While I write yours of 22d September comes to hand. I hear that a very great sensation has follow'd the total defeat of the French fleet near or at Alexandria, in Paris. The defeat and probable total loss of Buonaparte's army will increase this. I pray that the storm may thicken about them, till with hearts bent down they shall acknowledge a God, by observing a little better his commandments that are written in our nature!

I hear that *Prussia* received the intelligence of the total defeat of B[onaparte]'s army on 22d July near Cairo, and sent the news to the D[uke] of Brunswick, from whence it came here three days since. This must be the Turkish news of 25 August, just published—not half true. *Austria and Prussia* at war would decide the fate of Europe I think. Poor *Holland*, what a wretched state! I again rejoice that my proceedings here in the small way have your opinion with them. In my next I will send you a copy of the paper of the 23d instant which I sent to P[ichon], before he went. Do not be alarmed; I have not embarked in a course that can trouble me, nor involve government. When you see it you will say so. I have made Mr. Mountflorenc¹ my secretary *pro tem*. It was *convenient*, I believe, to him, and he has been very faithful among the faithless at Paris! Dear sir, yours.

¹ James C. Mountflorenc.

My compliments wait on your brother and my wish of the poet to a young lawyer: *Gratia, fama, valetudo—and full pockets*; though that is not classical enough for the occasion I shall write to him.¹

LXIII.

Rec. Oct. 11.

Ans. Oct. 13.

5 OCTOBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: There is no knowing them! *To credit what is profitable to themselves*, is the only rule by which I have yielded in any degree some faith to their *professions*, lately. Then again, we may apply that rule, short of their *WHOLE*, and in particular reference to ourselves relatively to *them*. Whereas I do them the justice to think that their plans are vast, and that we are a part only of that whole, apply'd to which this rule would fall short unless we knew the whole. It has been that idea, that fear of deceit that has frequently embittered my time this summer; yet again to form *rules for deceit itself* in this way I know and feel the weakness of. It is to digest a plan of extrication from the Egyptian labyrinth,

qua signa sequendi

Fallerat indepensus, et irremiabilis error,

where *France* herself would be quite at home, and probably will be among the sacred crocodiles, in a little time; but where I should be lost alive. In fact my hope rests on the sword of the United States. If the certainty that it will strike, unless terms are offered, produce offers, I shall be satisfy'd in my expectations that deceit cannot do much mischief unless the sword be bury'd in the ground.

As I write yours of 29 comes; that [of] 25 September came the 1st inst.

My dear sir, I thought I knew H[ichborn]. I have seen many such demagogues in my time, and think I know the tribe better than I do any other family of our species. Popular cunning, a half slang way of talking to give an open air and candor to their conversation, but always with a lurking design far beyond their tone of voice and expression. I am satisfy'd too on one other point, that he is not a man of talents, and can triumph only among humble and raw men—"a wit among lords." He has not extent of mind enough to be wicked on a great scale. I did fear him a little till I conversed much with him. He assured me he would tell them at Paris, if he was asked, that they must do us justice. I did not care whether he performs his promise. Neither he nor dear Mr. Barlow can do mischief now. It was only when on our knees and in the dust that they could harm their own country. They are the mud on the lion's mane; they can stain, though they can not clog his vigour when he rises in rage. Did I not tell you of a piece in the *Rédacteur* of 21 or 22d September,

¹ Adams to Murray, September 29, 1798, in Adams MSS.; October 2, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 371. Murray to Pickering, September 29, October 2, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

bitterly insolent, and so ignorant? "As we annul the treaty we are again colonies."¹ Good Mr. Pichon had left the Hague, and when I spoke to Mr. Champigny² the other night at a party, he said that "all which appeared in the *Rédacteur* was not *always* from government, and probably this was not," and professed his conviction that his government wished sincerely to make peace with us. There is no knowing them.

Of this great victory³ we had had the same particulars—great certainly for us, great for Europe, if she knows how to work it. Turkey seems though to be in danger. The aid of Russia!! A fleet passing the Dardanelles and gazed at with pleasure.⁴

The Turkish declaration is spoken of in the French papers. I should have been highly gratify'd, but it will go the sooner to government for the delay, and that is the object we both have in view.

The Venetian islands will probably change masters. Indeed the consequences of this great victory of Nelson must be great for Great Britain and for part of Italy, but does not touch the great springs of French power! If France lost every ship and bum-boat, and Malta, and Egypt, Corfu, etc., etc., etc., she can humble and tread on all the continent, unless a better genius rules its force. She has, however, lost her hold on Naples and its dominions, on the ports which she could have kept shut against Great Britain, if she had returned from Malta and kept her fleet in Toulon. Great Britain is bettered, but a naval enemy can not bring France to terms more than a land one can Great Britain. For the United States it is unequivocally and positively a grand blow against France, and for us! The talk at Paris is war against Austria. The late message speaks out, but it may be the gasconade that usually precedes peace—which I wish not to see till peace shall come in the spirit of peace, which can not be yet! Yours truly, my dear sir.

The yellow fever again in Philadelphia; the President at Quincy.

¹ "Les Américains veulent la guerre avec la République Française; ils annulent en conséquence le traité de 1778; ils redeviennent donc envers la France, ce qu'ils étaient avant cette époque, *une colonie Anglaise*. La République française pourrait donc considérer les Américains *comme Anglais*, et comme tels, leur pavillon ne mériterait aucun égard; le droit de *courir sus* doit être accordé à tout armateur français, et leur sort futur doit être lié à celui de la Grande Bretagne, dans l'issue de la guerre actuelle.

"Supposons que l'Angleterre, de puissance du premier ordre, redevienne, ce qu'il doit être, puissance du second rang, la République française en maintenant la liberté des mers, n'aurait-elle pas assez de moyens pour dire aux Américains: 'Vos vaisseaux peuvent cabotage dans vos ports, félicités; mais le pavillon Américain ne doit pas flotter sur les mers de l'Europe; vous recevrez des nations Européennes les échanges dont vous aurez besoin. Quand on pêche par l'ingratitude, on ne mérite aucune considération, et l'on doit d'autant moins compter sur votre repentir, que vous aieuz nos *forbans*, puisqu'ils sont originaires anglais, vous ont transmis toute leur déloyauté.' Je ne sais trop ce que les Américains des États Unis pourraient espérer, son même qu'ils auraient de grands succès; mais ce que l'on ne peut contester, c'est que si les Anglais, leur instigateurs, sont dans l'impuissance de les secourir, la République française peut les priver des droits que sa générosité, son sang et son or, lui *avaient donnés*, et dont ils ne se sont servis, que pour prouver jusqu'où peut aller l'ingratitude." From "*Rédacteur*," No. 1010, Septembre 21, 1798.

² Champigny-Aubin, secretary of the French mission at The Hague.

³ Battle of the Nile, August 1, 2.

⁴ Emperor Paul had entered into a treaty with Turkey, and sent a fleet from Sebastopol into the Mediterranean to act with the Turks against the French at Corfu. The treaty is in "*Annual Register*," 1798, 237.

You will feel the loss of your brother much. He was blessed with a cheerfulness which he had from Mrs. A[dams] that must have been very pleasant in a diplomatic friend. Mr. Welsh¹—I dined en famille with the President a few days before I came off, and his secretary was a Mr. Walsh, I think. If it is he, pray present my compliments to him on his *entrée*.²

LXIV.

Rec. Oct. 15.

Ans. Oct. 20.

9 OCTOBER, '98.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 2d inst. reached me yesterday. I dare say that in some one of my long and tiresome letters I told you, that Mr. P[ichon] said he had stated my remarks on the necessity of their making an explicit declaration officially to the President on "the assurances, etc., etc.," and that he expected an answer from the Minister.

Night before last the military French postmaster came to my house and delivered a letter into my hands. It was from Mr. Pichon dated 13 Vendémiaire, Paris, containing *the answer* of which he had spoken on that subject. It is from the Ministre des Relations Extérieures de la République Française, etc., etc., to him, at the Hague. He says it crossed him on his way, went back to Paris, whence he sends it to me, considering it as "the assurances." I mentioned to you a note which I sent to P[ichon] of the 23d September, the day before he went.

This is not *the declaration* which meets the wrong. It is more an *authorization of Mr. Pichon's several declarations* "that any plenipotentiary whom the President may send shall be received with the respect due to the representative of a free independent and powerful nation," than *that explicit declaration* which I meant. Besides it is addressed to Mr. P[ichon], and he is not ordered to communicate it to me. It certainly breathes a softer tone (unmixed also with *Anglicisms*!) than any thing I have seen *intended* for the eye of our government; for it *was* so intended, there is no doubt, and I believe was written *after* P[ichon] got to Paris. It is perfectly official in all its appearances, but it is from a Minister to his Secretary of Legation.

There is, it is true, some difficulty in the mode of doing this thing, but after much timid reflection I told P[ichon] that if a formal and solemn declaration was sent to me for government, and officially delivered to him to be given to me, I would run the risk of sending it. I think there would be risk, both on party grounds—if it got there too late, and should make a handle for opposition—and also for *myself*.

¹ Thomas Welsh.

² Adams to Murray, October 6, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 373; Murray to John Adams, October 7, in "Works of John Adams," VIII, 688; Murray to Pickering, October 6, in Pickering MSS.

Because I see plainly that my conduct may be mistaken for a moment even by my friends, and construed into a side glance at an *appointment* to execute the business. If you ever believed a diplomat in your life on a point of modesty, believe my declaration, my dear sir, that indeed I had no such thing in view. I have not presumed to mention any such idea to the President—I mean a denial of an unthought of offer! But I have said in my letter night before last, which I had the honor to address privately to him, inclosing *the inclosed* (copy of), that I supposed P[ichon] was sent to me because he spoke English well, “and I French *very badly*; and of course *am unqualify’d* for a long and rapid conversation on important subjects in that language.” *Do not suppose that I think anything which you have been kind enough to write me means, that you think I have aimed at such a thing. I do not.* But Talleyrand’s expressions, of respect, etc., etc., may start this idea. I think I know the use which was intended by such sort of oil. I have seen it recently poured down the head and beard of our late friend at Paris.¹ They poured this into a very good old wheel whose *bias* even was, as thought, right, but after all the wheel spun round and round, but would not go the way they wanted it to go. Whether the next wheel they try’d does better for them, I can not tell, but it try’d to go *right!* and aims at nothing higher than the low and level land of Holland, where there are but few rocks and ruts to jostle it and endanger its absolute ruin!

In mine of the 7th to the President I have told him that I had stated to you the substance of this affair with Mr. P[ichon], and have said, “I enjoy great pleasure in having received from Mr. A[dams] a concurrence of opinions on the point which I have stated to him.”

I have also deemed it to be my duty to send a copy of my note to P[ichon] of 23 September to the President—in my last. These I shall send by this post to Hamburgh inclosed for your brother.

Inclosed you have *the letter*. It was sent by P[ichon] to me, and for *the President only* to know of. This mystery is unaccountable except on the two grounds I mentioned to the President: 1. the origin of this informal business, which locks it up from the *chargé* here even. I said P[ichon] was probably sent because of his understanding our affairs, speaking good English, and having more talents than the *chargé*. 2. To save their pride if nothing came of it. The last I believe prevents them from giving the assurances as I wanted them given, or stated *as those* which alone could meet the occasion in any degree if they mean to give any. For it seems to me so deeply their interest that I am disposed to think they sincerely wish for a new negotiation. Whether we ought to have one without some basis (which I have also stated to Pichon) offered, some pledge of success to

¹ Gerry.

just demands, must depend on the state of the American mind and on an interior, of which I am no judge. All I aimed at was to put something in the [hands] of government, and to give nothing; to obtain evidence of our *strength* under their own hand. Yours, dear sir.

If you think it worth while, the enclosed *copy* can go from you to the President privately; and indeed I send it to you, not merely to gratify your desire to see such a letter, but that your free remarks may go to the President upon it. Our respective views of the same thing, very likely crossing each other on some particulars, may be serviceable.

LXV.

12 OCTOBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The last post I sent you a copy of Mulciber's [Talleyrand] letter. Except the closing sentence of the first paragraph it was neat enough. In truth *France* and her host, I suspect, do begin to doubt of the omnipotence of arms and deception. Their situation, if Europe be not wilfully wanting, is in my eyes excessively critical! Prussia *can* now be *forced* in sound policy.

Here Monsr. Lombard¹ has arrived from Paris, Envoy Extraordinary. On the 9th he was received. His *object* is not known—suspected to be a quick payment of the arrears *due* them by treaty. Schimmelpenninck set off the 7th for Paris. He has pay of an *ambassador*, not the rank, else he would not have gone. Either general peace must take place in a very short time, or a better war against France than has been seen during this eventful epocha. If the first, the Directory must tremble, and I believe they know it. Of course I look for the second. I hear nothing from home. *Reports* over here that Sieyès has left you. I have doubted it. I can believe that he is coldly regarded, as it is said here. Van der Goes is today Minister of Foreign Affairs. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. I have but a moment to thank you for yours of the 6th inst. which comes just as the post goes.

As to suspicions of insincerity being a just ground of refusing ambassadors, I have never accorded to this. On the contrary, one great object with me has been to prove their madness in acting as they did on this point; but that even if they had been sincere in entertaining suspicion, there now could be none, and of course even that excuse had been removed, and of course they ought to give "the assurances." I do not know if I should regret P[ichon]'s departure; for though he knew that I was unauthorized, yet things kept working up into "consistency," and I am afraid of this business. For if the party get hold of it, they may use it as a new ground of *hope*, and weaken the spirit of the nation by *hopes*. And besides, my dear sir, I do not know how far I may have been able to make myself exactly

¹ Vincent Lombard de Langres (1765-1830).

understood by government!! My unlucky *address* to the usurpers shows me that I am not *fortunate*. They take things in a very straight forward, right down and down right way.

I have not another instant but to assure you that I am always, yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

LXVI.

Rec. Oct. 24.

Ans. Oct. 27.

18 OCTOBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: The last which I have had the pleasure of receiving from you is of the [²] of this month. My two last have some communications in them on which I wish your opinion. To my mind the more they are considered, the more empty they appear, when considered in any view except *mere negotiation*. For the hint of renewing ancient "ties," if insisted on, will of itself break up every idea of an amicable ending of a negotiation at least. Having long wished to see that treaty *fairly got rid of*, my own wishes are directly opposed to a renewal of it—if that is the tie of which Mulciber speaks with so much kindness.

There is great pleasure in looking at Nelson's victory, and the train of things which has follow'd that and the invasion of Egypt. My hope is that Russia may get Malta, Corfu, or something better in the Mediterranean. She would thus in time come in perhaps for some West India trade, and grow in maritime strength in the south of Europe, and particularly in those seas. But tell me, what is Russia's *object*? This co-operation, march of troops, and fleet passing the Seraglio, are but machinery, and of real wisdom of plan, foresight of evils in progression towards her own door, of disinterested motives from either a heroism that searches good adventures, or a friendship that strains a point to help the distressed, I am not the man to give her or any nation the credit for any such thing. Her blue eyes have long languished from the north towards a southern point. If she can once bring her long length of force to wind through the Dardanelles, your anticipation may be verif'd even in our times, and the masters of the south may again come from her loins.

The accession of Turkey is an immense thing it seems to me. It is that gate which, if shut, excluded a vast force from convenient action; opened, it may give a prodigious blow.

The French papers state what we are all mighty willing to believe, that the new cits of Malta have revived the Sicilian Vespers against the citizen garrison. Yet, my dear sir, I learn that the fête of 1 Vendémiaire may be considered as having wiped off the score which the news of the destruction of the fleet made on the people of Paris. On the government, however, it is said to work deeply. The personal views and the bodily safety of the Directory can alone withhold

¹ Adams to Murray, October 13, 1798, in Adams MSS. ² A blank; it could be for either 2d or 6th.

a continental peace. A peace would give a ground somewhat firmer to Buonaparte of the 500 and his party, than that on which the *deported* of 18 Fructidor stood in calling to account the Directory for making war without the notice of it even to the councils. Victory and plunder stifled the cries of Venice. Disaster and comparative weakness have follow'd the aggression upon Egypt.

Here—alas! However look at Citizen Lombard's speech to the Directory¹—the imputed toleration of the trade with the English! This—his reserve, his sudden apparition, his being in the hands of an enragé, the unrepelled court of the anarchists, and the rumors from Paris “that everything is in confusion in Holland,”—give great uneasiness to the government. It is understood too that *France* has a rod in pickle that she shakes everywhere when chuff—that is “LOVE of the BRITISH!”—as applicable to this government also. Love, you know, is said to be jealous; but this *before enjoyment*. It was well enough to play off this against America—perhaps Switzerland—but to parrot away the same phrase at her old friend and Vrow is too much. The same sort of trade that keeps the people of Dieppe and Calais from starving, smuggling with England, has existed certainly here. I do not think any other has. This tender complaining is, I think, traceable to the pecuniary interests which men in power, *in and out of France have in the regular dividend of the plunder made by the French privateers in the Maase and Dutch waters*, from Dutch and neutral vessels. These dividends must have been certainly have been diminished since the regulation of 12 August. The privateers of Dunkerque and those in the Maase and at Flushing have been turning heaven and earth to stir up odium at Paris against the late intermediary government and the present. These privateers have very powerful auditors, and the story of “Loving the British” is thought of. I obtained a convoy for an American brig the other day, and it convoy'd her out to sea and left her safe on the 15th. The privateers had openly declared they would take her, if she went to the mouth of the Maase. Is it not natural they should be enraged at such conduct in an ally? Dear sir, I am truly yours always, etc., etc.

P. S. Genl. Championnet² from Mayence has orders to take the command here and Hatry to go. Genl. C. came four days since here, found a *new* minister and orders not to take the command. This *new* minister is said to have asked the other day “What is meant by 22d January and 12 June?” He is without map or compass! except the chargé³ who is again Secretary of Legation, and De Messuriez is also Secretary of Legation.⁴

¹ His despatches are in “Gedenkstukken, 1798-1801.”

² Jean-Étienne Championnet (1762-1800).

³ Champigny-Aubin.

⁴ Adams to Murray, October 20, 1798, in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 374; October 23, in Adams MSS.

LXVII.

Rec. Oct. 31.

Ans. Nov. 3.

26 OCTOBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I this moment receive yours of 20th—the only one since yours of 13 instt.

Since my inclosures to you I have also sent copies to Colonel Pickering *privately*. I have *never* mentioned this in my dispatches.

On Sunday (this is Friday) I received *through this government* a few lines from Pichon, begging to know if his inclosing T[alleyrand]'s were received. He had written to the post master here a week before on it, and I had given a receipt to the post master, but had not written to P[ichon] as I told him I could not. However he seems so solicitous I wrote solely that I had received, etc., etc., and reminded him of my assurance that I should not indulge in the pleasure of writing to him at Paris, though I should be happy to hear from him.

P[ichon]'s letter was, as he says, given to Mr. Schimmelpenninck to send with his dispatches. On Thursday Count Lukener, the Danish minister said in a whisper to me, you have received a letter from Mr. Pichon. So our friends told it.

In truth all the world chuckles believe me at what they believe to be the humiliation of *France* respecting the United States.

I write in unpardonable haste. Affect'ly, dear sir, always yours.¹

LXVIII.

Rec. Nov. 22.

Ans. Nov. 22.

5 NOVEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I wrote a few lines to acknowledge your last of 27th October, but was too late for the post and I had nothing important to give you.

From America I am very impatient to hear. If Gerry did carry out propositions from the French government, we shall hear probably of the reception which the public in the United States attributes to them, even before they may be officially noticed; for if he has them, the party will also have had duplicates sent I dare say, and will make a stir, particularly to influence the elections of this autumn, both state and union. Of General Pinckney, too, and the effect of his arrival, we must soon hear. We will do much in North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee. I hear that in North Carolina the prospect of the canvass promised a great and good change. In Baltimore I see that young Mr. Winchester² offers against General Smith. Winchester is a lawyer of about nine years standing, and a man of very good talents. He is federal. In Virginia I hear there is not much change to be expected; their election, however, is in next March.

¹ Murray to Pickering, October 27, November 3, 1798, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 27, November 3, in Adams MSS.; an extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 378.

² James Winchester.

The House of Representatives has hitherto been the mischievous part of the government. It must be mended, or I fear indeed for the best constitution on earth. The government, however, is undoubtedly stronger and more solid than it was a year since. An honorable accommodation, or a brisk war, will settle it into a tone of proper energy. This half way state is the greatest danger it can run, and ought to be ended immediately. With respect to alliances, these must depend on home politics the center of which is Philadelphia, and to judge one ought to be there. I know nothing of what passes there except from old newspapers; for I have abstained purposely from correspondence since the month of April, nearly on the principle upon which the French Directory have in effect prohibited their foreign agents from writing politics to private persons by a late act. Belgium seems to be subsiding. I hear of no step to sustain that great effort!!

From Mr. Pichon I received the inclosed a day or two since.¹ I suppose he thought it a vindication of himself. What shall I do with my intention of arresting L[ogan], when administration was restrained by a delicacy which doubtless has great moral dignity in it, from opening letters that seemed on their very face to talk TREASON!

Tomorrow morning I go to Amsterdam to receive the discharged bonds and coupons, to give descriptive receipts, etc., etc. It must take me some days I fear. . . .

I hear that Mr. Lombard has demanded an act of oblivion, that it will pass this week, and Van Lange and Fynje will come out with whole skins. Lombard wished it to be done *as of their own motion*, but they would not, and he has written or is to write a note. He is much with the ex's. Most sincerely, dear sir, yours always.²

LXIX.

Rec. Nov. 19.

Ans. Nov. 22.

13 NOVEMBER, '98.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your two last favors which met me on my return from Amsterdam from whence I have just returned.

I thought I had mentioned the letters in the French papers to you. With respect to the insidious policy of *France* and her children, I do not believe that there has been a gap of doubt in my mind for years. Cringe privately, unofficially, and affect a tone as high as they dare in their public appearances, has lately been their practice, and I see no end to it, nor to the poor patience of her continental opponents. If we are to strike, it ought to be quick and with the vigor of passions in their flower. As to ——— and ———,³ I assure you sincerely I

¹ Not with the letter.

² Adams to Murray, November 6, 1798, in Adams MSS.

³ Blanks, probably Prussia and Austria.

feel something like contempt for them, and I wish for a speedy war or a revolution for them. Without one of these *France* will confirm her power. No matter about her government. It may tumble and take as many shapes as a wire dancer; but her power in any shape, if left to season and grow fixed over all her territories, will be tremendous. War I do believe with you would weaken that power down to a social scale, compatible with the independence of others. If that is to be kept off by —— and ——¹ under a ridiculous idea of avoiding the death blow, my next wish (indeed dreadful as I think revolutions are, I almost wish it!) is a speedy revolution among them. *France* can hardly now maintain dominion over the sucking little political brats that the “wrath of her fornication” has begotten, much less could she were —— and ——¹ in a revolutionary state and maintain dominion over them also. They would all turn upon herself. In fact it seems to me that if the war be not renew’d on wise and liberal plans and with honest objects, —— and ——¹ are in the road to revolution; but that in the meantime [France] may do immense mischief and probably confirm her power in the conquered and affiliated countries. Perhaps my illhumor, excited by present appearances of either timidity, indifference, or ignorance of the real question which is at issue between [France] and all civilised society, may have blinded me, and made me forget what is due to misfortune however foolishly produced; but after those golden opportunities which Fortune, as if studiously, had placed and timed for the salvation of the continent are thus suffered to pass by unprofitted of!—Nelson, Turkey, Russia, Egypt, the condition of Malta and the other islands, of Switzerland, following the extinction of the invasion of England project and the attitude of the United States, and now succeeded by the attempt to raise 200,000 men by chains and the bayonet, with the actual state of Belgium!!!—if with all this, just at this moment and during all last month, they are still praying, they must be so, so very poor and weak from the keel to the combings, from stem to stern, that the ship indeed, except for the crew, ought to be condemned and sold and taken to pieces.

We hear daily here from Brabant, etc., etc. Luxembourg, Liège, Maastricht, even Cologne (a little, as much as possible there), and all Brabant and part of Dutch Brabant, are much affected. In Brabant the insurgents rather increase than diminish, and all the arts of *France* can not conceal her alarm at the state of that whole country. But they must be cut up certainly, unless foreign co-operation sustains their spirits. I hear nothing from the United States, not a line since the date of 14th July. Mr. Pitcairn informs me that 1,200,000 dollars are voted by the legislature of New York for the

¹ Blanks, probably Prussia and Austria.

fortification of the harbor. I have got the bonds of the United States that have been paid—the coupons not yet arranged. Dear sir, ever truly yours, etc.¹

LXX.

Rec. Nov. 29.

Ans. Dec. 1.

23 NOVEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: There is a report that the *Constellation* of 36 has taken a French 44, and carry'd her after a severe action into Charleston. I forget if I mentioned this before. If I did it will bear repetition. I do not believe that the captain or crew ever saw action before. It makes a charming impression here as a foretaste of future naval honors. It is Bull's interest to see this, but his smiles will have some reserves on so gallant an achievement by an infant frigate. The French papers still continue to announce a treaty offensive and defensive between the United States and Great Britain. Mr. King cannot have authorized the publication of it I should think, for had it been proper to publish or even to tell it, he would have informed both of us. It produces many questions here. I say I do not know of it, nor do I think it yet done; that if it be done, there ought to be no doubt of its policy, because France has forced us into arms and had missed the moment in which we repeatedly offered her our friendship. If it be done there will be a great naval career. Indeed, *entre nous*, from Sweden I learn that an idea seems to be authorized that Great Britain has offered the United States the island of St. Domingo, if we join. I am a traveller without any knowledge for more than four months of what is doing at home. I now regret that last spring I gave up my correspondents at Philadelphia, because of the extreme delicacy of our affairs.

General Pinckney was met 1 October within three days sail of the coast, bound for Boston. He will thus combat his ex-colleague on his own ground.

Here fears of revolution sour the thin watery blood, as thunder does small beer. On Monday night Daendels (who has merit) seized on six revolutionary gentlemen detected in a plot to make a revolution, as they facetiously call the transition of a Director from a palace to a prison. These were Groenveldt, Bosch, a poet and late president of the *soi disant* councils, Ruysch of Delft, Vandyk and two others less known.² A grand party dinner was to have taken place at the Heeren when the plan was to be arranged for the next day's execution. Jolly fellows! all Anthonies. Mr. Lombard, who by the bye has cultivated these very men (as I told you), had the grace

¹ Adams to Murray, November 22, 1798, in Adams MSS.

² Bosset, who supplied the Prussian government with "newsheets" on Holland reported seven as seized: F. W. M. Ruysch, ex-mayor of Delft, a violent Jacobin, who had taken a large share in forming the National Assembly three years before; Groeneveld, an apothecary; Voogd de Schiedam, ex-member of the Constituent Assembly; Visser, and Kaltener and Romijn of Amsterdam. The seventh was Hoitsma of Amsterdam.

to decline their invitation. He is not suspected, but from his being invited I should suppose he knew what sauce was to give zest to their meat, and knew he ought to decline.

Belgium, towards the Rhine, still goes on. I fear you may think me a little negligent, from the irregularity of my letters lately.

You have a list of Martini's¹ library; the sale begins on Monday and will continue till near the middle of December. Any book you will say is a desideratum I will get for you, if to be had reasonable, and I beg you to tell me. I hear that Fagel's will be sold in the winter. I am always most sincerely yours, my dear sir.²

LXXI.

Rec. Dec. 2.

Ans. Dec. 4.

27 NOVEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I hear nothing further of the treaty offensive and defensive with Great Britain. It is much talked of here. The French papers (of which I take the *Rédacteur* and *Publiciste* agreeably to your hint) say they have it from those of London. The last letter of 9th from Mr. King does not say a word of it. If it be in the London papers, it is no secret. If it be true, and I think it highly probable it is connected in policy with some great scenes in the region near the United States, upon which we have both speculated, and will prove a blow to *France* which she will never recover. The western trident will rule there, and that of the east, in the hand of England. What makes it more probable is the news I have just heard from Hamburgh—that Mr. Swan, just from London, says that St. Domingo has declared for INDEPENDENCE. This very important event (I know not if true!) connects its relations in my mind with this other news of the treaty; and recalls (what past rapidly over my mind) what you said some weeks since in a letter; and I now suspect that a treaty is on the carpet. Never surely was a nation so governed as the French, never were great opportunities so lost. Well, if it be so, I hope we shall strike hard, and work with novelty of object and plan. A great field opens on the western side for us and for Great Britain; for it seems to me that independence must travel south and west, and if it do, our carrying and British merchandise will travel stage and stage. I am extremely anxious for American intelligence, not having heard since 14 July (of that date).

Some time since I sent you Bache's virulent pamphlet.³ Bile is the basis of the yellow fever. Is it surprising that it killed Bache, for he died of it? So it is to have had a philosopher for a grand father; for that idea was the food of much of his extravagance of mind, and placed him in a state of pretence where he was obliged to act a part

¹ Perhaps of Georg Heinrich Martini.

² Adams to Murray, November 27, 1798, in Adams MSS.

³ Truth will out.

for which he had not talents. However, he is gone. That tremendous disorder by my last Hamburg account raged in Philadelphia and New York as late as the 25 September!! I have feared that it would too much sober the public mind, and blunt that gay military spirit which is important in the capital.

Two posts have past without a line from you. I fear, my dear sir, that my irregularity of writing some time since has withdrawn the only claim I had to returns.

Nothing more of the plot here—all is quiet. Nothing from Buona-parte, important—yet near Cairo. When will Turks, Russians and Germans act as quickly as I would have them! With all the phlegm which I hope and believe I have acquired here, they all still appear to me to be lifeless. This whole winter Rastadt will doze away, while the French with inextinguishable ardor will crush Belgium, organize poor Switzerland, and arrange their 200,000 men and the armies. It is true the Austrian armies required eighteen months recruiting, but millions can not recall the spirit that is evaporating in Belgium. I am always, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

LXXII.

30 NOVEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: A Mr. Andrews¹ (son in law to Col. Hichborn) got a passport this morning for Paris. He is just from London. He says he heard nothing of a treaty, offensive and defensive, etc., etc.; that a paragraph he heard was in the papers to that effect, but that he does not believe it, nor did he hear of the St. Domingo independence. I do not know him, but he may not like news of this sort.

He left a London paper with the speech to Parliament in it. It speaks of the energy displayed by the Emperor of Russia and of the Porte; but from its silence respecting the Emperor of Germany I should conclude that nothing certain had been settled with him. Policy indeed might conceal an alliance for a time.

A new ten per cent on income is announced as a tax here, and four per cent on capital for 25 years at 3½ per cent loan, and 3 per cent on capital for that time as a sinking fund. I have not *seen* this, but hear so from those who have more interest than I have in ascertaining it.

By an American paper (of New York) of the 5th which Mr. Andrews gave me, I see they think lightly of the fever there and at Boston.

In this I see General Eustace has commenced his lines of circumvallation round Monroe and his book. Of course he speaks of himself, his three exiles, and lastly of myself, whom he does more than justice to. The attack on M[onroe] will be interesting. Eustace

¹ Samuel Andrews.

has a bitterly tenacious memory, aided by a journal of circumstances and conversations, dates, etc., etc., that will give Mun. some trouble.

But, my dear sir, I fear you may be unwell, for I do not receive a line, and if but half a page I estimate it as I ought always. I have been sick a bed, but am up again. I am always most faithfully yours.

Genl. Washington has been ill, but is better.¹

LXXIII.

Rec. Dec. 12.

Ans. Dec. 14.

7 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Last post passed me because I was obliged to see Mr. V[an] G[oes] on the old subject of the *Wilmington Packet*. The present attitude of the United States may perhaps do more than your sound reasoning upon that subject, and I am preparing a memorial for the government. So many changes have taken place that I believe there is not a man in administration who knows anything of this case.

Your favors Nos. 1 and 2 [November 22, 27]² came safely—I adopt the numbering with pleasure.

Chevalier D'Anduaga is not well pleased to depart I believe.³ His intended successor was lately a secretary of legation in England; when he returned he stood No. 9, in the Bureau of Foreign Affairs. Deaths and promotions put him No. 1—Savaadra⁴ was taken ill and the papers came to his hands. Thus near the king, a handsome young man (women also probably near him), known as the translator of a French tragedy also, and I hear with good natural parts, he is made ambassador here with 60,000 florins per annum. So go the family mines of the last of the Bourbons! Lately the Chevalier (I hear) is not so certain of going. This government will miss him, for his moderation and goodness of heart, I believe, have several times stood between parties here, and the government and its great ally.

The paper published by the ROMAN consuls is a precious piece of burlesque. The President consul (anti-climax) is quite Quiz Hercules (Mrs. Adams perhaps has laughed at this hero in "Patrick in Prussia"), born a soldier, child of the WORLD'S MISTRESS, forgetting the end to which his mother came at last.

If France do not exert herself to defend this sucking republican child, I shall suppose she means to sell it to Tuscany and Naples.

By the bye the secretary of the *Consuls* Bassal,⁵ is a Frenchman, once a curate, then a spy on poor Barthèlemi in Switzerland, a very

¹ Adams to Murray, December 1, 4, 1798, Adams MSS.

² The two correspondents now began to number their letters, with a view to tracing detention or loss. The dates will be added in brackets.

³ He was still minister in September, 1799.

⁴ Probably the father of Angel de Saavedra, duke de Rivas. He died in 1802.

⁵ Jean Bassal (1752-1802).

violent and cunning fellow. In the *Publiciste* of the 1 December inst. the proclamation is called *imprudent*, and it is said the secretary is removed. This helps to lead me into a suspicion that France knows much of the quarrel between Rome and Naples, and that it would not be wonderful, *provided* a continental peace is determined on by France, to see Rome made a make weight as Venice was. Of Buonaparte we hear nothing new; of Belgium we hear indistinctly, but enough to know that the insurrection is very serious indeed. Vander Noot¹ you see has gone the way of all European *Patriots*. He has been transported to Paris, his repentance and better knowledge came too late.

We are quiet here.

Old Martini's books sell like relics, very high. They are well bound, and many good, too high for me. So many of them are embellished with plates that there is no getting at them. The seller cries out *moijez plaats*, and they sell immediately. A Horace, Pine's, with cuts, sold at thirty-five florins when two, a minute before with learned notes but in a common garb, sold for 10 stivers; one would not sell for six. They love the beautiful in art. Edward's and Catesby's Natural history of Carolina²—certainly a rich work—sold for 650 odd florins, without supplement. I am not a naturalist and can not judge how much the buyer gave for the plates and how much for the learning. I only know that there is a gentleman here whose taste is old and rare china, and also CHINESE BOOKS in the original language, and that he does not know one letter of the language. I too am ignorant of Cardinal D'Ossat³ and the President Jeannin,⁴ but I shall get them because your father recommended them to me the last evening that I had the honor to see him. I have not met with them before. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.⁵

LXXIV.

Rec. Dec. 16.

Ans. Dec. 18.

11 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Last night I had the pleasure of your No. 4 [December 4], and wish that I could merit its good opinions. May I assure you that for some time I have felt almost stunned in my powers of research (just so small as I know they are), by the conduct of the great powers on the continent after Nelson's victory! and that my inclination after conjectures and search after probable things have diminished in proportion as I saw that these powers appeared too

¹ Hendrik van der Noot.

² Published between 1731 and 1748.

³ Arnaud d'Ossat (1536-1604). The "*Lettres*" first appeared in 1624.

⁴ Pierre Jeannin (1540-1622), president of the Parliament of Paris. His "*Négociations*" first appeared in 1656.

⁵ Adams to Murray, December 8, 1798, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 378; December 11, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, December 11, in Pickering MSS.

paralytic to use any means, however tempting and right and promising of success. On the contrary, also, of course I doubt whether I, or any man out of their cabinets, can be a judge of their actual efficient force. Yet all the world has seen the weakness of their opponent, as a rational inference from the violent attempt to raise so great a deficit of strength as 200,000 men. The insurrection in Belgium, the successful opposition of the Grisons—indeed, that when opposed with decision they know when to temporize—these things have produced such a stagnation in my mind that I have not written to the Secretary of State for more than a month! as it seemed nonsense in me to hazard opinions upon a state of things that appeared regulated by no natural mode of proceeding, and where probabilities were eternally overcome by the greatest improbabilities. I receive letters also from King of 25 ulto., and one from Mr. McHenry of 25. October, and one from Mr. Bingham¹ of 27 September. The fever was dreadful! I do indeed sorrow over it. Sixteen physicians died in New York, but it exists in but one part of the town. Hamilton and Church² brave it, and remain in the city. Hamilton had it in '93. Poor Fenno³ and his amiable wife perished by it in Philadelphia! We lose a good man and a most steady and respectable friend of the cause of liberty and country in him!

Talleyrand's letters to Gerry and his defence about X Y Z, have all had their course before the public. The sentiment which we both anticipated rules—contemptuous indignation at the last, and absolute ridicule at the first. As every part of the cobweb is seen through, it is possible that the knowledge that it was the work of a spider may have assisted the penetration of some; but it is excellent to see the progress of those habits which lead to DOUBT. That seems to me to be the national characteristic which must be engendered and worked into prejudice (for it's bottom is reason), before we shall be safe from the foul fiend—to doubt always about her. I should judge from the letters from America (Trenton and Jersey) that if she came forward with plain and unequivocal offers suitable to us, she would be listened to. This she will not do, though my Secretary says that he received a letter before Mr. Morris went from him, in which he tells him, that France has made such offers that he, Mr. M[cHenry] believed that the United States would accept them. These it would seem were after G[erry]'s departure, as well as those which he carry'd. From Mr. McH[enry], I received the inclosed return of new elected members as far as then known. An excellent man, indeed two, Hindman⁴ and Matthews,⁵ appear to have been

¹ William Bingham (1751-1804).

² Philip Church.

³ John Fenno, editor of the United States Gazette.

⁴ William Hindman (1743-1822),

⁵ William Matthews,

turned out of the Eastern Shore of Maryland by Seney¹ and Christie²—men with Mr. Jefferson, and true blue in that cause. Now, sir, I know those two districts. Perhaps in the world, for their numbers there are not two country neighbourhoods more polished and enlightened, and the enlightened men nine-tenths with government, and the mass of the people much attached to the gentry. Yet so it is! I assure you, my dear sir, that gentlemen are not worth their salt in a political struggle, they are not indeed. I have been a slave in this sort of battling three elections, and know the hardships to which a *candidate*—for God bless us *we are candidates!*—has to work through during the contest which is from one to three months before an election. During this last I doubt not but the great body of the men of property were with the turned out members, but they will not work. They are in kid gloves, and can not shake hands with an honest man who is poor, and must be conducted by the hand. Besides *for whom* are they *to work?* for a neighbour, and a sort of rival! The others work hard, get numbers, brave it out, and triumph! But at Philadelphia Walne³ is excellent, Thomas⁴ better—an active intelligent lawyer—a quaker, forsooth, but a very bold faced one, about thirty, bustling, town-talking, town-meeting speaker, and with a sound character and sound understanding. Judge Stone,⁵ North Carolina, is an old officer with one hand shot off, a good speaker I have heard, and a sound man. His one hand makes him a Briareus on our side. R. D. Spaight⁶ is an old member, I mean of the former constitution of Congress. But the post hour is near at hand and I have to copy their names and give them their party place. I am, dear sir, truly yours always.

| | <i>Federalists</i> | <i>Democrats</i> |
|---------------|--|---|
| Pennsylvania: | Robert Walne Richard Thomas J[ohn] W[ilkes] Kittera Thomas Hartley Armstrong ⁷ [Henry Woods] ⁷ | Michael Leib (the Dr.) Peter Muhlenberg William [Robert] Brown Albert Gallatin Joseph Heister |
| New Jersey: | James M[H]. Imlay Franklin Davenport | James Lynn John Condit Aaron Kitchell |
| Maryland: | J[ohn] Chew Thomas George Baer George Dent William Craik John Dennis (my successor). | Samuel Smith Joshua Seney Gabriel Christie but Smith will go right! ⁸ |

¹ Joshua Seney (1750-1799). He died before taking his seat, and Joseph H. Nicholson took his place.

² Gabriel Christie.

³ Robert Walne (1765-1836).

⁴ Richard Thomas.

⁵ David Stone (1770-1818).

⁶ Richard Dobbs Spaight (1758-1802).

⁷ The two last uncertain, if elected: said to be so. Note by Murray.

⁸ Pickering to Murray, December 12, 1798, in Pickering MSS.

LXXV.

Rec. Dec. 20.

Ans. Dec. 22.

14 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Before this you will know that France has declared war against the kings of Sardinia¹ and of Naples²—Mack,³ who seems no slouch, having entered the Roman territory, and demanded of Championnet that his French army should evacuate the territory instantly; declaring also, a leading idea, that the French had usurped and revolutionized that country since the peace of Campo Formio, which had not been acceded to by either his Sicilian Majesty nor the Emperor.

The first impression is in the fate that seems to await the Sardinian government. I have it in my power to assure you that twenty-five days since the king of Sardinia was lulled into a perfect confidence in the amicable intentions of his ally, that he was restless after the masquerade affair; but that on the recall of Brune and Ginguenet,⁴ a calm succeeded and confidence absolutely. This being the state of security, and the Piedmontese army (30,000 good troops and well attached to their government) being much dispersed, and the citadel being in the hands of the French, about 1,000 men. I expect to hear that, as the declaration of war was on the 6th instant, so the first *coup de main* at Turin will be by the 7th or 8th. I learn that if the whole operation do not succeed by *coup de main*, it is probable that the struggle will be long and hardy; that an insurrection of the people throughout Piedmont may be expected against the French; that, however, there can be 10,000 French troops in Turin in twenty-four hours. We know that the principal fortresses are theirs, and the addition to Joubert's⁵ army, which is 40,000 men, were daily passing towards Cisalpine in detachments. If the first blow succeed, a revolution will probably consummate the measures of *France!* There are in Turin alone at least 5000 men who think themselves philosophers and qualify'd to be first ministers. I know this. Many are men of letters, many doubtless men "*Trium Litterarum*," but all in love with sweet humanity and thirsting for confusion.

I will tell you what I learn also from a dispatch to a foreign minister here from his *court*, that contributes among the obvious causes for war with the Emperor also, to make me think that the general war but commences with these more partial hostilities. About a month since a select council was holden by the king of Naples—the British minister,⁶ and Nelson, and General Mack present. The question was should the Neapolitan army under Mack immediately march into the Roman state? All urged it except Mack, who definitively declared that he could not do it until (or without) he received

¹ Charles Emmanuel IV.² Ferdinand IV (1751–1825).³ Karl Mack von Leiberich (1752–1828).⁴ Pierre-Louis Ginguenet (1748–1815).⁵ Barthélemy-Catherine Joubert (1769–1799).⁶ Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803).

orders from the Emperor to do so. The object of this fact was (in the dispatch) to prove the probability of peace at Rastadt. We see General Mack in the Roman state, using also among his causes of entrance the name of the Emperor on account of French usurpations. I expect that we shall now see the immense question try'd!! The French are in a worse state I think than a year since, the spirit of opposition more mature and more general.

I will tell you that by the *same way* I learned that France rely'd much on the good offices of the Prussian minister at Constantinople, and that she had apply'd for these to the king of Prussia, who had answered graciously, and also added, to the P[ussian] minister at the Porte, as an inducement to Turkey to listen, that he was resolved on neutrality between France and Turkey, if war did come on. Yet I cannot, cannot believe it. A military power thus to turn political quaker—Othello turned mufti—it is not natural. Belgium be assured is a grand nest egg. If war come in upon the Rhine and the French get one check, we shall see the boors of Belgium doing wonders; and if they do I think it possible that the good for nothing things called gentlemen may insinuate at least opposition. I hope I shall not die soon, for it will take some time for me to subdue a great deal of uncharitableness which I have certainly got in Europe.

These events and their probable issues seem to have roused me from a stupor that else must have ended in paralysis or gout!

Entre nous Talleyrand wrote a short note to the Batavian minister at Paris announcing the declaration of war, advising him to dispatch a courier to the Hague, and saying he would soon talk to him about the subject. Our friends are not certain whether they are to be parties (for ceremony!) to the war or not. My own foreboding is that an active maritime cooperation will be demanded, that they will prove that it is impossible, and that they can do nothing; and then—why that *France* will wittily say, we are willing to accommodate you, we will commute SERVICE into MONEY. Feudal times are gone—services even—knight services are commuted. This is my fear.

I wrote on Tuesday. Dear sir, I am truly yours always.

P. S. Martini's sale of books ended yesterday. I wish you had sent your wants to me, for I have attended pretty constantly. Then I would have gone a little over, occasionally, if I had got under in other cases. In general the books sold high—many good ones not for their binding. I picked up Dodsley's *Annual Register*, from the beginning up to '89—21 volumes, and the New *Annual Registers* to '92 (I was obliged to buy both or neither), in all 34 volumes in fine condition and well bound, for 40 florins. I have got some Latin classics and some good French pretty cheap, and an English Büsching Geography,¹ six large quartos for eighteen florins. Yesterday I

¹ Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724-1793), "New System of Geography," 1762.

bought, among other things whose characters I did not know, a work in which there must be some useful hints and indications to one who never saw a *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, viz. No. 5997. Octavo—*Bib. Raisonnée*,¹ etc., etc., 51 volumes, for f 410. I try'd hard to get de Baer, ten volumes, same sort of work and of good repute, but a gentleman, whose extravagant taste for books I had not seen defeated once, took the course against me and at thirty-three florins I ceased to bid. Tell me—you once did—on what *Bib. Raisonnée* do you most rely? I bought a *Menagiana*² (which I had not had time to look into), because I knew that he had preserved and translated into Latin the PURGED passages of Procopius, and I found but three pages, and those abominable. Some passages of Gibbon (whose *Étude de la Littérature*³ by the bye I bought) had excited a relish for these prohibited libels. You see I am deep in book hunting, but I assure you that I bought *but* two manuscripts!! a *clavicale magique* in manuscript, sold for seven florins, and the purchaser declared his orders were to go to thirty guilders rather than miss it. Ochs⁴ the Director ought to have had it.

The story of St. Domingo's independence seems to me to gain in credibility, and they seem willing to prepare the public mind at Paris for the event, as they publish extracts from Volney's *Travels in Egypt and Syria*, to prove that with Egypt, which produces all things indeed, they can do without colonies!

But Mr. McHenry's letter of 25 October says nothing of St. Domingo. The peaceable evacuation by the British, and Toussaint's proclamation in opposition to that of Hédouville, seem to authorize the report.⁵

LXXVI.

18 DECEMBER, '98.

DEAR SIR: No. 5 [December 8] came safely. I am ashamed when you talk of excuses. I know how irregular I myself am, and it is rather a consolation to find you a little so, also.

At Paris they say that after Mr. Gerry's arrival, there was a great change in government and people, and that a new minister is talked of to be sent out, so very satisfactory was the proposal which Mr. G[erry] carry'd. I do not believe this. It is possible, and that is all.

Here is a rumor that peace with the Empire is at hand. I do not believe it. It is France's interest that the Empire should be her theatre, if war break out with the Emperor. I neither believe their accounts of the victory over the troops of Naples. Wretched though

¹ "Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe."

² A collection of remarks of Gilles Ménage, probably in the edition of B. de la Monnoye (1715).

³ "Essai sur l'étude de la Littérature," London, 1861.

⁴ Peter Ochs (1749-1821), director of the Swiss republic.

⁵ Adams to Murray, December 15, 18, 1798, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, December 15, in Pickering MSS.

I suppose those, the story is improbable. In my last I inclosed a copy of returns to Congress, but find you had heard. I hear nothing of my young secretary, Mr. McHenry, and Mountflorencé's three months expire the 20th inst. I hear not of Logan. If all is known, I shall travel with opposition ink from North to South, but I counted on it. We have nothing new. Brabant still going on. I am, dear sir, always, etc.

LXXVII.

Rec. Dec. 27.

Ans. Jan. 1.

21 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: We are overpowered with shreds of news here—which avail little in satisfying curiosity, because nothing uniform can be made of them to suit their subjects. For instance, that Bonaparte has been killed, nay, three times killed; that his army has mutiny'd; that the same army has been routed; that a peace with the Empire without the Emperor, Thuringia (?), and Saxony is ready, if not signed with France. The first seems improbable, the last seems more improbable. I know too little of the Germanic body to have accurate ideas on all subjects which are presupposed in such an arrangement, but I can not see how France would accept a treaty of peace with those smaller powers (Prussia accepted small) who have not the ability either as to force or constitutional right to make good the obligations on many points which seem to belong to the projected basis of the treaty,—for instance, the Rhine, the tolls, the islands, secularizations, debts. I can suppose that to secure a poor and precarious neutrality *they* could be mighty willing to sign the treaty, but that if war is with the Emperor, that France would not like to take them all at their word. Even yet I can not believe in this news which is almost official. It would be bad for France to have to fight the Emperor in Italy only, shut out by peace on the Rhine from her power of living a campaign at free cost among weak enemies. On one only ground can I see probability in this talked of partial peace, as a political manœuvre to place parts of the Empire in such a state of things as will render its dismemberment more easy; and another, that having got what they demand from seven out of ten, they will make peace with the Emperor by giving up the Roman territory to partition, on condition of their having that part of Piedmont which is convenient to them. If the Emperor's army on the borders, and the Venetian borders and Joubert's armies, do not interfere in any way in support of Championnet and Naples, this whole march of Naples and the declaration of war against her will seem to me but a bloody farce, to save appearances under an understanding between the Emperor and France. And yet I can not believe that the French Directory wish for peace. The personal interests and safety of the five are against it.

A Mr. Boland from Philadelphia called yesterday on his way to Bourdeaux where his wife is, and tells me that the fever has been shocking at Philadelphia and New York and New London! Among others we lament the death of two of the most lovely and amiable young women in Philadelphia, Miss Breck and Miss Westcott!! Your fair and virtuous and accomplished countrywomen! Trade, down. Twenty frigates he says at least would have been afloat but for this terrible visitation. He brought to Mr. King all Eustace's numbers against Mun[roe] (a strange obligingness, to give them to K!) He says that all are disappointed, that E[ustace] has not proved anything of consequence. By the bye I take Mr. B[oland] to be an Irish gentleman, though a citizen of the United States. I have but one of E[ustace]'s numbers, the first. It is entirely exordium, and reminded me of my first speech to a good natured jury. I fear the rest will still have the resemblance, and be principally exordium. He, Mr. B[oland], says that Harper depended for the proof of the conspiracy upon E[ustace]'s stock of facts. I do not believe this. I know Harper too well to think so. He is a man of fire, but quite cool in his judgment, not passionate nor precipitate, nor flighty, and has a sagacity exceedingly cautious and weighing in the use of argument. He may, perhaps, delight a little too much in his own powers of illustrating what is sound and pretty clear, and therefore speak too often; but I have generally seen him well bottomed in his conclusions. Nor do I believe that he who is a man of the world, and a pleasant man, would be dazzled by E[ustace]'s foreign gait and sparkling address.

Your No. 5 [December 8] I had the pleasure to receive safely. We are quiet here. Have you Hamilton's report on the first institution of the bank? If you have and could inclose it to me, I should be much obliged and would return it safely. I am, dear sir, always yours, etc., etc.¹

LXXVIII.

Rec. Dec. 30.

Ans. Jan. 1.

XMAS DAY, 1798.

DEAR SIR: I am not a Belgic insurgent, but on this day of persecution against the cross, I may be allowed without a suspicion of rebellion against philosophy to make the above mark. This mark is undoubtedly fading away, and will soon be nowhere recognized but among the class of people from whom it's author spring—the poor, and I hope they will keep it, and at some other time once more spread it. It is impossible for us churchmen who have received childhood impressions of stated days, whatever ravages time and fashion may make upon the opinions once connected with them, not to feel a pause of greater reflection on those days than on others; and it is

¹ Adams to Murray, December 22, 25, 1798, in Adams MSS.

natural for me merely to exclaim, What a difference of respect does this very day now meet with, from that it received even ten years since! It's great caterer and purveyor even removed from his holy Rome since this day twelve months! and philosophy in time flying before the wickedest votaries of St. Januarius, whom the silky Neapolitans consider as to the Diety what was said of a political favorite to a king, a power behind it greater than the throne itself. What a wretched picture of dregs and filth does the present time present. When I closed my last we had not received the account of the King of Sardinia's fate.¹ You see how cleanly, where a point is determined on, they carry and cooperate things. Observe. You have known already Joubert's, dat'd the 5, the war at Paris the 6, the ultimatum the 6th, the movement of the Rhine army the 10th (to produce unanimity at Rastadt), the capitulation of the King, poor creature, the 9th, Piedmont in all its ports and its strength; for the army joined Joubert's (*they say*) in their power, they could wait the issue of the ultimatum which was fixed for the 12th, with confidence.

I have I think often told you what would be the fate of this kingdom. I had besides public appearances a singular and very certain source, I now find him, of accurate intelligence of what the French would do in Piedmont! I can *entre nous* only now tell you that Mr. Bossi,² the Sardinian chargé here, is in the new provisional government of Piedmont—you find his name in the fifteen named by Joubert (who knew him here). He goes in a few days. Piedmont will be certainly united to France!!! in some few months.

How does this blow, this thunder, seem to affect some people with you? Were I a king, I would immediately buy a piece of ground in Sardinia, where the king of that *title* has gone into exile, and build a pretty house, and let it wait for me. For indeed that island will have more royal refugees. This blow must appal these gentlemen. The army of Piedmont was good, it did not like the French. But a few officers may be gained, and when the army sees its chief timid, uncertain or fool, when he fears to exert his means, and depends upon adroitness and policy, the army will go where enterprize and valor give them employment. This was a desertion because the man who ought to, would not, lead them, or point out their career and something to be done was *essential* to them. 150,000 stand of firearms were found in the arsenal of the King—doubtless for the study and admiration of those contemptible dillettanti whose paradise is a carpet, wax lights, and cards, and pictures! Not even a sly stiletto used on this occasion, no struggle, though their estates, their precious *EASE*, and their bread depended on the support of the government—wretched as was that miserable government. And here in Belgium, poor peas-

¹ His act of renunciation is in "Annual Register," 1798, 275.

² Joseph-Charles-Aurèle Bossi (1758-1823).

ants fighting the cause of wealth, order and regular government, the gentry playing the safe politicians, and "recommending themselves"!! There seems to me to be no nature, no feelings, no liver nor heart on the continent except in Switzerland, and among the poor, and the very peasants. If I were to see the castle change masters with the cottage, I do not know that I should repine, for the peasant is the real gentleman, and the nobleman the real peasant of former days. But there is no end to the materials for railing, and the day reminds me that it ought to teach a little more charity. The Roman republic, perhaps that of Cisalpine, seems intended to follow Venice and be portioned among land jobbers. So that the peace with the E. and F. seems to me probable, nay certain, if we do not see the King of Naples violently attacked by the French army under Joubert. Wish Mrs. Adams a merry and happy xmas for us, and believe me, etc., etc.

Your 6. and 7 [December 11, 15] came safe after the post hour, and together. I rejoice that I thought with you.

LXXIX.

Rec. Jan. 3.

Ans. Jan. 5.

28 DECEMBER, 1798.

DEAR SIR: All your numbers are regularly received, that of the 18th inst. inclusively. Since Tuesday my eyes have been a good deal affected either by cold or candle light. I am older than you and can tell you what evils you will meet as you approach 37. Your eyes will alarm you unless you husband them now, and to one who loves literary idleness as I do there is scarcely anything so terrifying as the fear of blindness. It is the spectre to the mind's old age that poverty is to the body, and includes immense deprivation. The eyes are the workmen whose faculties should be economised to the end. You may see that I have been in pain and in fright too, but am better. The cold is the only news here. For two nights the mercury has stood in my little garden on a western exposure at two below 0 in Fahrenheit—which is that of the year 1740. I do not think we ever have it colder in the United States, though I never owned a thermometer in my life, and never attended beyond my sensations to the history of the weather. Yet I see by this small taste of philosophical fiddling that it becomes agreeable, and it is so easy, so specious and so distant from those vulgar avocations that belong to the business of life, that I do not wonder that this sort of thing has supply'd the place of chivalry among the nobility of this continent. Nor is it surprising that in a country like this where almost every house has a thermometer, those of some servants even, that the French should enter upon the ice, and that the gentlemen should ascertain the degree of cold necessary to bear a French soldier with exact precision

and that in their gilded halls too, without exposure to the frost! and that too within the splendid mansion whose marble portico is defended from the rude shock of cart wheels BY THE HALF BURIED CANNON of their bold ancestors. But when the mercury is at 18 above 0 in the room where I write, there would be no end to splenetic railing if I did not recollect that it can not be as pleasant to you to hear as for me to indulge, and that in these times to rail against the radical imbecility of continental society in its upper ranks is little more than idling about the weather glass, and worse, as we *can* raise the mercury of the last.

Every one has been housed and I have not seen a creature but Mrs. M. since Xmas night. The French papers have arrived as I write, but the post hour of 12 is close at hand and I know not of any news. On the 18 September I see Buonaparte was safe in Egypt.

I hear nothing from Philadelphia. My last is of 14 July last—yes, from Paris yesterday that *Logan* had arrived, and that by letters to Paris from the United States Mr. G[erry's] arrival had produced no change.

That at Paris a general stagnation of business has follow'd the banking embarrassments. . . . Dear sir, always most truly yours.¹

LXXX.

1 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Pray accept my happy wishes for a happy new year for you and Mrs. Adams, and my thanks for your new year's gift, the C, which I got safely last night, but can not for my life make it out. I have turned the affair² upside down and downside down, this side and the other, placed the slip in all possible bearings, and "have worked all night but caught no fish"—for I was at it till late. The first 21 I saw into (very profoundly), and it excited me much. *Davus sum, non Oedipus*: Your No. 9 arrived in the evening on Saturday, your 10 last night. My eyes are bad, and I dare not indulge in scribbling nor reading till they get better. My *Wilmington Packet* memoir, on which I worked much in the night during Martini's sale, helped to make them worse. That affair appears to me so plain, that I even have hopes, particularly since I spoke to the minister on it. It was perfectly unnecessary for me to write to the committee about it. Their note and Hahn's conversation with me several times convinced me that it was throwing away what light shot I had. So I reserved my note till things got settled, which was in September, and then I received a letter from Mr. Rubod,³ agent of *Andrews*, informing me that he would soon be at The Hague upon this business. Hoping he might have something in opposition to some hard assertions of the committee, I waited till his arrival which was some time the beginning of last month.

¹ Adams to Murray, January 1, 1799, in Adams MSS. ² A cypher designed by Adams. ³ J. F. Rubod.

I find that the Emperor has *not*, as Emperor, agreed to the French ultimatum, though it was roundly asserted here [as] true twelve days since.

Something serious I believe has happened in Egypt. There is seldom scandal without some truth Mrs. Candour says; it is so of news. I must have misnumbered my letter which is missing. I hear not from America. The fleet at the Texel *will try* to join that at Brest!! Dear sir, always most truly yours.

LXXXI.

Rec. Jan. 10.

Ans. Jan. 12.

4 JANUARY, '99.

DEAR SIR: I still cannot get further than the figure 21, and this opens a point of curious inquiry at present.

It is singular that we see nothing of the Emperor in Italy. If once a tide of French victory awaken the revolutionary spirit of Naples, the painted bubble of Italian royalty is shivered into thin air, and armies cannot cure the moral and political consequences. And as to national character, I have no conception of such a thing south of Switzerland, so that I think could not oppose a barrier. It seems to me that these gentry act on the idea of suffering a thing which is probable to happen, relying on a power of curing it afterwards; and the French on a conviction that *events* decide everything; these once felt, that nothing human can restore the thing affected to a sameness of being. The last are right. Power cannot again knit up an old rotten stocking, which full of ten thousand darns and renovations has been once unraveled rudely. If the Emperor do not step in, the rapidity with which part even of Joubert's army will pour down into the south of Italy will dispatch the Neapolitan monarchy, will make after assistance, not nothing—but ineffectual to its end.

It is still supposed by hundreds, however, that the same day that the King of Sardinia was *dismissed* by Joubert, an express carry'd offers to Vienna on the basis of partition making Rome and part of Cisalpine parts of the terms. For myself I can not believe that the Emperor can now, especially since this event at Turin, be at peace. A perfectly new position is now assumed by his enemy by the absolute dominion of those countries which are to command all Italy, if possessed by France. I cannot bring myself to think that he can make peace.

Nor can I think that P[russia] seriously intends to leave her frontier exposed to such a neighbor as the French Republic, which by possessing the Batavian territory borders on much of her territory. So I yet cannot see a continental peace this year.

The Directory you see are very kind in sending General Brune to the Hague after his revolution at Milan in October, and after dis-

avowing it and attributing that affair to military violence—and he was the agent—people begin to look about for things here not *strange* but unhappy; but as long as Belgium keeps in hot water, nothing harsh I think will be done here. Dear sir, always truly and sincerely yours.¹

LXXXII.

Rec. Jan. 14.

Ans. Jan. 15.

7TH JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your No. 1 reached me safely last night. I do not wonder that you have been indisposed. The excessive cold will account I hope for your illness, for as the weather is softer you will I hope have felt restored. Here have been several ill, and among some I find diseases attributed to the long drought, as I hear that they consider much moisture in the air even as necessary to the health of the people. This cause if applicable to a Dutch constitution will not apply to yours. Flannel I once more use as essential to a sedentary man.

Last night's *Rédacteur* gave me the very laconic message of the Directory of France certifying the retreat of the Neapolitan army from the Roman republic, I think about the 14 or 15 December. Thus the French have fulfilled their promise "in twenty days we will return." They did so in seventeen! Lord have mercy on order and law, if 50,000 of the friends of order and law are to run away from a country where the will of the people cherished them, from 15,000!! a mournful foretaste of future revolutions. For I take it for granted that Naples is a revolutionized kingdom before you get this, if the imperial army is not very quick in using the check-string on the Adige, and along the line that faces the left and centre of the French army in the north of Italy. For I am sure that they must have prepared much co-operative matter at Naples, ready for such a crisis as will be produced in that corrupt and silky city as soon as it is positively known that their sovereign and the great Mack are flying before the French army! Tuscany too by this time must have experienced the effects of the Leghorn affair, and a new source of strength, equal to all the disposable property of these two states, with the addition of all that confiscation I found last spring at Rome, will be placed at the command of the terrible republic, before the dear 150 has decided on some petty question about the tollage of a town. More territory, more wealth, and more important positions have been mastered during the armistice of Campo Formio than were taken in any one of the most brilliant campaigns! While the Germans were dozing over plans of secularization, new sources of contest, if made! at Rastadt!! Roman Territory and wealth and its flanking posi-

¹ Adams to Murray, January 5, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, January 7, in Pickering MSS.

tion, Switzerland and its military tactic, Malta, Egypt, Piedmont, now probably Naples and all Italy, out of the imperial line! Thus the ball grows in rolling. I have not a doubt but that there was not one gentleman in all Rome who exerted a little finger, though loaded with diamonds to help out the citizens and the people of Rome and the only spirited prince in Europe, though there were abundant means to be used and successfully. If the Emperor do not move, if he have not moved with rapidity before this, Naples and Sicily must go to Sardinia and then the fear of the French affairs may justly make the Danube tremble.

Your alluding even to Cato made me laugh, and brought to mind old Sheridan's way of acting him.

"Full bottom'd wig, flower'd gown, and lacquered chair," and put me in the *relenting* mood, so that I accepted your mediation and gave my pity. Perhaps, too, I might act in the same way were I so placed—so unhappily placed! There are two men born here who seem to me to have *energy*—Daendels and de Winter, and I think also the present Minister of the Marine, Spoons. One other, on the opposite side, is among the few of the natives who have it—Prince Frederick of Orange.¹ I know dozens of others who seem to be void of it, who all the same are worthy men, of respectable talents, some even of good ones, with a taste for books, for arts and science, and for that last taste that seems at all times to be the warning of departed energy—I mean *gardening*; with private virtues, and with disinterested *wishes* for the public good and even INDEPENDENCE. And I am convinced that Bolingbroke was more splenetic that just when he declared that "when a government is worn out all arts, science, wit, public and private virtue, go out at the same time." I quote from memory. Refinement has disabled the powers of government, and the governments of the continent are worn out in the very springs upon which their power moved; but wit, arts, science, and even private virtues, have undoubtedly survived, survived to render the approaching scenes of tyranny, *usurped* tyranny! the more painful; as among elegant voluptuaries, and lechers of great mental refinement, we see how fretting the *taste* and the wish for enjoyment became when the passions have survived the powers of gratification! For these very men, void as they are of energy, have contributed to plunge states into distraction, from an acuteness of criticism that very easily could expose the faults in the theory and practice often of the worn out machines. Having done this they have not energy to struggle in the storm which they raised. They survive the wreck and have yet about their minds great taste for the Ideal Beautiful, great abhorrence for the actual Horrible; but there their powers stop. They fret, droop and hope. Those however who were in

¹ Died this month of the putrid fever at Padua.

power had not fortitude to defend themselves, as desperate men who had any blood left generally would have done. In thus railing, however, I am willing to concede greatly to the unhappy state of things to which no human foresight could have reached, except by very general speculation like that of the immortal Burke's.

I have no apology to offer to you for so frequently and so crudely railing and croaking, but a belief that grows daily stronger on me that we are on the dawn of that subversion of Europe, good and bad, that leaves an uncertainty on the mind which warrants the fear of as profound a despotism and as terrible a one, as that which took place in the Roman Empire after the smallest remains of the independence of the free cities, ally'd nations, kings, and republics, were totally destroy'd. As a republican I dread this more I think than I should do were I a royalist. Still I cling to the rock that the United States will outlive the deluge! should it again please God that it should spread over this continent; and I still have a hope that Great Britain may yet stem the torrent and remain unshaken!

As to Buonaparte, *some* great embarrassment I think must have happened to him. As to Belgium, things are I believe very serious, notwithstanding the coolness of the Emperor. Lately between Lier and Malines the French were more roughly handled than they like to tell. Most truly, dear sir, yours always, etc., etc.

I think I told you that the Citizen Bossi, chargé des affaires of the King of Sardinia, went away some days since. He is one of the fifteen new government at Turin.¹

LXXXIII.

Rec. Jan. 17.

Ans. Jan. 19.

11TH JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The proclamation of the French commissioners, dated at the head quarters of the Consuls, Perousa, a few days after the march of the Championnet from Rome, to the Roman Republic, is very pleasant. It hurls curses steeped in burning brimstone against the King of Naples—for what! Only because he had attacked the Romans *without* a declaration of war! “contre le DROIT des PEUPLES—qui autorise chaque Nation à se donner le gouvernement qui se convient”!! At the same instant les *Peuples* were exercising their *Droits* in trying to overturn that French government which usurpation last spring imposed upon them. For this however towns are committed to flames, and the *peuples* are assassins. So lowly do I think of these Italian Romans that I doubt not that the manner of exercising the right which the proclamation asserts was really assassination; but this act merits a score as the assertion of the most humane principles in the midst of their open and ordered violation.

¹ Murray to Pickering, January 8, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, January 8, in Adams MSS.

I feel a little unusually inclined to ill humor because I just learn from Bourne that Captain Scott, who lately left the Texel for Charleston, has been carry'd into Cherbourg!! He has some dispatches from me! Truth like murder will out. Yesterday I also received a letter from Mr. Dewees of Maryland, dated Bordeaux, carry'd with his fine ship and tobacco and *condemned* the other day. He says his loss is £10,000. He says he is convinced that things will be arranged. He thought otherwise when he left America (very lately), but now he sees how they think in France. Who can wonder at the superstitions of former times. You see he is at a seaport in France. I know him to be a good man and a friend to government, and he believes the first insinuating shrug of amity at a time when he loses £10,000!—by enmity. Hope is one of the deepest laid of all political diseases in these times, it is indeed.

On a second reading of the message I find that the Directory do not assert the re-entry of the French army into Rome; but certainly if they have not entered, the Directory have spoken uncandidly, for it is a plain inference. I hear confidentially that eleven days since the Emperor was UNDECIDED on the pressing instances of the poor Neapolitan Minister for instant aid. But Cobenzl¹ rules, and I have long understood that he is philosophical. Alas, this poor Neapolitan King and his silky host will go the way of all the kings of this continent. Great Britain probably urged him to his measures under a natural expectation that, as events produce systems, the Emperor would be obliged to step forward, if the French were suddenly too hard for him; but this rash shepherd has carry'd his tender flocks too far, and I see no fold in the rear strong enough to secure them from the wolves whom they have braved. And this bravest Corydon of princes will probably be indebted to Nelson for personal safety—he and his *Mack-erroneous* suite. Excuse the pun to Mrs. Adams! and tell her with my most respectful compliments that it is lawful though not liberal to use that light sort of weapon against a *retreating* army, as it is a sort of Parthian species of offence, which is the best reason I can think of as an apology for the remains of youthful bad habits. But as the use of it is a certain evidence that the figure worker is very poor naturally or quite exhausted, as turning a coat is a proof that its best side is worn out, I will only add that I am as usual most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

Young Sands² (a good man), a Mr. Taylor Allen and one other, are in the Temple at Paris, suspected to have aided Sir S. Smith.³ Col. Hichborn, ordered to quit Paris, lives at Passy.⁴

¹ Philip Cobenzl (1741–1810).

² Joseph Sands, son of Comfort Sands of New York.

³ William Sidney Smith (1764–1840), who had escaped from France in May, 1798, after a two years' confinement in prison.

⁴ Adams to Murray, January 12, 15, 1799, in Adams MSS.

Rec. Jan. 21.

Ans. Jan. 22.

15 JANUARY, 1799.

Your 3, [January 8]¹ with its inclosed favor came safe yesterday. I thank you for your persevering kindness, but my pride, which was piqued by resistance, and my curiosity, inflamed by a few half meanings which I picked from the nut without quite breaking it, had already gained me the victory last Saturday and before your auxiliary came to my assistance. Yes "great A,—little (and something) B, the cat's in the cupboard and she cant see"—puzzled me, but great A has been a leader of letters a long time, and with great application and his aid I got the path that led me out of the woods of cyphers. As to *Ursa Minor* I do not wonder; but what could make her weak enough to offer such a bargain, except to apologize for lapse of time, is inconceivable. Was the *rock* fertile land, I doubt if the United States would accept it as a gift. Like some of poor Mr. Morris's² wild land purchases, and the Jew's razors in P. Pindar, it was made to be sold, not used. The 10,000 will come to late to save. They may do honor to the departed by attending the funeral and appease the manes by a few human sacrifices. It is all most wretched work, though I have so often laughed at those political Drawcansirs whose characters one reads of in books of comic satyre, that I often laugh at myself on account of the readiness with which I think of mending the state of Europe!

That you should know anything I ever wrote or said to you at so great a distance of time with remembrance, believe me, did really give me a momentary exultation which I am not ashamed to own to myself afterwards, though it was *vanity*. To have deserved such recollection I assure you will be a pleasing reflection to me; and the more agreeable because I remember so many very weak things that I have said and written particularly in my younger days! I was not so much surprised at your long and kindly remembrance of me, as at the idea of balls, etc., etc., etc., five times a week often!! Good, a pleasant contrast to this place. Rarely indeed is there cheer here. The most agreeable resort to me is The Society (not the old, of which by the same token I am a member and a frequenter) but the Government Society, in the ci-devant natural history cabinet of the Prince of Orange, corner of the Buÿten-hooft, where I am a distinguished smoker; and where next to commerce (play), the contest would seem to be whether the external fog should be thicker than the interior smoke. We generally, I think, even then prove that art vanquishes nature in all *our* Dutch endeavors. Yet this is for relaxation from toils of state, and I believe it has that effect; besides it prepares the skin to resist the moist air. So you see there is as much

¹ A new series began the year.

² Robert Morris.

reason in smoking men as in the roasting of eggs, which Burke said was one proof of rationality.

But to return to grievances of state, as you must do after the assemblies of "the vulgar great"—the note of the 2nd January (13 Nivôse) from the French Ministers at Rastadt to the German Deputation seems to me to be a touchstone, and to place the *Empire* as well as its head exactly where they ought to have foreseen that simple demand could place them, and would be used to place them, the instant contingencies favorable to it should enable the French to make it. These are true elephant hunters, and have not lit up their fires and shown their cordon till the moment when the cordon was finished; and they are the worthy and sagacious and noble elephants who wise and ponderous have not observed the cordon nor attended to the policy that formed it. For it may be truly feared that, thus backed by the resources of Italy for the next campaign, without drawing a bushel from France, the French will be too powerful for her disjointed opponents! I fear this, because though means are abundant, in the passions and resentments of the PEOPLE, wherever French arms have been, yet it may be doubted if the old methodical ministers of Germany have boldness enough to forget the *art* of war is using irregular as well as regular means; and in adopting modes of defence and offence and policy very opposite to the genius of former contests. When all is not boldly hazarded now, it seems to me that nothing can be preserved long.

A vessel has just arrived at the Texel from the United States—left it 20th November. No letters for me. I hear no news by her. We are both doubtless very impatient for the President's speech. It will decide me secretly whether I shall not snugly arrange for departure, at least to be ready. V[an] C[leef] has your letter. I will even thank you for those books and take care of them in all contingencies. Dear sir, truly always yours.

P. S. The Paris papers have just arrived. I see that an action has been fought lately (since the talk of the flight of Naples) near Rome, and it is remarkable that the French general says "Mack having intended to attack and cut off the French army," etc., etc. The French say they beat Mack, but this is very different from running away to Naples. Who knows but that modest troops may grow less bashful after they have grown a little hardy by running so often. The French here say that Joubert will be at Leghorn.

LXXXV.

Rec. Jan. 24.

Ans. Jan. 26.

18 JANUARY, 1799.

The late accounts relative to the Neapolitan army which we find in the Paris papers are not very reconcilable on first appearances.

Viterbo is six leagues to the north of Rome, Naples is to the south; yet the papers say that Championnet approaches Naples, while they confess that a Neapolitan army has handled them without mittens between Rome and Viterbo, to which last place a French force under Kellerman¹ was going when rencountred by the Neapolitans. Mr. Champigny, to whom I stated this difficulty, said one division of the French might be near Naples and the other near and north of Rome. That is true; but how does the existence of so large a Neapolitan force north of Rome, square with the flight of the whole Neapolitan army after the evacuation! He thought there might be some mistake. The Leyden paper has to-day a hint about TREACHERY in the Neapolitan army, and hints at the Prince of Tarento²—puny wretched treasons! Terror and promotion are the only two principles upon which the established governments of the continent can now stand. When even the prejudices of fealty and honor are swallow'd in philosophical liberality and cosmopolitanism, fear and self-love under the control of cunning with a whip of scorpions must supply their place. But to be less poetical: The only power in Europe that seems to me to have an absolute command over all the means of its empire is the French Directory, and the foundation of that power is not in prejudices, not in attachment, it is in that FEAR which the horror of Robespierre's reign settled as the foundation of the republican power of France. With this at bottom it can do and it does what no old and absolute government on earth ever did or can do. The *creed* of their Trinity—"Liberty, Equality, Death"—being once settled as the orthodox and only true creed of political salvation, all things bend to it in practice, no matter how repugnant to liberty; all means are sanctify'd because the cause is holy! So they go on, with philosophy and tenderness in the front of their dogmas, proclamations and *arrêtés*, though these are expressly to put thousands to death, and to give a city to slaughter and flames, because a French soldier may have been killed unfairly in it. Fear collects the force of all France, and cunning and skill direct that force. Treason is not heard of. They do justice to military merit, they promote an humble man of value. They are thus so much masters of their means that they are in the eyes of many in a spasm, whereas they are in a state of deeply designed organization of means according to the natural course of the passions, when the ruling power has a basis in every man's mind, and when they are skillfully made the most of.

The other powers can not use these means. They can not set in motion all their energies. Laws, old habits and usages, the things for which they say they fight, are obstacles to their very preserva-

¹ François Etienne Kellermann (1770-1835).

² "The treachery in the Neapolitan army is a subject of more than suspicion, and was but too well founded. This Prince of Tarento is a French emigrant, a Duke de la Frimouille, allied to the blood of the Bourbons; and he is the man who sets the example of running away." Adams to Murray, January 26, 1799.

tion. A man who struggles against a naked beggar if he would save his clothes must strip, too, or the beggar will beat him. In these speculations, in which I pour out my mind in the easy confidence of security, and chit-chat with you, I am not absolutely for imitation of the French, but as far as is consistent with that virtue and religion which are the basis of public as well as private happiness, I would have much of their system imitated—at least the dramatic part, in which they so greatly excel, and in an extension of those means of *fear* which the old governments have in store in the fashion of their own forms.

To this sort of scribbling all I ask is your patience; that will be the only indulgence I require. I can not help thinking gloomily, and there is not a single being here to whom I can empty my mind in this way. You see distance is no barrier against a determined scribbler.

The note to Count Lehrbach¹ will unfold the mysteries of 1799. I am very anxious to hear of its issue for now seems to me to be the crisis.

An armed (letters of marque) from Boston, a Mr. Rand supercargo, arrived three days since at the Texel and Rand says (I hear) that our government mean to go on only on the defensive, as they now are. The President's speech will inform us. We must have it in a few days. Always, my dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

Pray do me the favor of informing me what day is the President's birthday.²

LXXXVI.

22 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have been exceedingly sick for four days, and can only have the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your No. 5. of 15th inst.

Had the Hon. Mr. Grenville³ been sent by a government as energetic as that of France, on a mission so very important, he would probably see Cayenne for suffering ice to detain him where even the packet boats pass. The French papers some time since said he was at *Audley-end*, after returning to Yarmouth. His oil might have softened the vinegar and also set the rusty wheels in motion three weeks since, had he not been too much of a gentleman to do hardy things in an ungraceful manner, by getting into an ice boat on the coast near the Elb. I hear not from home! *Vide* the message of the Directory 22d Nivôse (9th inst.) on privateers, etc., etc. I inclose it to the government by this post. I am, dear sir, always most truly yours.

¹ Count Lehrbach, of Austria, one of the members of the Congress at Rastadt.

² October 31, 1735. Adams to Murray, January 19, 22, 1799, in Adams MSS.

³ Thomas Grenville (1755-1846). The ship in which he embarked was driven back by the ice, and the *Proserpine*, to which he transferred himself, was wrecked off the Newerke Island, and Grenville lost everything but his dispatches. He arrived at Berlin too late to effect the intended agreement between Prussia and Great Britain against France.

I am now without a Secretary. Mountflorencé's four months expired day before yesterday. He has asked to be continued *nominally* and as *honorary* secretary; there is no difficulty in agreeing to this. He is a true man and a very good man.

LXXXVII.

25 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I still continue an invalid, and am a notable dealer in drugs with a little Yew Tree apothecary in the Hoot-Straat, who first obtained my custom by bowing to me when I lived at the Turenne, whenever he caught a view of my sickly visage in passing daily by his shop. Heymans became my body physician, because I heard he had been yours and your brother's, and he continues to strengthen my confidence in him. My disease is a great deal of bile which shows itself in my skin, but as that is clearing away before the rays of my little Apollo, and as I feel better, I shall be out in a day or two. Were I an unlucky first magistrate of Lucca, Duke of Tuscany, or King of Naples, I should not wonder at this bilious habit. All these seem to be destined to destruction by the last accounts, though these accounts are exclusively on the French side. Mack's offer of an armistice was probably to gain time, under the expectation of the arrival of the Russians, whom the papers lately openly announced as intended for Italy. The slow indecision of the Emperor is no longer surprising to me. Such astonishing and repeated proofs of blindness have occurred last autumn that I should now be surprised. Indeed I should, were he to act with precision as to timing his steps, or extensive plan as to their line of March. Last October France was weak in troops, weak in running cash and available property, weak, at least apparently—a little humbled in spirit; and Nelson had given a blow that had awakened that sort of exultation against her which was in my way of thinking a state of public opinion very important as a circumstance coincident with other things. Belgium rose. The very proximate cause of that insurrection, the conscription, proved that the armies of France wanted immense recruiting. There was a concurrence of events and of opinion, and a state of desperation—negotiation at Rastadt, and a whole state of things that seemed to declare that if any opposition was to be made, then was the time. To these you will add the Russians and Turks in actual activity in the Mediterranean, the balancing state of Piedmont, the excessive desperation of Cisalpine and Swiss, and the late insurrection in the Roman territories, and the alert appearances of Naples. Events which no skill can create nor no money purchase were sufficient to be gazed at, feed spleen, and make the unhappy discontented enjoy a gleam of sunshine and chuckle in their clubs—only! Since, war and rapine have replenished the arsenals and the coffers of France and prepared for her fresh sources for future success and aggrandizement.

I hear not from America. I mentioned I think on Tuesday that I received your favor of 15th, No. 5. I continue Maj. Mountflorencé another month as secretary. I am always most truly yours, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.¹

LXXXVIII.

31 JANUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your No. 7 [January 22] came safe on day before yesterday but I was so occupy'd and interrupted at the post hours that I could not enjoy my usual pleasure of dropping a line.

All still hangs in fearful darkness to us yet—no light from Rastadt. Your remark at the retreat of the French from Tuscany, etc., etc., seems perfectly just.² One can not on any other principle account for the event. I begin still more to doubt about their success in Naples. We hear not officially since the 2d January, inst. If the Russians have arrived, at least the struggle would be prolonged. Still I *can not* believe that it is the interest of the Directory to make peace, and therefore I can not expect that event. You can see FEAR of *France* in every line of LePeaux's³ speech, 21 inst., excessive solicitude respecting the public mind, and more fear of Anarchists, *i. e.*, the *opponents* of the vast unlimited power of the Directory, than of censure upon the last of the Capets! However, I sometimes think, while loosely speculating on the interesting retrograde of things before us, that should the war continue, as Messieurs the Director seem to will, in a no very distant time, poverty, deprivation in a thousand ways, and even WANT, will have put into training bands of bold and desperate men, who will find leaders and give a specimen of a new sort of war in the heart of France and of the affiliated nations. If this Belgium go on as Vendée did, and other districts get the fever, we may see it soon.

Col. H[ichborn] returned today from Paris. Young A[ndrews] only, not both, is in the Temple. H[ichborn] is very angry at them, and curses them now more than any man I have heard for a long time. I had told him in September that France was determined to dominate everywhere. We then did not agree. He reminded me of this today, and says he is now convinced of that truth, and that she would rule over us, if she could; but finding that she can neither seduce nor frighten us, and being too distant for her, she wishes to do us justice. I asked him if he knew what were the proposals she was said to have sent out by Mr. Woodward and Mr. Gerry? He says he found that W[oodward]'s were stronger than G[erry]'s: that 1. she avow'd a disposition amicable, and to settle amicably, as a basis on which to

¹ Adams to Murray, January 26, 29, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, January 28, in Pickering MSS.; Murray to McHenry, January 30, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 371.

² Last night I heard however that there is some reason to think that the retiring was owing to a very positive message on the part of the Emperor, that advancing would be war with him! *Note by Murray.*

³ Louis-Marie Larevellière de Lépeaux (1753-1824.)

enter on negotiation; 2. To give up all claims to satisfaction from our government for supposed insults; 3. To give up all demands of loan and of money; 3d[4], if they could not agree upon indemnity for captures, to leave the cases to be settled by commissioners; and finally to forget what had previously passed respecting the first and second overtures from us. He says certainly T[alleyrand] does disapprove the points insisted on about *rôle d'équipage* and all the captures under it; that the Directory wish to draw the privateers to order, for they find ruin attends their present system; that when talked to by T[alleyrand] he avow'd that nothing would do in the United States, except repealing the laws by which our vessels had been taken, as preliminary; that Adet is outrageous at the system of privateering, and speaks his opinion; that the late piece in the *Rédacteur*, which preceded the message on prize cause, etc., etc., signed "*St. Aubin*," was approved by the Directory before it went to press, and that they adopt St. A[ubin]'s principles; that Volney¹ is convinced that the whole of the American people are bitter enemies, and hate the French on account of the depredations, etc., etc., but that V[olney] is very angry at the lashing of our news papers lately against himself. The poet B[arlow] is translating a work of V[olney's] into English. I think you have not lately had such a budget.

I have thought so seriously of the following piece of intelligence as to mention it to the Secretary at War, to whom I was writing when the Colonel came in, viz. That when they, *i. e.* he and those with whom he associated, as B[arlow] and others, knew that serious proposals were sent out, these wrote to their friends recommending me as Minister to execute, etc., etc. I told him I had no wish and no expectation of such appointment, even if one were made, and that I was sorry I had been mentioned. I have never one moment disguised my way of thinking respecting France, and so I observed to him when he mentioned it today. But this recommendation will probably work strangely at Philadelphia, when coupled with my letters on P[fichon]'s interviews. I consider it an unlucky thing for me! It will produce a thousand surmises among politicians at such a moment. I have assured Mr. McHenry that I have never by direct or indirect means been privy to aiding or consenting to such recommendation, nor did I ever expect such a thing; and that he would do, as you will do, excuse such protestations on account of circumstances; for otherwise they would be, in spite of protestations, *indélicates!* and begged him to show my letter to Colonel P[ickering].²

I long to see the speech of the President. Smith writes me from Lisbon (of 23 December) that he hears up to the 10 November, and that at Newbury Port a 28 was built launched and coppered in 74

¹ Constantin-François Chasseboeuf, comte de Volney (1757-1820). Barlow translated "The Ruins."

² See Murray to McHenry, January 30, 1799, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 371.

days.¹ A Dutch gentleman the other night at the concert told me that at St. Thomas lately he saw the Delaware sloop and a 44-gun frigate as convoys; that they had taken three French privateers, one large one the swiftest vessel in those seas, and that they were the most beautiful ships and the fastest he ever saw. He spoke with almost as much pleasure as I listened. Tonight news arrived that Surinam is taken by the British! It was useless to its owners, for their good allies, by their privateers, had destroy'd all trade to it by taking every thing going in those seas! I lament to see the earnings of solid labor and the fruits of perseverance thus robbed! These people are really death to those whom they embrace! The intelligence is not official however. Always, my dear sir, yours truly, etc., etc., etc.

I am told that my worthy and enlightened friend Smith² at Lisbon will marry one of the Miss Bulkeleyes, sister to Colonel Humphreys' wife. By the bye the other night I conversed with Mr. Valkenaar³ just from Madrid, late Minister there. He told me he had seen Col. Humphreys, *who was a very great Poet!* and Mr. Smith, *who was a very great Orator!* W. is said to have learning and talents. I saw in him modern philosophy I thought, and know that is his hobby.⁴

FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE.⁵

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Philadelphia, February 1, 1799.

SIR: Mr. van Polanen lately called upon me to mention the receipt of an instruction directing him to inquire informally *whether the mediation of the Batavian government between the United States and France would be accepted by*⁶ the government of the United States; adding, that *if accepted, he was to make a formal tender of that mediation.* I answered at once, that I was satisfied *it would not be accepted*, but that I would mention the matter to the President, and let him know the result. The President *did not pause for an answer in the negative.* What indeed could be more farcical (to give it a mild appellation) than *such a mediation in the known state of dependence of the Batavian on the French government?* This considered, the *proposition partakes of the nature of an insult, rather than of an act of friendship;* although the latter only was intended by our friends the Batavians, so far as *they at all expressed their own mind;* for it can hardly be imagined that *the proposition originated with them.* . . .

¹ The Merrimack. See Currier, "History of Newburyport," 112.

² William Smith (1758-1812), minister to Portugal 1797-1801.

³ Johan Valckenaer.

⁴ Adams to Murray, February 2, 5, 1799, in Adams MSS.

⁵ From the Pickering MSS.

⁶ Cypher.

It is probable that *General Toussaint will declare the island of St. Domingo independent*, and then by a free commerce with it, we may receive (*and in this way only we shall receive*) an indemnity for the immense injuries done us by France. I am. etc.¹

LXXXIX.

5 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have seen the speech of the President to Congress, 10 December. He reins the car of government between the extremes, demands *preparation* and waits for "the assurances" unmingled with recommendatory innuendos. It is strong but sweet, and there is a tranquility breathed through it that inspires confidence, and respect for the nation; for it convinces me that things are righter than they were a year since. It is enough conciliatory towards France, and gives them the opportunity of taking steps necessary to friendly intercourse. It is now with them. I am now sure that, as you said, *professions* rather than *proposals* had been sent. I have not seen the answers. Mr. King said they echo'd the speech,* that of Senate adding a severe stricture upon the interference of unauthorized individuals between the President and any foreign power, etc., etc., aiming it is believed at J[efferso]n and L[oga]n. In fair extension, The Hague might be brought within the sweep of the dividers! I show'd it to Colonel H[ichborn]; he wrote me a note liking its spirit. He likes and even approves it, but regrets no minister was sent, and is disappointed. But be sure! that the opposition will now be both against France, and also against the government. The sedition law and alien bill are their basis of uproar now, but it will not all do. That government will grow stronger every day, such is my creed. I hear that in five days *we shall have something* from Rastadt. I suppose peace or war. Portugal, or rather its neighbour, seems again threatened by the army of Portugal, which is *said* to be gathering in the south. Ehrenbreitstein surrendered! Dear sir, yours truly and always.

*This is a great thing, and in four days—for the ship sail'd the 15 or 16 December. Generally the debates on the speech took ten or fifteen days. Baldwin² and Milledge³ are out for Georgia, and good men in;⁴ Sumter the only opposition man from South Carolina; probably, however, some greys.⁵

¹ Secretary of State to Murray, February 5, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

² Abraham Baldwin (1754-1807), raised to the Senate.

³ John Milledge (1757-1818).

⁴ James Jones (—1801), and Benjamin Taliaferro (1750-1821).

⁵ The Members from South Carolina in the sixth Congress were: Robert Goodloe Harper, Benjamin Huger, Abraham Nott, Thomas Pinckney, John Rutledge, Jr., and Thomas Sumter. Murray to Pickering, February 8, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

XC.

Rec. Feb. 20.

Ans. Feb. 23.

8 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I would not send the speech to the French legation here, but I did to Mr. V[an] Goes, with some remarks pointing his mind to the scored passages, as proofs of that just and wise temper that perseveres in preparation, but with an ear open to peace on solid grounds, etc., etc. I told him it was important for both nations that mistakes should cease, and that France should have her first impressions of the spirit of the speech under such circumstances as were most favorable to a calm and just construction of it. That while he saw the unalterable determination of the government to maintain not only the rights but the honor of the nation, he would also see abundant evidence of a frank temper that held itself open to the demonstrations of justice on the part of France, and to negotiation, if cleansed of all matter justly offensive to the pride and independence of the United States. I did this, because it is probable that he will send the speech to Mr. L[ombard], or give it to him, making some remarks; for this government are excessively anxious to see *peace*, etc., etc., and he may also probably write to Mr. S[chimmelpenninck] at Paris to give a first impression, where I rather think first impressions decide a great deal. The *object* to which this small working may tend is to affect the better part of the councils, help on the proposed amendments of the prize laws, agreeable to the message of last month, and, perhaps, if the first *kink* in their heads be right, to do more. The speech is absolutely *amicable* enough. I had lamented were it more so. I told Hichborn, who likes it, that its fault was that it was below my standard, and was not high enough for my system. He goes soon to L[ondon], and thence home. I work upon him whenever I can, even sometimes with hope; sensible, however, that with his address he can let me *think so*. Dear sir, truly always yours.

The cold is again extreme, 6 only above 0 *Fahrenheit*, and no coals, nor turf, nor wood, to be bought that we can hear of. If it last a month longer, I do not know what we shall do.¹

XCI.

12 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your No. 9 [January 29] came safely yesterday. I had already noticed the President's speech and the answers. They are thought here by those of the Dutch government with whom I have conversed, to be abundantly *amicable* for the occasion and state of

¹ Adams to Murray, February 9, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 386; February 12, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, February 12, in Pickering MSS.

things. I do not think that France can, if she is sincere in her *policy*, hesitate to give the necessary "assurances," and to decide *honestly* upon the message respecting privateers. H[ichborn], whom I have mentioned, *fears* differently. He avows to me (and has repeatedly) that "they are such damned villains that he fears they may be regardless of the national happiness and act from passion," and he then curses them from principle into practice. He is damned cunning, or there is a great change about him in his politics. Further, it seems to me that his Anti-ism is not only the result of a natural impatience under all power, but has arisen, as I have seen it before, from the frettings of little neighborhood politics, with mingled personal asperities and local rivalry with the great party principles. I trace much of this in talking with him, for I find he nine times out of ten goes to Boston and Dorchester for the location of grievances, and these are generally what was said or written there by this man or the other, in which nine times out of ten he was the object of the supposed ill nature, or high handed display of power. Such a man might I think come round, for he has great pride, and certainly, as you said, a great deal of intelligence and much subtilty in its management. As I know, or hear, that he has influence, I have labored to straighten him. The picture of the southern States and west south western states at a moment of confusion is that on which I have worked; and it *seems* to me with some effect.

In a day or two we must hear decisively from Rastadt, as the note of the last of January demanded the evacuation of Austrian dominions by the Russians in fifteen days, or war.

If Mr. G[renville] had been a French citizen, and had amused himself so much at the expense of Europe, he would amuse himself the rest of his days at Oleron. No, sir; gentlemen are not now even good couriers. But I am better within these few days and so I will not indulge in illhumor. Dear sir, I am always truly yours, etc., etc.

XCII.

15 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The French letters say that the speech gave a good deal of satisfaction at Paris, and that the French government seem inclined to pursue peace and accommodation, is talked of. I believe, however, that these are the opinions of the discontented Americans, though I have no letters myself. They got the speech the 5th instant *via* Bordeaux.

Here every heart really sinks at the tales of distress we receive from Guelderland, and from the borders of the Rhine, and Waal, and Meuse, and Yssel—horrible scenes of perishing daily follow each other from inundations and ice! a great number of villages are laid to the tops under water! Government gives 100,000 florins for immediate aid—thousands can not, it is feared, be aided at all!

The demand that the Russians evacuate the Austrian dominions in fifteen days—*this day*—will surely ameliorate the motion of Francis.¹ In the meantime Naples has been conquered. I hear they have erected the scenery, after having, as the strolling players in England say, "*taken the town*," and a provisional government is erected, and the farce called the *Parthenopean* republic! "Lord have mercy on us!"

Great Britain will be in a ticklish situation as to her Mediterranean affairs, for Sicily must follow. She has great cause to complain of the Emperor and of the tardy Russians, I think. I am always, my dear sir, truly, etc., etc.²

XCIII.

Rec. Feb. 28.

Ans. Mar. 2.

18 FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: 10, 11 and 12 [February 2, 5, 9] I had the pleasure to receive at once this morning.

Private letters on which I put little dependence from Paris say that the speech gives pleasure. Their papers give however an insolent turn to it. A piece in the *L'ami de Loi*, and copy'd by the *Publiciste*, attributes the moderation of the President to the influence of the opposition, whom they represent, in consequence of private letters as they avow, to be growing stronger. An old friend Mr. Hindman, whose name you would find for five years always in the good votes, says to Mr. King that the clear majority will be twelve,³ and I think he did not count the Georgia change. H[indman] is a good calculator and always was less sanguine than myself. The opposition will not now be about France, but, as you observe, the laws of the United States. These gentlemen forget that they themselves by their French doctrines rendered these laws necessary—inundations rendered dykes essential, and the dykes ought always to last longer than the inundation. You keep locks to your door long after a robbery has been committed in the neighborhood. In fact Sancho would be the true Solomon on such a question.

I admire the *sang froid* of high rank exceedingly in these times, and wish heartily we had more amusement here. For the length and extreme severity of this winter and the gloom of politics have really and seriously harrassed my mind and body—and we have little or no society!

I have met with the only relative of my paternal grandfather I ever saw—a Mr. Vans of your Salem.⁴ He is a gentlemanly man,

¹ Francis II of Austria.

² Murray to Pickering, February 16, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, February 16, in Adams MSS.

³ Hindman to King, December 8, 1798, "Life and Correspondence of Rufus King," II, 480.

⁴ William Vans, United States Consul at Morlaix, France. His commission had been revoked in December, 1798. See "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 394.

and such is the force of the imagination or of self-love, that though he had been classed not in our politics, yet I have had much pleasure seeing him. Let me assure you that I do not think that he ought to be classed as of the same political species with H[ichborn]. He tells me that having been robbed by the British of a large property he was concerned in a French privateer, but that not a single American was taken nor injured by him; and that immediately as the treaty with Great Britain was made, he disengaged himself from this sort of business. He was solicitous upon this head. H[ichborn] I like less and less. I find him pliant in opinion, but still with dangerous and fretful principles, working up constantly notwithstanding his address and his politeness towards the *minister* of the United States. But be assured that he neither can do service by support, nor harm by opposition. I doubt whether the men of parts in his party would employ him except as a mere trumpet, and I doubt if even in that way his opinions would have any influence! I rather think he has worked, talked, and written himself, out of confidence all round the compass. I am almost sorry to have wasted powder upon him, but independent of an object in getting him round I really wished to converse with a countryman—no matter who.

Day before yesterday must have decided the question of peace or war, as the fifteen days on the retreat of the Russians then ended. Daendels went to Paris eight days since, it is believed to divert France from the demand of obliging the Dutch fleet at Texel to go on some expedition. It is certain a great quantity of provisions and arms are made—hardly for Ireland I think. Where then? Dear sir, always most truly yours.

XCIV.

Rec. Mar. 3.

Ans. Mar. 5.

22D FEBRUARY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 13 [February 12] arrived safely, day before yesterday. Our minds here are occupy'd by the mournful accounts of the insurrections in Gulderland and on the Rhine, Leck, Waal and Meuse generally! Very tragical scenes have taken place there.

Daendels has not returned. I told you that he was gone, it was understood to Paris to divert the French government from its intention of obliging their fleet to turn out again on some secret expedition; or, if he failed in that, to concert the operation as advantageously for his country as possible. So we *believe*, and it is probable; but we can not certainly know.

Curious letters arrive here almost daily from Venice, and Ancona, and Leghorn, stating the total defeat of the French before Capua by the king in person, etc., etc., etc.—of the 25 January. With you I believe that *France* is mistress of Naples, but I also think that like a prudent mistress she keeps out of her house while her maids are

fighting with hot scalding water; for certainly something like a very alarming anarchy prevails in Naples, and I do not think that the French have dared to trust themselves in the city yet. Liberty has usually entered into her cities to the chime of bells and the jingle of gold and silver purses; but these youngest children of her family, the Lazzaronis,¹ seem determined to try the disinterestedness of the French by first pillaging the rich and leaving nothing for the liberators. However we really know less of what is passing and has past in Italy since 1 December than of any of the tragedies which *France* has acted so often.

As yet I hear not from America. The French do my friend Harper great honor in triumphing so loudly over his supposed defeat. Harper has talents and worth enough to merit their calumnies. Is it not hard to have had an insinuation of their approbation on any occasion for seven years past?

Mr. G[renville] has done what he ought to have done or not accepted the post of danger—risked his life, pity he had not done it five weeks since. I envy you the possession of two such acquaintances as A. and L.² They must be a prize! I know I should so consider them if here—for indeed, my dear sir, I am famished here—so long used as I was to the society of able and amiable men at Philadelphia!

Col. H[ichborn] has set off from Amsterdam I learn for *Ancona*. A young Mr. Higginson³ of Paris was with me on day before yesterday. I received him very coldly, having heard that, though his father is a good man, he has been probably interested in privateers against us, and was certainly a warm opposition man. We soon differed widely, and he took his leave. Since, I learn that he was about a month in Boston last summer, but confest that he found it too hot for him, and he came away. I mention this for the closing remark as it is a good symptom. And really I know nothing but small symptoms relative to the United States, having not heard a long time. Fair speed your carnivals, plays, etc., etc. What a gay man you are. We change dresses absolutely. Yours, dear sir, always.

XCV.

FEBRUARY 26, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 16th instant [No. 14] reached me yesterday. Except one post I have written every post to you and this must be 14. I am anxious to know if they arrived. It is probable that obstructions of ice retarded them, and I hope you will get them in a body as I did your 11, 12, 13.

We have nothing yet from Rastadt, nor from Daendels. The fleet here is ready, seven of the line, some transports, and 6,000 men,

¹ Those who favored the King of Naples.

² Livingston and Charles Arbuthnot (1767–1850), in Grenville's suite.

³ John, a son of Stephen Higginson, and nephew of George Cabot.

Dutch, chiefly. Some think that Hamburg is their object—which appears to me highly unlikely.

What report is it I have from Hamburg about the King of P[russia] being *poisoned*? Or did it arise from some blundering Englishman, present at your quadrille, who may have mistaken it for the scene of the player-men in Hamlet? Alas! these high gentry need not make royalty a drama. The *dramatis personae* appear already to be fictitious characters, permitted to “strut their short hour on the stage,” by an impatient audience. However, would that the corps had an amusement here so high seasoned! But we have nothing like it. The fine weather has in some measure set me above society, by enabling me to use my own limbs and enjoy severe exercise, and I look back upon the blue devils of this hard winter as on a dream. For these there is no cure but “to doff the world,” as you prescribed, which I did and was better; but I never have hippo except when extreme cold produces by long duration a constriction upon my nerves. Then, if I can get a good warm bath, I am a man again. Here there was no such convenience. You see, my dear sir, that I confess to you some of my infirmities, and you are entitled to them as you so kindly took a share in my complainings.

The letter of marque at the Texel I hear (she arrived five weeks since) beat off a Frenchman who attacked her. A Mr. Rand of Boston, I think, is supercargo. I have invited him to come to see me, as I hear he is a clever and a gallant fellow. It will be perfectly refreshing to hear the tone of sincere federalism after the semi-tunes of H[ichborn] and sentiments always doubtful! My dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

A report is here that the Porte will be hostile to this republic also! Poor things. Great alliances are often ruinous to the weak! and it is *said* that Brune will go as minister of war.

XCVI.

Rec. Mar. 8.

Ans. Mar. 9.

1 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: La Fayette has arrived in this country. He and his family are now at Vianen near Utrecht—Madame Mauberg (his daughter) and husband having been there some months. Madame LaF. went to Paris and returned this way last autumn, but stopped at Vianen when Madame M. was ready to go to bed. Yesterday I got a letter from Genl. LaF[ayette] dated Vianen, telling me of his arrival and of the delivery of Madame M. of twins, girls, one died immediately. He wishes to come to the Hague to see me. Why he ventured as far as V[ianen] I am yet ignorant, but he must not come here. I gave him a hint yesterday, and last night's chat with certain people convinced me that I had not been too timid for him; so I will write again, expressly informing him that he will probably be arrested if he come here! How perfectly impenetrable to experience are most

of the emigrants I know! LaF[ayette] wrote to Mr. Lombard here, notifying his arrival. L[ombard] cannot and, I hear, is not to, answer his letter. They would wish to shut their eyes towards him, and I believe will regret if by forcing their public attention, he should put it out of their power to be ignorant of what they think their duty. F[ayette] writes to me very affectionately about America, however; it is natural for him to wish for a position for each of his legs—both F[rance] and A[merica], for I believe that his great pining is to return to the bosom of *France* and his church in esse! Madame LaF[ayette] and his son are to make us a visit immediately. He wishes to embark, he says, from a port in this country for the United States this spring.

A day or two since I saw a manuscript copy of a paper purporting to be a note 16 January last from the Porte to the Minister¹ of this republic there, ordering him away in a week; because they say though they have always had a great friendship for the Dutch, yet as these are now rather the subjects than the allies of France, and all their means of offence entirely at the call of France with whom they are at war, they will not suffer any intercourse with the Dutch, nor him (Mr. Dedem) to reside there, till the Dutch regain their independence. I believe the note is genuine. It is here, however, a secret. Frost and bad roads were the excuse on the delay of the answer to the pinching note of 31 January, and a decade more was given I see. That expired 25 ulto., but we do not hear yet of the answer nor of the measures.

Some think that the fleet here and 15,000 men are for Hamburg, where it is believed the patriots are as numerous as the lower artists and mechanics. How is the Duke of Deux Ponts² affected towards P[russia]? for the death of the old Elector of Bavaria³ will stir up an abundance of those politicians who are exactly a match for such a dispute and profound ease and title hunters. However I am again growing scurrilous. Zealand was, I hear, stript of the French troops; but lo! in a few days a greater number appeared, young conscripts, unclad, etc., etc., etc. *Vid.* Falstaff's recruits and their regimentals. This has produced great sensation here, the poor rich Bataves! They do pay, that is true! I rejoice that so worthy a nation is rich enough to pay for quiet. Still I think a mystery hangs over the Lazzaroni warriors which, if uncurtained, would show that these affairs have cost France thousands of men.

Tuesday the 4th I have a modest dinner for the official day of our President. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc., etc.

Two ships I hear arrived night before last at Rotterdam or Helvoet. The *Ocean* of Baltimore is one. As yet I hear not a word.⁴

¹ The elder Dedem, father of Dedem mentioned, p. 423, *supra*.

² Maximilian IV Joseph of Zweibrücken. Adams to Murray, March 2, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 393.

³ Charles Theodore (1724-1799.)

⁴ Adams to Murray, February 23 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 392.

XCVII.

Rec. Mar. 11.

Ans. Mar. 12.

4 FEBRUARY [MARCH], 1799.

DEAR SIR: Some time since a project was introduced into the legislature here for the organization of a sort of national guard. It was a *compliance*. Many considered it as *conscription*, and it made some sensation. Nothing is now heard of it; it will probably sleep. They are now on the judiciary, and are not a little puzzled to find clearly the agency and business of *justices of the peace*. I recommend Blackstone and Burn,¹ at the same time telling them that to have a good idea of them a knowledge of the laws and customs of England is necessary. This plan, which an audacious aspiring at perfection has led so many into, from which results the idea of reducing every duty and function into written limits, will not do. No Committee on earth could in ten years, I think, digest with precision a *code* of laws which would suit the present rights of society on points of property. Yet the new philosophy is for ever blundering into that way of proceeding. Here, where each little subdivision of the territory had its usages and laws, many different from others, it will be a Herculean labor.

Nothing yet from Daendels, nor from Rastadt. Thank god! the inundation has past, and not a great many lives lost, but immense loss of property.

We have a report that young Dupont sets off for the United States soon, I know not for what. My fear constantly [is] that France will while away our time, catching at every symptom of discord among us, and that she will be more easy now whether she arrange or not, since the H[ouse] of Representatives have renounced all idea of foreign aid. I now rather regret that declaration. Even admitting it to be a sound principle, I think they need not have avow'd it; because the fear that we would form an alliance with Great Britain was, I suspect, among the greatest which France felt. Will she not, now, be easy on that head? Whatever had been the real intention of our government, perhaps they ought to have even kept up that idea, "*that they would ally*," if France did not do us justice—as making part of our strength. However, the whole business is inscrutable to me—certain though, that she will vary her means as we vary ours, and certain too, that the motion of Col. Taylor² who is believe me a perfect visionary, I know him—will work great mischief, by affording her infernal plan of dividing by our own means.

Two ships have got safe to Helvoet—the *Ocean* from Norfolk, and the *Polly* of Philadelphia. Nothing for me. A ship arrived night before last at the Texel from Boston. As yet I hear nothing, nor do

¹ Richard Burn (1709-1785), author of "The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer," first published in two thin volumes in 1755, and in its twenty-ninth edition in 1845, in six thick closely printed volumes of about 1200 pages each.

² John Taylor of Caroline (1750-1824).

I know of anything that passes in the United States except by the French papers!

Last post gave me nothing from you, my dear sir. I am always most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

XCVIII.

8 FEBRUARY [MARCH], 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 15 [February 23] safe. Still we have nothing definitive of peace or war from Rastadt, though the *Haarlem Gazette* yesterday assured us of a general peace, on the authority of a letter from Middleburgh in Zealand. A blundering English merchant once in General W[ashington]'s drawing room, after much silent embarrassment about what sort of compliment he should make, finished his doubts by assuring him that, notwithstanding the virulent abuse of the Jacobins, his reputation was as high in England as ever, "for, sir, I have just received letters from *Manchester* that say so!" Would that the *Haarlem Gazette* had as much truth, notwithstanding the *sinking*, as the worthy Englishman had.

The little lenitives which I see prescribed by a great physician with you, respecting the public health, in forbidding the pulling off the *hat* in the open air, etc., etc., etc., are alarming, very much so; poor Lewis had the same philosophical indifference to respect!

It is unfortunate that the value of such a lesson as Naples is in part lost to the present governments which yet a little while remain. From the mystery that involves a thousand details, all that we have is but a flash of lighting in shipwreck at night that shows the ruin without letting us contemplate the exact rocks, etc., etc., that produced it. Perhaps treason and infamy were never more artfully combined. The People! the sovereign People, butchered, and disarmed, chained, chateau'd, and gagged into Liberty! Poor People, betray'd by the gentry, what can they do? And deserted by their head! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

D[aelandels] did not go, it is asserted *now*, to Paris about the fleet to Paris, nor is it for Hamburg.²

XCIX.

Rec. Mar. 19.

Ans. Mar. 19.

12 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 16 [March 2] came safe.

Havart of Rotterdam sent me a Philadelphia paper yesterday of 15 January, containing Mr. Pinckney's³ speech on what I presume

¹ Adams to Murray, March 5, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 394; Secretary of State to Murray, March 6, in Pickering MSS. (Printed in "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 243. On the MS. the last clause was added by the President.)

² Adams to Murray, March 9, 12, 1799, in Adams MSS.

³ Charles Pinckney (1758-1824).

is a bill to prevent the usurpation of executive power in relation to negotiation with foreign powers—Logan's case. Mr. P[inckney] disapproves exceedingly of such conduct, but confesses himself personally under obligations to the gentleman (I presume sweet Doctor Logan!) I can by some pumping and working of my fancy find out the temper of mind that leads a lovesick green girl to sing the song "I pardon the treason the traitor's so dear"! but for a bearded politician in speaking of the very man who rendered a penal law necessary, to be a subject of thanks! I can not skin fleas. I doubt if they have got hold of my intention to search this emissary of sedition, else I should not wonder at an impeachment proposed: and I assure you in the gloom of this dreadful winter that has crossed my mind. In the same paper I see that some plea, strong enough to dismiss the impeachment against Blount, has been admitted by the Senate and proceeded on in the House as ground of dismissal. One pleasing symptom in the advertisements of ships; many ships, brigs and schooners, are advertised for freight to the Islands, and even to Georgia and to Europe; as well [as] armed ships with so many men, from 10 to 16 guns, some coppered! What a picture compared with this time last year!

The French have crossed the Rhine, and doubtless you have seen the note at Rastadt and Jourdan's¹ proclamation on this subject. Mannheim is in their possession, and Philipsbourg has received an invitation to surrender itself "*into their safe keeping.*" How modest. I am always and affectionately yours, etc., etc., etc.

Madame La Fayette and family breakfasted with us the other day. I understand that *some* of the French government have recommended to La Fayette to go to the United States as mediator; but he demands first, *what will you promise to do in good faith?* And I hear from Paris that Barlow and Skipwith have addressed a letter to the Directory, recommending to send out a man who had manifested republican sentiments before the revolution. I go on Friday to see M. La Fayette to Utrecht. I *may* hear more, and certainly I think he had best keep himself quiet if he has sense to know when he is well.

C.

Rec. Mar. 22.

Ans. Mar. 23.

14 MARCH, 1799.

Your 17 [March 5], my dear sir, came yesterday, and I attribute the irregularity of the post to the roads and inundations. As to H[ichborn] I never wish to see him again, and never did cultivate him; he did me, and during the deathlike silence of my room while he was here this winter, the voice of a talking man was refreshing to me. Besides, considering his uninvited declaration of hostility

¹ Jean-Baptiste Jourdan (1762-1833).

against France, and a supposed influence in his party, and that he was to go home soon, really I was dupe enough to my own vanity to think that I might be able to send back a propagandist of better doctrines. But the more I saw of him the more difficult I found it to know him, and the more it appeared to me that it was impossible, because his understanding seems to take objects like squinting eyes, obliquely. As to my *cousin*, of a family more ancient than Adam's, I confess I am weak in that point. I am a little familify'd, not in the vulgar sense of aristocracy, of better; but from the novelty and certainty of relationship on a part of my family of whom I knew but *one* circumstance—the tie, the name, and place, and time. Politics, of whose gloom I was sick, yielded to this new, perhaps childish, pleasure. You see my egotism; but you will see also that I hold it to be a sound doctrine, for public men to distinguish between the black, the white, the good and the bad, and to account for it if they depart from that rule. Often however I believe I am below that energy either of body or mind that enables men of happier organization to keep full breasted up to the line laid down by rule—not as to rectitude, I hope, but to manners!

Bernadotte's¹ proclamation is condemned here by some of the French "*as too much like Mack's*". Jourdan's is in the true style of the Luxemburgh declamation; it will sharpen the Russian's sabre. Their positions are truly formidable—Bernadotte's army of observation, Jourdan's probably better than even the Rhine, in the *Wurtemberg's strong posts*! Messéna's² down to Bâle and up to Constance! However, the power within the circle ought to be greater than that which is on it. Some Dutch troops, 4 or 5000, and two demi-brigades French, go, I believe, to Bernadotte—probably in lieu of the fleet. Nelson has not returned that we hear of with the Russians for Italy. I believe he certainly went in scout of the same. Should things be internally sound in the Austrian troops, and the Russians come in full contact, I still hope, and do not think that the patient is so low but she may be got once more on her legs. For the game once begun, we may expect to see all Italy and Belgium co-operating—traitors better known than before, and a rising of the popular spirit, if there be such a thing in Europe! against, instead of for them! On the contrary what I hear of Suabia, particularly of the Duke of W[urtemberg]'s³ states would lead me to expect, if there be either timidity or treason in the A[ustrian] army, one or two trans-Rhenine republics.

I hear not from the United States. In my last I told you of a debate on the bill to repress the usurpation of executive power rela-

¹ Jean-Baptiste-Jules Bernadotte, later Charles XIV of Sweden (1763-1844).

² André Masséna (1756-1817).

³ Frederick II (1754-1816).

tively towards foreign governments, having in view my old friend Logan, on whose affair I confess to you I now feel lucky. For his jaunt is not personally to himself and his own *views* criminal in the eyes of some, who even support the bill!

I write *today*, because tomorrow morning early I set off for Utrecht to meet La Fayette and family. By the *paper* of which I spoke in my last I see that the arrival of your brother Mr. T. B. Adams is announced in a very cordial manner at New York—forty odd days. Dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

CI.

Rec. Mar. 25.

Ans. Mar. 26.

19 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Yours of 9th [No. 18] I got yesterday evening on my return from Utrecht, where I saw La Fayette and family. He had pressed me to give him a meeting and I suspected if I did not go, he would come here, and then if General Brune or Mr. Lombard had moved against him for so public an appearance, I should have been embarrassed. Citizen of the United States—I found in Talon's² case was very troublesome. La F[ayette] is young in look and healthy, but what I did least expect he is cheerful. He uninvited announces his attachment "to Liberty," as it is called, but what exceeded even the pictures of imaginary perseverance is, that he still, I believe, wishes to be instrumental in curing political evils—ameliorating mankind!! Lord have mercy upon me!! While he talked I could thus, indeed naturally and unaffectedly, at every pause he made have said the litany through, "Lord have mercy upon us!" (Mrs. Adams will have the goodness to tell you where that is!) I seemed to be at Valladolid with Sangrado—"It is indeed true my dear Gil Blas that all my prescriptions have brought people to their graves, and I should change my principles and practise; but I have written a book to support them! Perish all the nobility and citizens first!" He is more in frame of mind like an ingenuous Virginian of little experience and much metaphysical reading than any European I ever saw. It is lamentable, for he seems to me really governed by a most insatiable thirst after honesty and good intentions, and is certainly generous and amiable.

Entre nous he was written to, *to be sounded* by Dupont de N[emours], recommending him to go to the United States, and incline us to terms. He answered that as an honest man and real friend of the United States he could do nothing there, because he saw no solid ground for the fulfilment of any promise they might make to the United States. I had abundance of talk with him on this point, stating the odium which would be brought on him if he interfered. I stated various

¹ Adams to Murray, March 16, 19, 1799, in Adams MSS.

² Antoine-Omer Talon (1760-1811).

things to disincline him from going to the United States, but he is fixed; he will go in June. I then told him of the arts that would be used to entangle him against government, by a set of men who had not been his friends when he was seized, but who considered him as having deserted the cause of republicanism, etc., etc. He loves General Washington, and Hamilton, and my friend McHenry. The French officers at Utrecht, etc., cultivate him even affectionately. He does not wish to be erased from the list of *émigrés*, I believe. So much, my dear sir, for a man of whom I had heard so much.

Well, the very awful scene has at last opened, and victory, who always goes with him who rises early, had declared for the French in the *pays de grisors*. The French say that the true declaration of war ought to be dated from the not-happening of the condition, the answer on 15 February on the march of the Russians, on which peace should continue!

Zealand is a little disturbed. Some liberty trees have been cut down, and there is some fear that these folks may imitate their neighbors. The Suabian republic I presume will follow the Tuscan! I do not hear from the United States, but am told that the Secretary of the Navy proposes twelve of the line, and that a trade will be opened with St. Domingo in a bargain with Toussaint. Dear sir, most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

I this moment, ten minutes before twelve, get yours—No. 19 [March 12]. Yes, I believe that both fleet and army will be vigorously used here, and there is reason to expect a sort of conscription for 8000, to make up the 30,000 which I hear is *expected* of them. A few thousand and 5000 French will march to the army of *observation* in a few days. Some French here go immediately! As to your treaty, I hope it will not be finished this year!

CII.

Rec. Mar. 28.

Ans. Mar. 30.

22 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: In a piece of a news paper sent me in February with the President's speech, I saw what purported to be Taylor's motion. It was on my recollection in truth the alarum bell against the government of the United States, calling on all the sister states to be vigilant in support of their rights, and was aimed against the sedition law and I think the alien law also. Kentucky, I since hear, has echo'd this nonsense, and even published something, I hear not correctly what, about the *sovereignty* of each state. I just hear also, from Paris as American news, that Maryland and *Tennessee!* Yes, Tennessee, have taken the lead in voting out the proposed missive from the ancient dominion with very little respect. The same will happen eastward, and I hope in South Carolina. This time two years the

same game was attempted by poor Virginia about the *treaty powers* of the House of Representatives, etc., etc. Their resolution was treated as it merited by Maryland, Massachusetts, and other states—with ridicule and immediate defeat. I too have lamented that John Marshall, after such a mission particularly, should lend himself thus against a law which the French Jacobinism in the United States had forced government to adopt. M[arshall] *before*, was not, that we ever heard of, one of us. General P[inckney], too, had been pretty much of the other side and his friends. He had, while here, to my eyes, often the remaining traits of the *state* politician, and ways of thinking which might make a man a great favourite with a military regiment filled with local politics. I hope we should not now differ as much as we used to do on some points of federal doctrines. I hope he is cured. I have, however, known but few men who were well made up in their United States politics who had not been in Congress for some time, and in the federal party.

With respect to foreign aid, were we actually in the contest without a previous arrangement for stipulated aid, and Great Britain unbound as to the option of peace independent of us, I believe that we should in one year be the sport of every rumor from Europe respecting proposed peace between Great Britain and France, our government harrassed and thwarted, and our state of things, *not war* completely. If in such a state of things we sought aid, we could not expect to get it on as good terms as before war commenced. Before such an idea, however, can be reasoned on, the public mind and government ought to decide whether they will have war, if they cannot [have] a safe peace and justice in such or such a time. But it does seem to me at present very important not to decry the idea of alliance even, but to leave that resource free to the sound policy and exigency of the time to come, of which we now can not form any certain calculation.

Since Monday I am very busy on the armed Brig *Mary*¹ (Parson's and Higginson's vessel) of Boston, an 8 gun letter of marque. She drove off a French robber off Goeree by 5 shot, approached the battery of Ondorp in Goeree, came to anchor, the privateer a stern. Captain Hall went on shore to the fort, show'd his papers to the commander, who kept them, and arrested the brig, put eight of her men on board the privateer, and sent her to Helvoet roads. I apply'd to government. They cleared her of her French banditti, but said she must remain under the guard of the man-of-war, together with the privateer, till it was decided whether she or the privateer *attacked* first in limits. I have required that the order of the commandant² at Ondorp be inquired into, and that he be pun-

¹ Captain Hall. In the Pickering MSS. are copies of Murray's correspondence with the Batavian government on this vessel.

² A Frenchman, and not under the control of the Marine Department,

ished for the insult in putting on board a French crew, etc., etc.; and Lombard has got hold of the case, and I hear is much affected at the tenor of the *commission*, which is to take French armed vessels, etc., etc. He either is, or pretends to be, unacquainted with the last law of July on this point. I hope to get the *Mary* up to Rotterdam in a few days, government here certainly being perfectly well *inclined*. At first the rumor was that the *Mary* was a prize to the French privateer. She was claimed by the ignorant little consul of Rotterdam as such, but government assure me that she is not in any possibility to be so considered, but is detained on the *infraction* charge, on which she is not guilty. Spoors the Minister of Marine, a man hated by *France* and her tribe, is a very good minister and a man of energy. But, my dear sir, I did not get a line from any one of the *Mary* till yesterday, an unsigned copy from the log book (*I suppose of the Mary*), and have been left to go pretty much by report ever since the 14 inst., when I first addressed government claiming the ship! There is a serious defect in the laws respecting the duties of captains. Government ought to appoint agents at the ports to whom captains should be obliged to give instant and authentic intelligence respecting all such accidents or things, and then the Minister would not write memoirs at hazard!

It is said from America (so the merchants letters say, who get news always a month before me) that Toussaint's agent will succeed probably in opening an intercourse with St. Domingo. I hope not, as it is our principal hold. That money is flush in all the banks, that twelve ships of the line are proposed by the Secretary of the Navy, that East India trade is immense, that five million dollars are to be loaned in the United States at 8 per centum. But I receive not a line, not a paper.

French troops, 4000, will go hence in a few days, and 8 or 10,000 I believe of Dutch. French conscripts come in daily.

Dear sir, truly always yours.¹

CIII.

Rec. April 1.

Ans. April 2.

26 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 21 came yesterday. If I had not felt so malicious a pleasure in reading Barlow's, the poet's, letter,² I had had a right to thank you for the Boston paper of December. It is very important that such gentry should write and show themselves. They not only discover their own contemptible characters, but also show what their masters are in Paris. They show too what their party in the United States are. Did I not suppose that you and I agreed certainly

¹ Adams to Murray, March 23, 1799, in Adams MSS.; March 26, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 396. Murray to Pickering, March 24, in Pickering MSS.

² Dated March 1, 1798, and written to his brother-in-law, Abraham Baldwin, member of Congress from Georgia.

and substantially on the great highroad of political opinions, we would soon cease to write, or write coldly. This precious fellow has been an agent of the United States; yet he talks contemptuously of "your government," and sending "Mun[roe] to the United States." Rarely if ever is it proper to promote or assist in any way a public scribbler—an author! The arrogance of that irritable race is unconquerable, is not to be softened by favours or patting. Like the toad the more you caress and pat the animal, the more he puffs and swells. Nine times out of ten he is a tyrant, and a deadly one, from the moment that he feels sensible of POWER—i. e. when the public show a respect for his opinions. He then attributes every favour to FEAR, and 99 out of a 100 are prepared for ingratitude and resentment, if favor and submission to their POWER, the right which they think MIND has over matter, be not increased in proportion as their vanity increases. Boswell was the only author or book publisher I ever could relish or like as man or gentleman that I knew in London of that tribe, and they are alike all over the world. Fabricius's dinner in Gil Blas and the Dunciad are correct pictures of that family of men, and the history of the last ten years is a comment upon their active agency in the great business of society. They and the great body of pedagogues ought to remain where children are, or where printers chuse to employ them as artists. Doubtless there are exceptions. Burke will illustrate one class of the excepted, Godwin will do to show what I mean by the sort of beings of which I take Joel Barlow to be one! Young Gear was with me day before yesterday. His good spirits and American talk and his anecdotes refreshed me much. He has the praise of having written the address of the Boston youth to your father.

The proclamation of Prussia relative to Cleves and the P[russian] property there seems indicative, and Baron Haugwitz's¹ retreat from office seems so also. On the other side, we hear much of P[russia]'s taking part with F[rance]! I do not think so.

The action of the 7 was against the Austrians, but that of the 8 for them, in the Grisons country. I am not so much inclined to croak as I was. I expect handsome things from the Arch Duke² and the Russians.

Five British frigates off Schevelling [Scheveningen] carry'd all the world down on Sunday to see them. They went south. The preparation is very active at Texel and Amsterdam in the shipping way; and we hear of flat-bottomed vessels. They will not I think find a wind fair enough. The British increase at Texel. The French will try to call in their privateers, as they want men to man the fleet—*vide* the letter of the Minister of Marine in the *Moniteur* lately.

¹ Christian August Heinrich Kurt Haugwitz (1752-1831). He did not retire from office until 1804.

² Karl Ludwig (1771-1847).

Ireland I should suppose was their object. The *Mary* of which I spoke, I suppose is free by this time and up at Rotterdam, as government assured me they would give the order for her release on security for the *infraction*, if any be proved. None can be proved. They acted as well as they could do! Dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

I hear that London papers with American news up to 1 February say that six ships of the line are voted and money for them; that the banks flourish beyond former periods and that the spirit is high and decided.

When was any *armed opposition* as mentioned by Harper to the sedition law? If there be, it will only tend to confirm by practice the sound principles of government against anarchy.¹

CIV.

29 MARCH, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I fear that I have more talent for complaining than for compliment, or I would try to do justice to the Austrians whose supineness I have all winter railed at. They have done handsome things, and I expect even great events in their favor. I do not say that the first blow is half the battle as applicable to a whole campaign; but I do think, that, in the state of the public mind of all the continent, broken and dejected, and imposed on to credulity and superstitious cowardice respecting a supposed *SUPERIORITY* of French force, the first rencontre in Suabia being against Jourdan,² and even a handsome check, the effect of this is worth half a dozen victories in that state of despair which would have seized the continent, had Jourdan pushed on and driven or defeated the Archduke in the first rencontres. We hear that this boaster, so far from dashing forward to the gates of Vienna, has filed off to the right in an angle so sharp as to permit one to call it a retreat to Schaffhausen. Some great loss if not defeat it is believed here has been received by Masséna also in Switzerland. Though the rumor of the Austrians being within eight leagues of Strasburgh on the 16th was false, yet the hasty speech of the commander, the preparations and the consternation, prove that some great reverses had been known to them, and that they were prepared to believe terrible things by what had lately passed. Should the Russians co-operate in Italy near Naples, I do think, my dear sir, that we might live to see the tide turn, and the despaired of patient shake off his leprosy scales and in time on his legs once more! I doubt if our friends here will send their troops out of this country, as we expect it possible for P[russia] to declare on the coalition against F! Yours always, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

¹ Murray to Pickering, March 27, 1799, in Pickering MSS.² At Stockach, March 25.

Citizen Galdy,¹ *Minister Plenipotentiary* from Cisalpine has lately arrived with his lady. Grasveldt, brother-in-law to Daendels, goes to Milan; young *Coque, secretary*; Valckenaer goes to Madrid as ambassador, and the Minister of Public Instruction, Mr. Van Kouthon,² Secretary of Embassy.³

CV.

Rec. April 7.

Ans. April 9.

1 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I got a letter from John Marshall of 18 December, dated Richmond—short, to cover two for Mr. Sykes, Palais Royal, Paris, on private business. It was open. He says he never saw such intemperance as existed in the V[irginia] Assembly. Speaks of the resolution against the alien and sedition laws as evils—"he *fears* they will be carry'd." He says "The federal, or what is the same thing the American, party gains ground in the elections for the national legislature, except in Jersey and Maryland." I lament that miserable sop to the intoxicated spirit of popularity—the address of which you speak—but which "of course" I have not seen. My dear sir, I see nothing except fragments in the *Frankfort* and *Bas Rhine* papers! How can I, when I gave up all correspondents last spring, almost *every* one? I attribute this long interval to *interruptions* and *takings*—but so it is. Count Byland⁴ of our Society lent me last night a manuscript extract of the state of our navy as reported not long since. It was a cheering sight, and makes more impression than all Vattel, or even Grotius the true Batave. Bourne has letters from Paris, assuring, as if his friend could know such a thing, that they are resolved to offer to treat in a third neutral place with the Minister of the United States. I have begged his absolute silence towards his American correspondents on this point. La F[ayette] told me that young Dupont was to go to Philadelphia, and I understood him to mean, for the purpose of speaking to the President from the Directory. It was in this conversation that I freely told him that it would be an odious thing in either him (LaF) or me to intermeddle in any shape; that the public course was open to the Directory, etc., etc., etc. They are, however, I think determined to abridge the license of their pirates. Among other reasons for so thinking, I saw today (confidentially) an official letter from the Vice Commissary of French Marine at Flushing just now, addressed to the Vice Commissary of Marine at the ports here, saying, that by command of the Minister of Marine he enjoined on them to take away the commission of any privateer that took any neutral vessel within limits. This has certainly also a relation to the *firmer* conduct of this

¹ Matthieu Galdi (—1821).

² Theodorus Van Kooten.

³ Adams to Murray, March 36, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 398.

⁴ Christian, count Bylandt.

government since 12 August, and also to the plan of recruiting their navy, this government having seized and confiscated two French privateers since 12 August regulations (they will be sold this month at auction). In fact their commerce and that of their allies, *all* of them, is annihilated, particularly their own, and they find perhaps one maxim useful in that mountain of rubbish of which they have made morals and religion, that honesty is the most cunning and wise *policy* that man can imagine.

I *do* think that Austria will keep her legs. As yet Jourdan has not done anything but waver about. In his army are some weak points, owing I hear to the *maladministration* of it, or rather carelessness. The war is now less a war of opinions and sentiment, and more of means organised in the usual way. *Irruptions* now will not do. Italy is no proof against this *bold* doctrine; one can prove nothing from such a set, but that they are fit for an infallible Pope—and he for them! What will the most amiable king do more than *make* a proclamation about his vendued domains in Cleves, etc., etc.? Our unhappy and unarmed captains have been in the regular custom of entering PROTESTS against the French piracy and sales of plunder.

On the whole, my dear sir, I do begin to feel a little life from the opening scene. While there was no motion I despaired; but now there is a mode of action opened by which I think the question will come fairly, or more so, before the PASSIONS of the continent I hope.

Two ships have just come in, one from Mr. Codman¹ of Boston *unarmed*, but safe, in I think 33 days; the other from Philadelphia, I hear. As yet I have nothing. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

Your No. 23 [March 26] is safe.²

CVI.

Rec. April 11.

Ans. April 13.

5 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have been within a day or two extremely gratify'd by some irregular Boston and N[Y?] papers up to 22 February by a Mr. Wm. Tudor, Junr.³ In all, except an *Aurora* and a Greenleaf's, I find bold clear expression with government and sound principles, and a spirit of defiance against the Jacobins that leads me to believe that, though they are noisy, they feel and know that they are low in the public confidence. Above all I was pleased with the resolutions of the Pennsylvania *H[ouse] of Representatives*—mind not Senate—that would be to be *expected* against the Kentucky resolutions which declare the alien and sedition laws void. These resolutions trim the transmontane politics and are excellent. Delaware also declares spiritedly against them as a subject unfit for discussion. There is a

¹ John or Stephen Codman.

² Adams to Murray, April 2, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 400; Murray to Pickering, April 5, in Pickering MSS.

³ 1779-1830.

long and able piece of irresistible argument from the minority of the Virginia Assembly (58), addressed to the citizens against the intemperate resolutions of that legislature against these laws. It is one of the best pieces I have ever read of that sort of writing, and must indeed have its effect. As I write I have your kind favor No. 24 [March 30]. Thank you for Logan's bit of vindication.¹ I have not time to read it or your letter, as a fever which I have had for some days off and on had kept me in bed *this morning* till this moment, and the post goes in fifteen minutes. I am better. . . .

I saw in one of the papers which I mentioned a hint about *armed opposition*, but I doubt it. The minority are too strong in Virginia, and Tennessee is *right*.

My Austrians you see have got on their legs again and actions very honorable to the patient daily happen, you must confess. Do it with a good grace, and acknowledge that we may hope a little. As to the United States! My dear friend and old one, I HAVE NO FEARS, all will strengthen good principles and knit the ligatures of the Constitution better, better round government, and the nation round both! Yours, my dear sir, most truly.

I should think that John Marshall wrote the address against the resolutions [of] V[irginia]. He may have been weak enough to declare *against* those laws that *might* be against the *policy* or necessity, etc., etc., etc., yet sustain their constitutionality. Hichborn told me that Gouv[erneur] Morris declared he would oppose in courts those laws as unconstitutional. He may not have read them; he had not thought deeply of them. I *hope* that J. Marshall did write the address.²

CVII.

Rec. April 18.

Ans. April 20.

12 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 24 and 25 came safely, but I was too sick (indeed in bed) to acknowledge them by the last post. Bile, slight vomiting, fever or something very like ague also, except part of June, July, August, and a few days of September. Indeed this climate is hideous and destructive. Poor Mrs. M[urray] feels its baneful effects on her delicate frame even more sensibly than I do. However one feels less these personal inconveniences when such days as 25 March are heard of! And when these appear symptoms of courage that will restore much of the lost qualities of the continent in diminishing that political cowardice which has preceded the loss of personal bravery.

Jourdan you will perceive is not at the gates of Vienna, but actually at the gates of Strasburgh (so the *Publiciste* says), and his army a

¹ "Memoir of Dr. George Logan," 89.

² Adams to Murray, April 6, 1799, in Adams MSS.; April 9, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 402; Murray to John Adams, April 7, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, April 8, in Pickering MSS.

few miles from them also—*on the defensive*. The Arch Duke's victories in my mind have decided the political character of this summer. Even if hereafter should the French army be recruited, he should be driven more than Jourdan has been. The charm that so mysteriously bound down the will, mind and body of the continent will have been broken; men of balancing politics between fidelity and eventual treason, will have some chance of success in being faithful. The right road will appear in fact to be the safest, if they will but fight, and they will have shown that they can fight as well as the French. I have not a doubt but that there are in every court on the continent hundreds of gentlemen, rather sickly in their honor and fidelity, who will have been restored to sound determination on the side of rectitude by the events of 21, 22 and 25, and the present state of things on the Rhine. You see I do not flatter these folks very much in this estimation of them. All men had rather do right, but the majority ought to have the consolations of success in view to keep them right! I fear this is true.

Day before yesterday I had letters from the Secretary of State up to 5 February. Many of his dispatches I find by the numbers are missing. No news. Nothing said of my little friend L[ivingston], which gave me some quiet, as I feared rather a rap o' the knuckles for my vivacity. At last letters to Skipwith, Cutting, [and] Fenwick,¹ revoking their commissions are sent. S[kipwith] had resigned. The consulate general in Paris [is] abolished, and I am ordered to have the papers put into some safe hand. Mountflorences goes in a few days (his wife went in January) to Paris, and I shall put them into his safe keeping. Vans's commission also is revoked, Barnet² of Brest removed to Bourdeaux, Dobree³ of Nantz and Cathalan⁴ of Marseilles continued. I have sent on the letters. Vans has gone to the United States I hear via Hamburg. I have the Secretary's report to the President of the United States on Gerry's and T[alleyrand]'s negotiation, etc., etc.⁵ He calls things by their real names, and Barlow comes in for some excellent slices. Though the Colonel has not Pope's art of embalming folly and vice for the laugh or contempt of future times, he gibbets them as strikingly for the same use, and the times rather demand the whip than the satirist. I did not know (so little is Joel Barlow known in Maryland) that he had bow'd to the Bourbons. It only adds to my opinion which I have had of what are called *men of letters* ever since I was in London. Succeeding events have given to me perhaps too much of a Gothic opinion of their utility, or rather of their hurtfulness. Dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

¹ Fulwar Skipwith, Nathaniel Cutting, Joseph Fenwick.

² Isaac Cox Barnet.

³ P. F. Dobree.

⁴ Stephen Cathalan, jun.

⁵ "American State Papers, Foreign Relations," II, 229.

Is it true that the publication of the secret convention signed at Rastadt between Austria and France year before last made a great sensation where you are!¹

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.²

Private.

THE HAGUE, 13 April, 1799.

DEAR SIR: A newspaper in thirty-four days from New York has just been sent to me from Amsterdam, in which I perceive that the President nominated me on the 18 February as minister plenipotentiary to France. I am profoundly grateful for and justly proud of this mark of his confidence! The same paper contained also a certain letter³ on which I have already, in September or October, especially I think the latter, given my opinion to you, sir. It contained also the nomination (in the message) of 25 February, new modifying the first nomination. If my ambition was gratified and excited by the first, believe me the second gave me great consolation when I saw *the name of Mr. Ellsworth*. He sheds great dignity on the mission, and will give immense force to the sound things that may be effected, if they are to be done, and prove a bulwark against a refusal to do impolitic and unwise things, should they be pressed, whatever may be the issue, throughout all the United States. If the nomination be agreed to by the Senate, I shall consider myself as highly fortunate to serve with him. He knows me and knows, I believe, my great respect for him in every point of view! Mr. Henry I have not the honor to know personally. He has long played a great part in the United States, and must be a mature man. . . .

Mr. Lombard, the French minister here, was extremely delighted at the intelligence which came to him express from Amsterdam this morning, respecting the new embassy, and told me, for he called on me! that he should send an express tonight to Paris with the news. . . .⁴

CVIII.

Rec. April 21.

Ans. April 23.

16 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed you have a message and a new nomination of envoys to France, among which the kindness and long settled partiality of the President have led him to give me a place. But this is not all. He had on 18 February sent a first message in which he did me the honor of nominating me solely for this business.⁵ You know me sufficiently I trust to believe that I am, as I ought to be, indeed profoundly grateful for this peculiar mark by which his confi-

¹ Adams to Murray, April 13, 1799, in Adams MSS.; April 16, in Writings of John Quincy Adams, II, 412; Murray to John Adams, April 13, 1799, in Adams MSS.

² From the Pickering MSS.

³ Talleyrand to Pichon.

⁴ Murray to Pickering, April 16, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

⁵ The story of the first nomination is told in "Works of John Adams," IX, 247.

dence has distinguished me! He always, indeed, treated me with peculiar kindness, always at all times and in all places. I was from the first sensible of this, and independent of his high stations have always been sincerely and faithfully attached to him! I have not in political life those friends that help to keep alive the recollection of the absent, and I therefore know that all this honor which he bestow'd upon my name and family by his nomination of me, came from himself! For though I know that many of the gentlemen near him are my friends, yet I do not think that they think so highly of me as I know he does. From 1785 I have been, as it were, his pupil, always indeed at the same time enjoying a great freedom of argumentation with him on hundreds of questions. I am very sensibly affected by this affair, for I had no pretensions to it in my own opinion.

A great and respectable voice among the few or the many must have said the same when it was found that I was to go alone, for you see he now modifies the nomination. Perhaps I love the President more for his disappointment, because his second proves to me that he hazarded a little by the first nomination, I dare say that between the 18 and 25th a great stir took place.¹ I judge solely from the message of 25th, having not seen a paper or letter but one paper from New York the 6 March on the subject. Letters to Amsterdam of 2d March from Philadelphia say the last nomination was agreed to.

Will you believe me when I declare that the second nomination, with Mr. Ellsworth² in it, has given me tranquility and real pleasure, even more than I should have felt in finding myself entrusted with such great and difficult affairs, and without a continental reputation as Mr. E[llsworth] has throughout the United States. I feel safe with him and can work with confidence and alacrity, for I know him personally, his ability, judgment and firmness, and high integrity. I am a little curious *entre nous* to know the clue that led to one more Virginian in Mr. H[enry]'s appointment. I do not know him personally. In the *Publiciste* (quoted in the inclosed of 23 Germinal (12th inst.)) follows the names of the three envoys characterized as one had a right to expect.

"The three envoys are MM. Murray, *Minister Plenipotentiary* at the Hague, Ellsworth, Chief Justice of the United States, and the respectable Patrick Henry, Virginian, known for his attachment to the Republican principles"!!!—literally.

Has a Minister a right, or would he discreetly appoint a *chargé des affaires*, in an absence out of the country? I think he can not.

The French Minister here sent off an express as soon as he knew of the *nomination*, and is much delighted. I have not time to make a remark on the policy of all this that I have told you of the mission.

¹ "Works of John Adams," IX, 249.

² Oliver Ellsworth (1745-1807).

The Austrians negotiate well—confess. Yours always, my dear sir, most truly, etc., etc., etc.

Your 26, 27 [April 6, 9], safe. I am taking emetics for the ague and fever!¹

CIX.

Rec. April 25.

Ans. April 27.

19 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have not received any letters yet from Philadelphia respecting the late nominations. Mr. King tells me he understands the first produced a conference by appointment of Senate of five members² who waited on the President; the result was the second, which he hears was agreed to.

My last letter from Colonel Pickering is 5 February. He does not mention one word about any such thing as this measure. I presume therefore that the President, weighing 'T[alleyrand]'s letter, the state of Europe, and the firm temper of the United States, together with the existing and preparing naval force and military of the United States, delay'd any mention of his intention till the various measures of Congress, enjoined by sound policy, should have been finished and placed in his hands, and then brought forward his measure. To keep it thus back was a step dictated by his knowledge of the relaxing effects of hope upon Congress. To prevent a relaxation of the public mind in the interim I hope will be the object of the good men who work day and night for the public safety in the United States. The probable events of this summer in Europe will, I trust, work well in the United States. The giant will appear less than he did last summer. The people will have seen the good effects of exertion and defiance, and the state—retrograde—of French affairs EVERYWHERE will show them that when well opposed they are vincible; and I also trust that this effort of the President itself will be, as it ought to be, considered as a condescension of equal and armed strength to meet the soliciting advances of an enemy rather than as an act of solicitude, which it would have been last summer, unarmed and ill treated, which was if you remember the wish of the Jacobins. As to *France*, my opinions in all respect are the same they have been these two years constantly of her and her priesthood! *They say* soft things to me, and I have no objection to listen to them, but I see and rejoice that the papers make a distinction between "the respectable Patrick Henry, Virginian, well known for his attachment to republican principles," and *Messieurs* Ellsworth and W. V. M. It will do Mr. H[enry] good, as, if I ever see him, he shall know that either he or I is intended to be the Mr. G[erry] of this commission, and I believe he has not been much used to a large city and its ways. As to me

¹ Adams to Murray, April 19, 1799, in Adams MSS.

² Sedgwick, Bingham, Rose, Read, and Stockton.

they are *excessively* civil. I have since I wrote to you received a letter from Pichon inclosing a copy of the message of 25th February. After some general compliments he says: "Le Ministre qui a approuvé l'intention que je lui ai montré avoir de vous écrire à cette occasion un mot d'amitié, m'a recommandé de vous assurer de tout l'empressement qu'il a personnellement de vous voir bientôt à Paris: Je puis vous affirmer que la manière dont vous vous êtes fait connaître à lui, l'a déjà tout persuadé de la facilité avec laquelle vous vous entendrez sur les points essentiels. Il me charge en même tems de vous faire connaître qu'il attend avec impatience la lettre par laquelle il espère que vous ne tarderez pas à lui demander des passeports pour vous rendre à Paris, *et que du moment où il aura été mis à même de le faire, il n'hésitera point à vous donner toutes les assurances propres à lever les obstacles qui éloignent encore la reprise des négociations.*"

I answered to this a reciprocation of esteem for Mr. T[alleyrand] that his readiness to do, etc., etc., etc., I accepted as an augury of a handsome and happy negotiation (P[ichon] had spoken of the kind acts of the *Directory*) that every measure proposed by the President of the United States or done by him had amply succeeded in the United States, and that he came to this negotiation under circumstances highly favorable to him in the sound estimate of Europe, etc., etc., etc., to that effect.

My dear sir, the President has, I feel it, placed an unexpected and great trust into my weak hands, in part. You must continue to me your kindness in writing with perfect freedom and in the highest confidence. More than ever I need your friendship! I *know*, and you know I have so thought, that I have very little for the good of my country and the honor of his Administration than zeal. You know that that zeal often wants a *friend*. I long also for Mr. Ellsworth. Yours, dear sir, truly.

Your 28 [April 13] this instant comes—never were two modest men who offered more delicate and to me welcome flattery with good intentions!¹

But the post actually goes and I have but time to push my victory upon you which I do without mercy—so vain am I to get an advantage over you—as the Arch Duke does over Jourdan. It is on that point that I summon your surrender once more. Why my Austrians are at Schaffhausen, victorious in Italy and in Tyrol. Your French at Strasburgh and at Colmar in Alsace!

I still have the tertian ague and fever regularly, or I would write you a tremendously long letter.²

¹ "It has often given me no small gratification, by flattering I hope a better passion than my vanity to find my sentiments in perfect unison with yours upon current events, even before any reciprocal communication could take place between us relating to them." John Quincy Adams to Murray, April 13, 1799.

² Adams to Murray, April 20, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CX.

Rec. April 28.

Ans. April 30.

22d APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I rather believe that the second nomination succeeded, so letters say from New York and Philadelphia, I *hear*. Had the President's measures of preparation failed, or the people been riotous and doubtful, I would rather have preferred risking the issue of internal contest than have adopted this measure. For under such a state of things the French government would have used a party pending negotiation or after it. But every measure that was to give dignity to the natural policy of peace, has been carry'd hollow—more among **THE PEOPLE** than in the Congress. The President could *afford* to take or meet a conciliatory proposition, and combining our internal strength, our external small but formidable means of offence, which gave us respectability, with the then state of Europe, and its probable career, it was expedient and wise in the Executive to show his readiness to meet the advances of France. If sincere, we may profit as a nation; if not, I do trust in the *now try'd* spirit and stamina of the country that the last step of conciliation will be the basis of uncommon union and energy! It seems to me, for I have had not one word yet from the United States, that *at the end* of a successful session, means in hand, attempts of anti's routed and defeated both in Congress and in the States, that in the possession of these advances, and perhaps knowing that the French government had made them known in confidence to others in Philadelphia (which I think like them!), that the question would naturally be then taken up by the President under this view thus: We must meet the alternative of either a declaration of war against France, or meet her advances and be willing to consider her assurances as sincere enough for an appointment. A thousand considerations are drawn from a perfect knowledge of domestic causes and things that rendered the first a troublesome question, I dare say. The *demonstration* of public spirit as a domestic bulwark against a failure of negotiation—and the state of Europe as affording ground of great caution, afforded the basis—in either way greater Union at home, and more external safety, was to be expected whether Europe stood or tumbled. Not that I think that had the last happened whether with or without negotiation that *France* would have forgiven us; but if it was to happen and this measure adopted, the power of resistance hereafter among us would be I think greatly augmented! A singular, and what, I rejoice at it! in the United States will be called a providential co-incidence of things, has happened since in Europe to favor an honorable adjustment! My young secretary McHenry, has arrived at Hamburgh—72 days at sea! It is said *privately* here, that last night General

Brune had a courier informing that *Kell* is taken by the Austrians, and 5,000 of St. Cyr's¹ men made prisoners about the same time. Sherer² too has certainly been defeated. We may expect a tempest against the Directory. The military is much discontented! Italy is certainly in immense ferment, Switzerland soon will be so. The patient may be in convulsions—but she kicks hard. In truth she is sick of pap, and panada and is getting hearty. Dear sir, always affectionately yours, etc., etc.

I have sent a copy of Pichon's letter which he says he wrote by order of the Minister, I mean the passages relative assurances which should be given, etc., etc. Were Mr. E[llsworth] and Mr. H[enry] now here, it would be a "lucky moment" to press the tender *Calista*.³

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁴

Private:

THE HAGUE, 23 April, 1799.

DEAR SIR, *Truxtun's victory*⁵ makes a great impression here and is treated by the *Rédacteur* more in a *complaining* than indignant manner. *They will bear* I believe a great deal more, *they* also must have *seen your late report their tameness under* the several official and public gibbetings is one very conclusive evidence of the acknowledged strength of the *United States*.

The late message of the President of 25 February was not expected here, it was supposed from the naval career and progress in the war of the United States that they were completely embarked as there was very little conception that France had made advances *even since the act of July* was known to her and to all the world. But that measure (as yet I know not whether the Senate agreed to it,) when it was accompany'd by *the assurances* and even solicitude, at least *expressed*, is considered as a wise one, as our point of honour had been actually vindicated by arms, and an armed defiance offered to France, as every great measure of the Executive had succeeded in the United States and every attempt to relax the great and wise measures and energies of government had failed and as sedition was known to be scouted from south to north and driven home again to those malevolent bosoms from which it had been sent to sister states! In fact, my dear sir, it is supposed that the President could *afford* to MEET advances after this great vantage ground had been taken and preserved with such dignity in the eyes of the world! What would have been weak from fear, is great from what has absolutely struck all Europe, I believe all Europe, as a fortunate concurrence of things

¹ Laurent Gouvion St. Cyr (1764-1830).

² Barthélemy-Louis-Joseph Scherer (1747-1804).

³ Adams to Murray, April 23, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, April 23, in Pickering MSS.; Pickering to Murray, April 24 (two letters), *Id.*

⁴ From the Pickering MSS.

⁵ Cypher.

and situations that gave United States the air of superiority in this contest, *all* that has been done by arms, by addresses and by *your writings*. Suspension laws and acts of Congress were essential *preliminaries*. They have had I believe their intended effect, no human mind perhaps can foresee the issue of a negotiation, should one be intended. Were one *now* on foot, or in a few months to come, every appearance authorises the idea that if it be *possible* to arrange at all, this Spring and Summer under these circumstances, and under an UNRELAXING energy at home and through the MEANS adopted and in PRACTICE every where by the United States a good arrangement would be *most likely*—if it ever is to be while France is a republic!

I do not think that I exaggerate, because of its belonging to my hypothesis, but it seems that an almost total *reverse* threatens her affairs (of France). Her military schemes *every where* are blown up! though one of her greatest adversaries has not raised his arm on the continent, the Russians having taken Corfu and one other island only, yet. A large part of Jourdan's army is on the left of the Rhine, and in great disorder, some at Strasburgh and some as far in Alsace as Colmar. Starray presses them at Kell and is believed to have broken up the left wing of the French under St. Cyr, and by address surrounded and taken many thousands, a few days since. The Arch Duke presses Schaffhausen, and Switzerland seems to be in great ferment, in some parts openly. The advantages first gained in the Grisons and latterly in the *borders* of Tyrol have been greatly overbalanced by late defeats in those regions. On the Adige, near Verona, the third great army has been twice decidedly beaten by General Kray,¹ on the 30 and 5th, and the Austrians advance nearer to Mantua. The rest of Italy is *said* by the Dutch *patriot* paper here of yesterday (one that admits reluctantly such news) that almost all Italy is insurgent, and that the people have taken Fondi. In fact, sir, the long armistice was the basis of the probable destruction of the french acquisitions. In that time Austria, strengthened, theories and promises became corrected by practice, enthusiasm vanished and the renewal of hostilities, though geographically the same, was morally and politically quite in not the *same* countries! France, intoxicated also by the intermediate, puny victories, was not *prepared*, the administration of her armies *bad*, and her line of defence and offence too great for her means, moral, fiscal and military! The dyke that has been formed seems certainly to have broken, all the arc discontented, the military especially. Mr. Lombard (a man of great worth for that school!) two nights ago said in a paroxysm of rage, "Those five men have ruined my country. We shall now feel the reverse of our medal!"—this among ministers.

¹ Paul Kray von Krajova (1735-1804).

Mr. McHenry after seventy-two days has just arrived at Hamburgh. Mr. Smith had been unwell; he is now well and so was your son who he says was a great consolation to him. I have just had the honour to receive your 20. I never expected any other issue to the mediation. Though via Hamburgh and though postage is high I can not help enclosing a paper. I am with the greatest respect and esteem faithfully, dear sir, your most ob. servt., etc., etc.

CXI.

Rec. May 2.

Ans. May 4.

THE HAGUE, 26th April, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have nothing yet from government respecting the mission. If any[thing] is to be done, now would be a good time, and I believe that if the French government fall into our track at all, it is probable that they will go *great lengths* to re-establish themselves with the American *nation* with a view to the *future*; and for the present, to revive their colonies and break down the independent spirit that seems clearly to have risen among them. The greatest stumbling block (always excepting even to you, the ORDERS of the President on this and other points) will be the *Indemnification* for plunder, to the amount in tolerably made out cases of I suppose 40,000,000 dollars. They *can not pay* this sum, now. It is not the estimate of a *national* loss; were it, the nation might set off something for it; our government could agree to give it up from political considerations or any other: but it is *private* loss. If, it would be said at home by the sufferers, if for national purposes you give up our claims, or take national advantages in exchange or lieu of payment, such as trade to islands, or any other national goods, you purchase it with our losses, and our nation must pay us! This was the principal of a claim made, it is true in a moment of great heat and passion, by the merchants of Boston, New York and Baltimore, and Philadelphia too (I think), in May or April, 1794, on British depredation. They thought that stock ought to be created to the amount of the plunder for those who could make out a clear *bona fide* loss by unjust taking. I forget if *they proposed* the mode of payment; but I remember that Mr. Goodhue,¹ a very sound man, brought [the] principle into discussion on petition of the merchant deputation. The *nation* would not have relished that principle, I thought from the symptoms which then appeared. Now I rather suspect they would kick against it, and call it a merchant aristocracy debt. This great object, equal nearly to half the debt of the United States, will prove a severe business, should there be a *mission* and a *treaty*, let the instructions be as they may—light or loose. In speaking to Pichon on this sub-

¹ Benjamin Goodhue (1748-1814).

ject, to urge the idea of the improbability of a negotiation, from the greatness of this object and our determination to be as well paid by France as we were by Great Britain, he more than once said (he, probably not ordered to say so) that that might be arranged; they could give us a trade to colonies for so many years excluding other foreigners, on terms like those of their own vessels. But I am this instant so lucky as to get your No. 30 [April 20], which by reminding me of one mistake leads me to see how visionary all this preparatory prosing is, as you still think the Senate rejected. I still, you see I am tolerably sanguine, stick to it that they would not reject the second nomination. As to the *appearance* of a division between the President and Senate, be assured they are *united*; and if it be not so on this particular, many reasons which are not explained to us yet may have *produced* this *appearance*. The one which you mentioned as a consequence of the resistance of the Senate, in France's eyes might be the one, yet no serious division. I am certain that the President was serious and sincere in his measure—notwithstanding.

I will try to discipline my Nos. a little better; but you see I am willing to admit a sort of old Conti, as I give you two for one. Here a requisition (of national guards) will take place 18 to 35—*patriots*, or substitutes from the rich. It will produce heat. I consider *France* as in a very critical military and governmental state at present. The bears and eagles ought not to be together. Dear sir, I am yours always, etc., etc.

Your books from Van Cleef are with me.¹

CXII.

Rec. May 5.

Ans. May 7.

30 APRIL, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I got a letter from my brother who happened to be at Philadelphia in February, two days since; he says the conferees from [the] Senate were, Messrs. Sedgwick, James Ross (of Pennsylvania) Stockton (of Jersey), Reed of South Carolina; that they concurred in the second, and appropriations passed. John had the honor of having a shake of the hand from the President, to whom I presented him two years since. He says he looks well, but is not as full in flesh as when we saw him together; that Mrs. Adams is now perfectly restored, but has been very ill! No man can retain fat and spirits during these damned times! I know (it may be my weakness!) but one rock to be tranquil on in all these storms—Religion. To be sure I *was* "*Parcus deorum cultor*," and know not if anything would have given me this turn, except the comfortless harassing

¹ Adams to Murray, April 27, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 414; April 30, in Adams MSS.

things and bodings of these times. Mind, I am not fanatic, I see not visions; but indeed I am for a stray sheep tolerably pious in secret! Bourne writes me what I yet can not credit. He hears that VIRGINIA, that prolific mother of holy statesmen, finding her missives dashed back in her face by her younger sisters, has ordered the prisons to be opened for all confined under the alien and sedition *laws of the United States!* If so, I hope MARYLAND, small but energetic Maryland, *if* it be FEDERAL!! will be called in to bring her to her senses, and to let her feel that though bloated she is but skin and bones; though swelled to the size of an ox, that she has but the venom of the toad without the vigor of the quadruped she is bursting to equal. But this is railing. However, if this question be to be try'd at all, NOW is *the very best* time to settle such constitutional business. I have no doubt of the issue. The English papers unfold a new plot in a letter from Charleston, S. C. Our government had intelligence that four Frenchmen, conspirators, were to embark in the *Minerva* from Hamburgh for Charleston with papers concealed in a tub with a false bottom. It sent orders to have them examined on their arrival. The ship came in on 22d February (so says the letter), was examined, the Frenchmen (one a black) corresponded with the description, the tub was found and the papers in it. They were put into jail and the papers are in General Pinckney's keeping for government.¹ If it be true, the plan must have had a relation to the *blacks*, and will alarm Virginia.

I beg you to mention the word Mr. Turner² to Mr. Pitcairn and beg him to *watch him*. He is a U[nited] Irishman at H[amburgh]. If you please—if not think no more of it—as I shall write to him about such a man. Elsewhere I will tell you why. Hamburgh is a place of infinite plotting, and we find the United States have their share in the trade. The United Irish there ought to be watched, as they are devoted to France against every nation, I dare say.

A report is that Switzerland is in some ferment. Dear sir, most truly yours always.

CXIII.

Rec. May 8.

Ans. May 11.

3 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I too have observed the same nonsense in the Paris papers. The *Moniteur*. I never see or rarely; but though pride may use these affectations, it is but *pride*. They *know* that the world knows that they have been *addressed, legislated, colony-starved, alienated, driven out, defy'd, and frigated* into suppleness and good manners. New verbs with modify'd meanings must come to the vocabulary of a man who writes about them! and though awkward

¹ See McMaster, "History of the People of the United States," II, 441.

² Italics represent words in cipher.

I rather think my conscript verbs are as good as their conscript citizens dragged into the service. It appears to me that, as I before mentioned, things will soon come to a crisis at Paris, and that the present rulers will have occasion for all their cares at home if a commission do come, that it will be too late to see the lofty but merciful B[onaparte?], and that rare conjurer of parties, call him M.—for I *hear* the storm mutters over them in particular. For what? Be sure that “sweet human nature” has its share of tender motives. Why because they attribute the renewal of the war to these two in particular! What a curse must continued victory and prosperity be in reality, when nothing but MISERY, defeat, and disgrace, can teach one the claims of moderation. Had the gates of Vienna been sent to Paris—ah! the clamour for moderation had never been heard!

All that is true; they may be at these gates. I should not in any other state of their interior think it improbable even. Did you not make a better defence than your Jourdan I would storm the remnant force you have left. But you call out on “Solon”! and I like Croesus, full of rich means which the Austrians give, listen with humble diffidence on fortune, and with you look to the *end* before we pronounce on the happiness of the Arch Duke. But in Italy, my dear sir, they *retreat*. How far Suwarrow¹ and his Russians will not make a difference I can not say. I think however that Kray can not relish a superior, and a foreigner, after such brilliant claims to a sole command.

As I mentioned the English papers mention Northampton County, Pennsylvania, to be in open rebellion, and the volunteers turning out to quiet it. The land tax the pretence. now would be the best time to settle *all* such questions. I have no doubt of the success and the good. In the next place I do not believe that there is one in twenty *Americans* among these miscreant slaves. But *entre nous*, if this affair be *serious*, and there be pretty evident reasons to believe *France* to have a moving finger in it, I do not expect the commission. I doubt if the President would send it—*till all were settled at home*; for I think it ought to be a maxim of state in the United States never to have a foreign negotiation pending insurrection at home. The more you think, the more I believe we shall agree on that! I say nothing of such an idea to any one here of course. I have again seen H[iehbörn];² and I am more and more convinced—though *to me* he always and solicitously speaks with respect of the President and government—that his party decidedly aim at a change of government in the United States. Their object is, as it has been, to Democratisé the government, to *pluralise* the executive; to lodge much of its functions in the legislature, in fact an overthrow of the constitution in

¹ Alexander Vasilievich Suvárov (1729–1800).

² He sets off for Boston first wind. *Note by Murray.*

substance. Knowing or believing *that* to have been always their *real* object clamor about Great Britain and France only the road to it, as soon as I saw H[ichborn] last winter January openly turn against the French, and damn them, I expected that the party would then openly work against the government itself—and *constitution*. But they will fail! They over-rate their strength, and are conceited and weak. So you will feel it by the great energy which this Northampton Irish rebellion will draw forth from the government. The U[nited] Irish ought to be watched by us all. Affectionately yours, dear sir.

Bourne sent me the inclosed cut of paper, and I send it to show you what a Proteus party spirit is.

I forgot to mention that in the English papers it is said (in letters from Philadelphia) that one principal cause of the rebellion was a virulent and calumnious and inflammatory letter from a member of the Pennsylvania legislature to the people, or some one in *that* county, I think. There are some Irish jobmen in that house who would make a deep impression on you, were you to *see* them and hear them!

Yes, certainly on my own account, my dear sir, I shall take care of the channel through which I shall enjoy the benefit and pleasure of your letters, *should a Commission come!*¹

CXIV.

Rec. May 12.

Ans. May 14.

7 MAY, 1799.

I have received *the commission*²—three—Mr. E[llsworth], Mr. H[enry] and W. V. M., not jointly and severally. *Entre nous*, I have written to Mr. T[alleyrand] on the 5th³ for the explicit and unequivocal assurances of reception, rights of embassy, and negotiation.

I have papers as late as 7th March. The federal party seem cool on the nomination, at least some of them. Porcupine abuses it, and in particular, a “damned good natured friend” so writes to me. I dare say the world will say, and some of it really think, that I worked and wriggled myself into this appointment. I did not. I did not even wish to be in it. I saw all its perils to whoever has it!

I have been writing to government, and am too late for post. Your 33 [April 30] yesterday. Dear sir, most truly yours always.

Mr. McHenry is here as my secretary.⁴

¹ Adams to Murray, May 4, 1799, in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 415; May 7, in Adams MSS.

² Pickering’s letter inclosing the commission, is in “Works of John Adams,” IX, 257.

³ *Ib.*, 258; also Murray to the Secretary of State, May 7, 1799, p. 259.

⁴ Murray to Pickering, May 10, 1799, in Pickering MSS.

CXV.

Rec. May 16.

Ans. May 18.

10 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have not yet heard from Mr. T[alleyrand]. My letter did not go till the 7th, as the post did not till then go. I had no one to *send*, had I thought it best; but I reflected on that and determined to send by post, because an express must have been by some decent man, and the papers would have shaped it into a measure of solicitude.¹ *Sang froid* in the first steps appears to me most politic. I owe a great deal to your opinions on many occasions; I do not wish to engage you on small piddling points. These however sometimes are thought important. On all that you think important I do beg you to tell me with *freedom*, as well as you certainly will do with candor, your opinions. There is a fish in the United States which to avoid being seen runs its head into the bank of mud without hiding itself. So a man whose head is very intent may do. A friend alone can tell him his actual situation, and the errors of his actions and opinions.

It is said that the Arch Duke has recovered and not gone to Vienna. The late catastrophe at Rastadt,² according to De Brie's³ details in this day's paper, is indeed an atrocious and melancholy thing. I wait however for the *other side* of the tale. Be it as it may, two ministers are killed close to Rastadt, and the event, of which alone men in general judge, will be a new ally to France. The Arch Duke⁴ I doubt not was as innocent of it as any man on earth, and will have the officer shot and hanged. I am sorry that the French government attribute it to the court of Vienna, as it is not only atrocious to charge a government flatly with such atrocity without hearing it, but must oblige France to go on in the war beyond even the dreadful plan of policy on which she renew'd it. However great events will teem this whole summer with consequences that may render that principle of vengeance out of date. A crisis seems indeed at hand—at least in the year.

In a *Rédacteur* 14 or 15 Floréal, is a long paragraph, anxiously written to avert the agitation of a question on a change in the con-

¹"I think you were perfectly right in writing to T[alleyrand] by the post. Much anxiety upon the subject is not now necessary on our part, and I hope the solicitude for an arrangement on the other side will have occasion constantly to increase. I have observed some late paragraphs in the Paris papers much less insolent in their tone than has been usual heretofore. One signed *an American*, contradicting the report that the second nomination was rejected, pretending it was fabricated in England, and urging that such stories tend to discourage the French nation, at a moment when they comfort themselves under the check they receive in Europe with the hope of returning friendship with America. Another in the *Moniteur*, purporting to be an extract of a letter from Philadelphia, and saying that *the friends of our government are gaining strength*, and that the parties among us are much less heated than heretofore." John Quincy Adams to Murray, May 18, 1799.

²Murder of the French ministers. "Cambridge Modern History," VIII, 655.

³Jean-Antoine Debry (1780-1834).

⁴He was absent at the time and General Schmidt, as opponent of France, was in authority.

stitution, and it is believed that the military even at Paris have two opinions. Merlin and party are said to have been for peace; Barras¹ and Company for the war. Some Frenchmen here whose opinions are from Paris damn the whole five as villians who have ruined the country. This has been the case ever since Jourdan and Sherer's defeats—this too to members of the corps!

Your 34 [May 4] came this moment. No, I doubt if a requisition be possible in the present state of France, unless this catastrophe of the ministers excite a rage, which I think not improbable. Else it would be impossible to force conscripts. I suspect from the silence respecting Switzerland that that country is in a ferment, for to publish its *tranquillity* would at present be nearly equal to a victory. Naples and all Italy will, I anticipate, be in a few weeks clear of the French.

I can not tell you with precision how our funds are here. Mr. Molière told me four days since that they have risen a little and were at a good price; but I will send you information. I am always, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.²

CXVI.

14 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You will have had better accounts of "the horrid mysteries" that the 28th ulto exhibited at Rastadt than we can have; for John Debry's letter, though the basis of an implacable war, seems defective and very loosely written in point of fact. There are two opinions here as to the great authors of this assassination—Austria and France. I believe neither. Either to me is impossible. Had it been by orders of Austria, it would have been better masked and probably without murder—murder so select, for none but the two ministers were murdered: Had it been by France, the silence of the ministers could not have been completely obtained while the papers of legation lived in the hands of Austria, or were seen by her for one night only. And it is *said* that the papers were instantly given to the Austrian officer at Rastadt. I wait with others, the researches of the Arch Duke.

The message of the Directory has singular points in it for the mournful occasion—declamatory, but cold, financial in part, and conscriptional in the view. That message I confess revolted me before even it was whispered to me that probably the event had been *expected*! They have seized on the true use, it is true, that politics make of such things, to excite and enrage; but *non hic locus*. There was want of policy as well as of sound taste in mingling the *useful* with the horrible and mournful. But it seems to me impossible that they did it! I rather suppose it done by some fanatic officer urged

¹ Paul-François-Jean-Nicolas Barras (1755-1829).

² Adams to Murray, May 11, 1799, in Adams MSS.; May 14, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 419.

on by a priest, who may have mis-mingled piety and ambition and taught him to expect rewards here for the papers, and heaven for the blood of men whom he would represent as atheists, and who may have been so! It is the only solution I can yet give this frightful event, consistently with the murder as well as robbery, the place, and the *delivery of the papers*.

| | |
|--|-----|
| 6 pr. cent stock U. S. at Amsterdam..... | 80 |
| 3 Do..... | 48½ |
| Deferred Do..... | 70 |
| Dutch Loans 5 pr. cent..... | 90½ |
| 4 Do..... | 70½ |

The *reports* about the battle of the fleets are *not* confirmed. Those of Suwarrow's victories seem to be. I feel the same reserves in religious impressions that I should do in talking of loving my wife—but I am sincere! Not that I relish much the *ridendo dicere verum*; yet I sometimes guilty of it. Dear sir, always most truly yours.

CXVII.

17 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The gentleman who brought your letters by Bremen was young Mr. Dugan, of Baltimore. He brought me also what I have told you I received, etc., etc., etc. Immense reverses pour upon the mind as well as senses. Our young sister Cisalpine is at Turin, and Turin herself with her provisionary government and her departments may find Montpelier necessary for her health, as it is not improbable that Nice would not do. Nothing but a want of provisions, forage, etc., can stay the progress. That may, but the legions will not pour out; they will not even cry out "vive"! unless, the invasion be made. That would be a scratch penetrating even below that thick skin of torpor which now envelopes all feeling, except among the *agents*. Even this horrible murder does not rouse, beyond the effect of that dramatic apparatus that is now the stilted tragedy of all France, and which I hear does little. In fact all seems very desperate. Are you not to give the world a Caesar from the diplomats of Berlin? Will not Sieyès be a *Quintuplicate*? Poor Mr. Debry ought to have it, if blows can give a title, or his escape from forty deadly blows aimed at him some omen in favor of surviving one year in a new place. Besides he has the noble faculty which Tilburina possessed—he "sees a Spanish fleet before it is in sight," sees the naked bodies of his murdered colleagues at broad day, 7 A.M., on the place where they were murdered, though the Corps Diplomatique had been out, taken a *procès verbal* on the spot the night before. They either did not perform the common duties of humanity in carrying away the bodies, or "Jack" never saw the bodies. That part must be surely all "Kendal Green." Yet this incoherent narrative

they mean to immortalise—so proposed some member—in engraving it every word on a monument. Sterne was very just—“they conceive well but combine badly.” I hope and expect from the heroic character of the Arch Duke Charles the assassins will be handed over to the French army, if they can be found. At Berlin you may have many touches of intelligence and hints that we can not have here. As yet I have no letter from Mr. Talleyrand. Poor young Sands of New York is in the Abbaye on a charge of espionage, and is to be try’d before a military tribunal!! I have written to Mr. Talleyrand, affirming his innocence, to Mr. Schimmelpenninck, and spoken to Brune here. It is short work with those trials! and his father as he also is a good man and a good federalist. Dear sir, always truly yours, etc., etc.¹

TO TALLEYRAND.²

THE HAGUE, 18 May, 1799.

Citizen MINISTER: Last night I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 23d Floreal, and I beg you to accept my acknowledgments for the amicable and polite promptitude with which you so obligingly communicated the determination of the Executive Directory upon the subject of the letter which I had the honour of addressing to you on the fifth instant. This communication has been forwarded to the President of the United States.

It will be, Citizen Minister, with sincere pleasure that I shall avail myself of your polite offer of a passport the moment that I am honoured with the further commands of the President of the United States. In the mean time permit me to renew to you, Citizen Minister, the assurances of that high respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be your most obedt. Servt., etc., etc., etc.

CXVIII.

Rec. May 27.

Ans. May 28.

21 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Entirely and exclusively *entre nous*—the assurances are given.³

I sent on 17⁴ at night one duplicate original to the P[resident] at Braintree, and to-day send him a copy *via* London, besides copies to quadruplicates to the Secretary of State. To you to whom on this subject I can write with exclusive confidence, I can say that my instructions were, as to the letter I should write, *i. e.* the body of it—in *commas*—and there was an expression which had it been possible for me to break through the dictated words, I had omitted—it was

¹ Adams to Murray, May 18, 1799, in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 420.

² From the Pickering MSS.

³ Cypher. Talleyrand’s letter to Murray, May 12, 1799, is in “Works of John Adams,” IX, 260.

⁴ The letter is in Adams MSS.

"shall be admitted to an audience in *character*." *Admitted*, had better been, shall be publicly received or have a public reception in character. The word worked me a good deal, but I set it down as the bad players are instructed by Hamlet to repeat, from the book. The answer which was prompt, decent, and I think explicit and plump to the demand—except that "admitted to an audience" is not echoed back—is perhaps one of the most explicit things that the French Republic has ever been reduced, by the spirit and hostility of any foreign nation, to perform. It must have been a bitter pill, for the *case put* by my letter, was plain as a pike staff, and they give a response to every important member of the case put—which had no solicitude in it—which was right.

The papers show that our friends are thrown up suddenly in the wind by this measure. The news from Suabia, from Switzerland, from Adige will do great things. *Entre nous* our good folks will call the measure prophetic.

To you I can say in sincerity that whether success in negotiation in these times will prove a good to our country must depend on God and that country. It can be a good only, if our country will strengthen its government, and wall it round by energetic laws to withstand the attempts that will go on against it, fail or succeed! But vast changes in Europe will probably lay aside some of the scaffolding of our native Jacobinism, save many fearful situations arising from *success* itself. I know nothing else better that could be done, and the issue must be trusted in this as in all cases where we do the best! Dear sir affectionately yours, etc., etc., etc.

CXIX.

Rec. May 23.

Ans. May 25.

17 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: After my 36 [May 21] went I receive yours [May 11]; and I love your letters so much that I can but thank you, and I have a quarter of an hour to tell you so.

By this time Suwarrow must be I think before Turin, where the head quarters of Moreau are, and I daily expect to hear that Liguria will soon add to the number of *fugitive pieces*, drum head Republics that seem like bubbles, losing their colours and sinking when the luminary departs from them to whom they were indebted for their momentary hues; and all Italy must very soon fall back into the old dress which I believe they love most, and not a Frenchman alive be found in power in it. Dear Princè Molletorni¹ will be in a pleasant situation; but that is to be bilious at a moment when one may be generous!

¹ Gabriel-Jean-Joseph Molitor (1770-1849)?

Rewbell¹ is out. A bitter enemy of the United States, Chs. La Croix, among others is named! I had rather for the United States have your amiable friend Sieyès.

No I know not, nor ever heard, of the aforesaid Bülow.² I have read extracts from his scavenger's cart (as you justly call his works) and have opposed them in conversation with as much unction as I could in bad French, and do always ridicule the work of every scribbling foreigner that has been among us.

Liancourt³ has published, and picked up every feather and posey to put the cap of French Liberty that he found at every tavern or hut in his tour. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc., etc.⁴

CXX.

24 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Sieyès is a Director, and I am not sorry for it. He is a man for *great* measures, and his entry on the stage appears to me to be when the four acts have prepared the way for a winding up of which he may be the turning point—the last act. If he is the deep man I have heard, will probably be a *King*.⁵ Buonaparte himself, if they can get him back to organize their affairs can *not save them*.

As I wrote your 38 [May 18] came. If I go I shall not take my papers for many reasons. I know that they *know me*. They have many of my dispatches, very plainly written, but have no secrets—unless they have my cypher. It is true that our papers are, or were, very easily looked into by members! a thing which makes a secret perfectly impossible. It's soon becoming common may destroy its credibility, however, among suspicious politicians; but your letters will be necessary to me, and can be occasionally cyphered.

The French fleet saw Bridport,⁶ and after, St. Vincent;⁷ fogs and tempests prevented bloodshed and Bruix⁸ past into the Mediterranean. So the Minister of Marine says. Some think they go to extricate Buonaparte, perhaps for Sicily and to garrison Malta; though in fact I see no object important enough for the hazard at *such a moment!*

Colonel Humphreys has written to me and sent me a very good naval song for our letters of marque in Spain. Where memorials fail I do not know but it is well enough to sit down and sing a song;

¹ Jean-François Rewbell (1747-1807).

² Dietrich Heinrich, Freiherr von Buelow, author of "Der Freistaat von Nordamerika in seinem neusten Zustand," 1797. Adams made a translation, which was printed in the Portfolio.

³ François-Alexandre-Frédéric, duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (1747-1827), author of "Voyage dans les Etats Unis de L'Amérique."

⁴ Murray to Pickering, Mar. 19, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, May 23, in Adams MSS.

⁵ Cypher.

⁶ Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport (1727-1814).

⁷ John Jervis, Earl of St. Vincent (1735-1823).

⁸ Eustache Bruix (1759-1805).

and Spain has suffered the French privateers in all their license, and Humphreys doubtless has try'd his logic—in vain. Dear sir, most truly yours etc., etc., etc.¹

CXXI.

Rec. June 2.

Ans. June 4.

28 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have a thousand pardons to ask of you and great reason to chastise myself for a miserable blunder which, though committed *confidentially* to you, ought to be atoned for. I MIS-QUOTED certain words, "ADMITTED to an audience." Since, having occasion to copy my letter for the Secretary in a triplicate, I find my error to my great joy. It is "*received in character to an audience.*"

If R[ussia] sends a minister to the United States, I wish you may again see Petersburg. There must be much worth seeing in that country. Thus I too should still gain, for I know nothing of Russia. I do consider every appointment of an enlightened minister from the United States to a country where we are not much known, and no minister has been stationary from the United States, as carrying our conquests further and further. I mean information of who we are, and *where* we are, and what sort of people we are. To enlarge the sphere of our acquaintance is to enrich our country with REPUTATION and respectability.

Yes, this Rastadt business is a monstrous thing, and the good A[ustrians] are so slow! The result which France wishes will be half accomplished before the judicial contradiction comes out, and vindication, everybody knows, never reaches all whom calumny had misled. Debry's second letter, confirming strange improbabilities about dead bodies of Bonnier² and Roberjot, is worse than the first. Fear, a bewildered mind might account with the very greatest possible show of charity for the first; and then his *nightingale*—that bird that has adorned every gentle eclogue and been the comparison of every shepherd's sorrows—to be foisted into so horrible a scene. It is higher than the burlesque of an Italian opera hero, who sings a song before he kills himself. There is something monstrous in many of the compositions of the present day from the philosophical politicians, that as much as anything show how very far they have departed in all their views, principles, and now even *habits*, from nature. These are part of the picture of the times. I have just read *Carnot's* reply³—a bitter thing, but valuable. The Floridas and Louisiana were certainly aimed at in lieu of part of the Pope's territory for the Duke of Parma!⁴ Yet Mr. Nicholas would say, we

¹ Adams to Murray, May 25, 28, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, May 28, in Pickering MSS.

² Ange-Élisabeth-Louis-Antoine Bonnier d'Alco (1749-1799).

³ Reply to the report of Baillieu on 18 Fructidor.

⁴ Ferdinand.

a'n't interested in the politics of Europe!! And Carnot says this was his plan expressly (and in italics) to establish or to secure an influence over, or, in the United States!!

I rather expect that Rewbell will now take his turn and be denounced as participating with Sherer in military appropriations. He will probably be the scapegoat. Your amiable friend Sieyès will perhaps pass this town, notice having been given to the military upon every route to show him the military honors.

The A[ustrians] must be in Coire, and the untameable Suwarrow still carries all before him on 16 and 17. Nothing from home. Truly always, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

CXXII.

Rec. June 5.

Ans. June 8.

31 MAY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: This government is much delighted by a late dispatch from Mr. Van Polanen, their minister at Philadelphia, of the 7th (I think) of last month. He gives a picture of our government and of its principles and conduct that Mr. Van der Goes says, has made a very great sensation in our favour. He at the same time gave me a pile of *cuttings* of our papers—addresses, answers, essays, paragraphs, etc., etc., and poetry, all from the best literary trees in our nation. These were illustrations of the dispatch, which he told me was 30 LARGE PAGES! Have you not observed that the Europeans do not love writing as much as the Americans do.

Your brother, the amiable Sieyès, if he have accepted, has not yet passed this place. We look out for this transit. Our worthy friends the B[atavians] are secretly alarmed at his appointment; the balancing reputation of a certain Great Court I believe contributes to their fears of *him*.

From the United States by letters from London of 17th I learn that General McPherson,¹ a very fine fellow, commands against the Northampton insurgents, (he commanded a regiment, his *Blues*, against the insurrection of 1794) and that every appearance promises a speedy end to this Jacobinical patriotism. Also, that by letters from the United States our two frigates, *Constellation* and *Insurgent* lately agreed upon a feint, to engage with powder in sight of a port where a large French privateer lay, safe—they did so. The privateer of 18 guns and 150 men came out, ranged up with the *Insurgent* which she took for a compatriot; the firing ceased, and the corsair struck without a shot. I would lay great odds that this was planned by some New England captain, a Connecticut man, I rather believe; Also I hear that in the baggage of the three extraordinary envoys of the *Tub* conspiracy were snuff boxes of a mixed character

¹ William McPherson (1751-1813).

exactly like their intention—libidinous and cruel—pictures on and in the lid. Blacks murdering white men, and Black men in the arms of white women “*pia Testa*”! “*ricam et insanos amores*”

Your 40 [May 25] this moment as I write. No, my dear sir, they can not again get Italy. I think so. If they do, I will pour ashes instead of sand upon the lines by which I will confess to you my too sanguine errors.

I am glad that you observed that stuff of “honest Bailleul”¹ as Carnot calls him. Two years ago it might have been the basis of some new impudent and infamous theory respecting, really, the rights of other nation; now it is not only ridiculous, but from its impotence, contemptible! I had marked it to mention it to you; but the day of the post, I suppose, was a fine one, and from want of my usual spleen I forgot it.

A gentleman, native of Dunkerque of Scotch family, and who seems more Scotch than Flemming, of the name of Gregorie, whom I knew in Maryland eleven years since, a citizen of the United States and some years a merchant at Alexandria, has apply'd to me respecting a consulship at *Embden*, and to apply to you for him, to know if you could name *agents* of a consular character. If you do so, and have no countryman of more merit, I would recommend Mr. G. if you wished one to be at *Embden*. I merely told him I would write to you on the subject. I think it was in the *Spectateur du Nord* I saw Bülow's extracts. Dear sir, I am always truly yours, etc., etc., etc.²

CXXIII.

4 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have seen a long letter from Harper to his constituents respecting the general state of public affairs. Among other *things* “Mr. Talleyrand's clerk,” sent to talk with me, has its share. I perceive from that letter that the federal men have been thrown up into the wind. H[arper] treats it as a mere finesse, and seems to consider their *assurances* as deception, and that nothing would come of it. The difficulty for the federal men I suppose is, to announce the measure and at the same time to exclude that hope which enervates, and might conciliate at a crisis, when nothing but justice performed ought to disarm the vengeance of the nation. Yet I do not know that Mr. H[arper] moved for a declaration of war. So it is!

The different parties at Paris are endeavoring to interest the armies in their respective views. The Duke of Pomerania comes out forcibly. Without Sweden and the Porte what can P[russia] do if pushed! I know I am sanguine, but I had starved for two years in sterile waiting. Yet by this time Switzerland is nearly liberated I suspect!

¹ Jacques-Charles Bailleul (1762-1843).

² Adams to Murray, June 1, 1799, extract in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 423n; June 4, in Adams MSS.

These Austrians and Russians are enough to make one sanguine; they do such unexpected things. Dear sir, always truly.

CXXIV.

7 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You do me a service in checking the rapidity of my imagination. I must however do myself justice in telling you that on French affairs I have for years indulged no hopes, till after Jourdan recoiled on the 12 March towards Stockach. I considered the disease in Europe more mental than anything else, and have been you know praying for the patient to *move* its limbs, only to move, on the conviction that if it did it would turn the scales. From the presumed state of the public mind in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, *after* the defeats, I really have concluded much more than I do from the mere victories of Suwarrow; and I do believe, if the council of war at Vienna is not treasonable in divulging things, that were the Arch Duke and Suwarrow defeated, that France would gain no more advantages over Austria now than she did in '42 over Theresa,¹ or in any other war. It is doubtless in the power of the Empress and of traitors in the Cabinet, if there be such, to place the French in Italy and in Vienna; but nothing but treason at the head of affairs can, it seems to me! As to the Republic being overturned, I am not so sure of that! But when you see sweet villains as you know are at the head, such infamous corruption throughout every limb of administration, I can suppose a state of things rising from external defeat and internal discontent that might authorise a hope, though it would not justify an expectation solid enough to support any intended or wished for line of policy on our part. Nothing now can be predicated upon such weak grounds. Something may be hoped tomorrow of the funeral fête for the murdered ministers. I believe that Mr. Lombard, who is indeed a man of worth, refuses to attend, and I hope the foreign corps will not be *invited*. I have said I would not go, if invited. It is too empty and absurd! On 24 May no news of the fleet in London. Yours truly, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.²

CXXV.

Rec. June 16.

Ans. June 18.

10 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: That letter in the *Hamburgh Correspondent*³ was pretty greedily swallowed, and operated in many a sparkling eye and flushed cheek. Yet it was doubted, because the Frankfurt had omitted any such news. Not that I thought it improbable. I feel the superiority of that union of mind and temper that preserves an

¹ Maria Theresa (1717-1780). In 1740 she accepted the peace of Berlin.

² Adams to Murray, June 8, 1799, in Adams MSS., and an extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 423n.

³ On Suwarrow's defeat.

equal judgment in moments of reverses. I feel also of course its great utility, because the judgment that helps to give a standard from which those at a distance may form a correct view of the present, and hence form some idea of the future, ought to be on its guard against the sanguine as well as the desperate. Your caution in the admission of good news I consider, my dear sir, just as much *firmness* as I should were it shown in moments of panic against the hasty credit of bad news; and at the same time I *think* I could show nearly as much firmness in supporting adversity, as I could in resisting the delusive overflowings of feeling when prosperity arrives. In the one case the ship lies to; in the other all sails are before the wind, the crew drunk and the rudder abandoned.

I do not consider reviews now as royal hunting parties used to be considered, and do not yet fall into the opinions which many here do, that the young König will join either side. Should certain things happen however in Paris, he may find Europe in so new a mould as to have reason to regret that he did nothing. However, if treason be not at work, it must be always rash for one so ignorant of even his interests as I am to pass a judgment. Those who peck the millstone see farther into it than the spectator can, notwithstanding the *saying* is otherwise. The Prince of Hesse Cassel ¹ has put his military on a war footing. This I suppose is part only of the Prussian system of being *ready* for contingencies; but it is said that he has taken a position (military) *not neutral*.

The French have not left this country. They have about 7000 men, most conscripts. A very decent sort of a woman came (sent by her father) from Switzerland here two days since because the Prussians were in Holland, or would be there by her arrival!

Masséna must be in a perilous state. You see I can not preach from my text—He “concentrated his force”—but he does not mention the distance from Frauenfeld (I think) and the rivers he crossed to get the position which suited him and that I believe lays Zurich open. Hotze ² must have been engaged on his right, and the Austrians in front and flank pressing, hemming him into a very concentrated position—pretty much I rather think in the way in which a lemon is concentrated. The *French* individuals do not talk of any success to be expected, except that of defending France, though Switzerland and Italy be lost this campaign.

You have reviews. We have most farcical funerals. Day before yesterday was the funeral fête for the murdered ministers. No man I believe more sensibly feels the infamy of that assassination than I do, but indeed it is childish to see two empty black coffins, with an inscription (which I hear was in bloody letters) that Austria had assassinated, marching about, to the poor meadow where four trees

¹ William IX, landgrave from 1785 to 1821.

² David von Hotze (1740-1799).

were planted in the morning. Mr. Lombard was not there, nor any diplomat, except Mr. Galdy the Cisalpine minister. Some of the common people said the ministers ought to have been present; others that they ought not. Nothing from England yet of the fleet. It is at Toulon I now believe. Yours always, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

The Chateau of Milan I believe (in spite of caution) is taken, and Genoa also. The new plantation of liberty poplars does not seem to thrive. They will be treated as Priapus (Horace) declares he was—*Atque in me veniat mictum, atque cacatum Julius, et fragilis Peditia, furque Voranus*.¹

Noël, who has a hankering for the peaceful honors of shades of the Hague, is here; and though Mr. Lombard did not attend the fête, because he had no orders from the Foreign Affairs to do so, yet Noël marched away in it. I fear that as the violent ones speak against L[ombard] for this, that a party will be hatched against him. Noël I think will be one of them.²

CXXVI.

14 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You do not mention the subject of some communications which I think I informed you I know (I intended to tell you only, in Europe) from and to me from Paris.

In a *Rédacteur* lately did you observe news from the United States in which the Paris politician announces that the insurgent spirit has manifested itself in our South, and that at Gallatin, in the mountains, "*les amis du gouvernement français augmentent de plus en plus*" . . .

I learn from Paris that T[alleyrand] declared to a French friend, talking on American affairs, *that neither of the two governments sincerely desired peace, but that the public mind forced both*. I trust that both understand each other! and hope if there be a treaty it will rest on mere justice and policy, unsupported by rhapsody and love songs. As to T[alleyrand]'s public mind, there could be no such thing. The "tamer of kings"³ preferred to dine with kings at Wesel. He cast his illegitimate child just as most fathers do who get very high. You will probably have T[alleyrand], though as he is a favorite with Warwick, he may be necessary. Hahn, who took tea with me yesterday (first visit since his fall) says Warwick is absolutely incorruptible! and this too immediately after a conversation on Kant's new Philosophy, on the connexion which H[ahn] assures me exists between liberty as the *source* and morals as the *stream*, between metaphysical truth and government. We certainly did not understand

¹ Satires, lib. I., sat. viii.

² Adams to Murray, June 11, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, June 13, in Pickering MSS.; Pickering to Murray, June 14, *ib*.

³ Sieyès.

each other, and I doubted if he clearly saw the subject. I had told him that Warwick would, I heard, demand an exposition of the deficit as far as the Directory might be implicated, before he acted, that he might show that his hands were clean—to that date. When the English used to plunder wrecks on shore, a worthy clergyman was interrupted by a cry of “a wreck, a wreck,” by a man who rushed into the church. His flock at the well known sound rose and were on the point of rushing out to the pillage. He implored them as Christians to stop to hear him—“only three words, my fellow Xtians”—trussing up his pontificalia—“only 3 words,” getting near the door—“Let’s start fair”! and off he darted to the shore. Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.²

(*Private.*)

PHILADELPHIA, *June 14, 1799.*

DEAR SIR:

You observe in some one of your letters that the Batavian government is indefatigable to prevent a rupture between France and the United States. But really I can see no sufficient motive for their zeal. If war between the two countries actually existed, our commerce with Holland could not be more interrupted: and as to her being drawn into the quarrel, that also could not materially affect her interests. The Dutch are at war with Great Britain: but on the part of the Dutch it is a war in name only. The same would happen in respect to the United States. There are greater evils than war to be apprehended by every nation within the reach of French fraternity. Even a treaty with a government so perfidious as that of France is terrible. It made treaties with Holland, with Switzerland, with Geneva, with Sardinia, with Genoa, with Rome, with Naples—and all these nations are undone! Tuscany also is involved in ruin, unless the advance of the Austrians and Russians may have intervened to save it. The Pentarchy of the Luxembourg must be overturned before any safe negotiation can take place with France. . . .

CXXVII.

Rec. June 23.

Ans. June 25.

17 JUNE, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR: A very celebrated governor once had a very pleasant physician, called Dr. Snatchaway. The governor had had then, as candidates for place now have, many a hungry day, and indeed had supported the toils of running a wild goose chase only by the cheering prospect of his bird and his bottle; with also the hope that when things did change for the better his fortitude in supporting

¹ Adams to Murray, June 15, 1799, in Adams MSS.

² From the Pickering MSS.

cuffs and bruises would produce some pleasing recollections, and give zest to his wine and his honors. But Snatchaway's wand perpetually banished not only the dainties but the solids from his table, with his "*omnis saturatio mala*, absit. Give my lord governor about one hundred confected wafers and a few thin slices of quinces, which will sit easy on his stomach and assist digestion." ¹ Well, I can not help it for the soul of me! When Alps sink before them, and thousands of brave fellows die for every mile that is gained for such a cause, I can not be quiet with "thin slices and wafers," and I growl as honest Sancho did, because I love to *feast* on joyful occasions. It is true however that one should "be wise when merry," and I feel that the crisis thickens in proportion as the armies advance towards what has been lately called, in one of the councils, "the Sacred territory." Zürich must be in possession of the Arch Duke, for Masséna says that after a successful battle he concentrates his force by positions on the chain of the Albis mountains, and that his left is on the Rhine, his right on the lake of Zug! We have nothing yet official of the British, etc., etc., at Naples. The *news* from the *Publiciste* of 12th inst. is that all the French, except the garrisons of St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaëta, have left that kingdom. The north of Italy must decide the lot of the Parthenopean Republic.

There must be something *strong* in a very short time with *France*. Convulsion is her only resource. To what that will immediately or remotely tend can not be seen, but I rather expect from *Warwick* what I before mentioned—if it be possible. Boulay's (de la Meurthe)² book on the English revolution and restoration of C[harles] 2,³ I hear, is read with avidity, and the remark of my correspondent is that he is astonished how the government can permit its circulation at such a moment. I have not seen it, but shall have it in a few days. He says also (it must be hearsay!) that the Minister of War the other day sent for some of the chiefs of the *cavalry*⁴ and told them that if their men repeated once more the language of insubordination that it was known they had publicly uttered, they would be punished with death. They answered "if such a misfortune happened in one single case, in one hour all over the city would have heard the cry of *vive le roi*!"⁴ It is certain that the military speak their discontent there very openly, with what object and end we can not be sure. Augereau's apparition in the legislature is no good omen for the Executive, who I believe, however will again be VICTORIOUS. The rebellion in Pennsylvania, Mr. K[ing] says, is over. My dear sir, always I am yours, etc., etc., etc.

¹ "Don Quixote," Part II, ch. XLVII.

² Antoine-Jacques-Claude-Joseph Boulay de la Meurthe (1761-1840).

³ "Essai sur les causes qui en 1649 amenèrent en Angleterre l'Établissement de la République."

⁴ Cypher.

P. S. I have not one line upon the subject so very important for me to have hints, confidentially given, upon—as to views, expectations, and more immediate causes that dictated the policy. To me they are pretty obvious, I think, and naturally rose from the state of things in the United States. As we both have thought from the first, that there was but an alternative—a *Declaration*, or *Negotiation*. To go on in the *middle state*, with such a constitution, was hazardous. It laid it and the nation bare to TREASON, for the very word "*enemy*" is technical with us, and there was no ENEMY technically, under the half way measures. The then (perhaps present) state of Europe also was exceedingly awful, and I can not see what else could be done! But the federal men ought on sound principles to have been in this event the first to fight through and through a measure which the weakness of their party or other things rendered necessary. I just hear from Colonel P[ickering] of 14 April. The rebellion is over—without fighting—and the most active are under trial at Philadelphia before the Circuit Court. . . .

Pray do me the favor to send me an impression of your very elegant seal, on or in your next.¹

CXXVIII.

Rec. June 27.

Ans. June 29.

21 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday it was reported here on the supposed authority of a courier (that *certainly* arrived at one P. M.) that the whole Five Directors were on 17th turned out, and I hear that the *Moniteur* has it that Treilhard certainly was, on pretence of invalidity of election!² I have not seen the *Moniteur*. My *Publiciste* of that day says that on a motion to take off the *permanence* from the session, Briot³ said, "No, all my letters from different parts and the advice of my friends give me reason to expect a GREAT EVENT on Primidi" (that was Nonidi) or words to that effect. If the news be true, we may expect a most horrible anarchy of power plunging like a half dead tyger, always formidable, and never to a certainty dying, more than a cat is, though her entrails be half out. The "*Spectator*," etc., has a system for them which he seems to have formed with care in all respects except towards the present relative force of the exterior enemies. It is probable that they will organise their remains of credit and force as he says, but royalty I rather think will be bolder than it was inside—certainly outside—and the *enthusiasm* and *energy* that *terror* creates will not, can not, do much. Glass itself is malleable in a particular stage of fusion, but they want metal in their means,

¹ Adams to Murray, June 18, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to Pickering, June 18, in Pickering MSS.

² Revolution of 30 Prairial. Treilhard was succeeded by Gohier, and Larevellière and Merlin were forced to resign.

³ Pierre-Joseph Briot (1771-1827).

morally as well as fiscally, to preserve elasticity, ductility and strength to them, when out of their burning furnaces.

I read the greatest part of Boulay's book the other night with astonishment. To me it is *Royalty!* and his fifth chapter, entitled "means by which the people (of England) were brought back to Royalty," at such a time is more a beckoning along the path than a warning to avoid it. All his reasoning too upon the purely representative principle is MONARCHY. Burke has not said more against the incapacity of the many to govern themselves. In such and such situations, after parties do so and so, and power is so and so abused, always pointing out from the supposed English cases a parallel with those obviously existing in France—in such a case, the people of England having demanded their King, "the voice of the people is truly the voice of God." From the honor he does the Presbyterians, whom he makes at once lovers of liberty and yet capable of embracing a monarchy principle, having found the impossibility of maintaining a democratic republic, I should judge that he and his party are of the same principles and will act the same part if they can.

Post gives me nothing from you to refresh me this cold day. I am always truly yours, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

I got your 46 [June 15] as I closed my letter. No man has calculated with tolerable success on the genius, and even the species of the great monster. *Revelations* may be written, but no prophecies. Your father, Alexander Hamilton and Ames, were the only men that I remember to have heard foretell the *duration* of these calamities, as far back as 1792, I think, when I had, I own, a different opinion. I confess that now I *hope*, not in proportion to my wishes. I trust much to that malleable quality in the social character that is governed by events, and that soon in a great degree obscures at least the impressions of theory—particularly of fanatical theory. You saw this I think in the time of Lewis 14 and Charles 2, and we may live to see the day when *philosophy* will be brought on the stage as a fit subject for laugh and ridicule, just as that canting mawkish sister of hers was—religious hypocrisy! If *events* are against these destructive principles, their propagators will be considered just as thieves are. Again, dear sir.¹

CXXIX.

25 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The success of the Councils over the Directory has been quite contrary to my expectations. Treilhard was dismissed, as unconstitutionally elected! and without opposition, I believe; and Merlin, that bloodsucker of our commerce, and the wretched

¹ Murray to Pickering, June 22, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, June 22, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 423; June 25, extract in *Ib.*, 430n.

little philanthropist Lepeaux, finding how things went resigned! Boulay (de la Meurthe) (whom I consider as much a royalist as Monck was before he sent Sir J. Grenville to Charles 2) was the most violent of the clever men against these Inepti, as they were called, and for what has at first the air of *popular measures*, as freedom of the press, etc., etc. Other men, as Briot, Berlier,¹ seem of his PARTY, and equally VIOLENT. This may be to support republican measures; but there seems to me to be ground to suspect that it is but machinery for the settlement of the *kingdom*!

Mr. K[ing] tells me excellent news; that Mr. Marshall, General H. Lee and Col. Levin Powell,² and seven other federalists, are in for Virginia. Nicholas carry'd a sharp election, but by a small majority. Venables, declined serving. If M[arshall]'s silly declaration on the *inexpediency* of the Sedition law does not entangle him he may be very useful. Powell is a fine fellow, and was I think the ONLY man in Virginia who voted as elector for the President. Lee too has just views and talents. In fact I think, my dear friend, that the government strengthens daily. It is highly consolatory to me so to think. Always yours.

Gohier,³ Roger Ducos⁴ and Moulins⁵ are now the new Directors; the first I hear is a violent J[acobin].⁶

CXXX.

Rec. July 3.

Ans. July 6.

28 JUNE, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The last post gave me no letter from you. I hope that this strange weather has not made you ill. Here we just begin to have garden strawberries, but I doubt if there will be cherries, apples, peaches, or any fruit from buds exposed by their elevation to the cold winds and insects that prey on trees. Indeed there seem to be moral and physical causes enough at work including the past winter to forbode a scarcity of grain also in Europe this autumn and next year. If a very old remark made by our old Governor Sharpe⁷ be just, we shall have a severe winter in the ensuing one. He said he had remarked for forty years that we had a severe winter nine times in ten, on that succeeding a severe one in Europe.

We have no news from the armies. Suwarrow is at Cherasco, Massena at Bremgarten, I believe. The troops of the last seem to have *deliberated* a little, I judge from his late address to them. Every eye here turns towards Paris, for the progress of some great plan which

¹ Théophile Berlier (1761-1840).

² (1733-1810.)

³ Louis-Jérôme Gohier (1746-1830).

⁴ Roger Ducos (1754-1816).

⁵ Jean-François-Auguste Moulins (1752-1810).

⁶ Murray to John Adams, June 23, 1799, in Adams MSS.; to Pickering, June 26 in Pickering MSS.

⁷ Horatio Sharpe, governor of Maryland.

I do believe is in action and which will daily develop itself in signs that show approaching. Royalty, anarchy, may and probably will be one of the means. *Warwick*¹ I still consider as a royalist, for whom may be doubted—perhaps for M. D'Orléans. Though W[arwick]'s head may go for it, yet the anarchy that will follow will secure the main object. They *can not* do otherwise and parties now as in England are only jealous of each other instruments of so great a work.

47 and 48 [June 18, 22] arrived this instant. I shall like to see Noël's edition of Pogge.² De Salanger³ has given me that relish and I know not how it is, whether that I consider people of the middle ages and of the 13 and 14 centuries in the light of ancestors more than I do the Romans, or that there is a real charm in every dawn both natural and moral, but I love to search more into the 13, 14, and 15 centuries, than into the times of infant or of flourishing Greece and Rome! I have in vain try'd on that taste to get a book which you praised, *Roscoe's* (Medici,⁴ etc., etc.) but have never been able to get it. Salenger's (a Dutchman's) "Memoirs de Litterature" are pleasant to me on that account. I picked up two only of the three volumes at a sale.

As to H[ahn] and the dust about your dispatch, I had the whole benefit of it, so I beg you to take the brunt of some such thing for me; particularly if you can find a revolutionary state of things any where to give activity to impertinence, and some great nation to play the part of brother Bruin behind poor Jerry Sneak, who each moment looks round with a "stand by me brother Bruin"! and is exceedingly warm and dignify'd. In fact I had orders to soften off the edges without yielding substance—words, mere words. I waited till they sent their letter to me. It was less absolute than I had expected from H[ahn]'s bow-wow talk. I then assured of respect, amity, etc., etc., and necessity of publishing, etc., etc., and then demanded of them if they could justify to our government certain expressions in their letter to you which must have excited much feeling: "Advise your government to assert its flag from the daily insults it receives from England." Whether it was not unfit language to a government, or to even an individual, to pretend to awaken a sense of honor against *daily insults*. In fact I made as good a battle in the retreat as I could by attacking them in turn, and never have I heard since of it. Alas! in a little time Charles La Croix justify'd and new painted every line you had written by packing them off to the House in the Wood and other places!

Mr. Bezier,⁵ late an agent in the Amsterdam Marine is Director, a very deserving and, I hear, an able man. Always, dear sir, truly yours.⁶

¹ Sleyès.

² Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459).

³ Albert Hendrik Sallengre (1694-1723)?

⁴ "Life of Lorenzo di Medici," published in 1796.

⁵ Augustinus Gerard Besier (1756-1829).

⁶ Adams to Murray, June 29, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CXXXI.

Rec. July 6.

Ans. July 8.

1 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You are right; the times are too serious for a laugh, and God knows I have not laughed, I think, since an American, our countryman named Mr. Fosdyk, was here last autumn. He begged permission to laugh. Said he had not since he came into Holland laughed once, and had a dry laugh-making humor without design. But to be serious. It is said officially that McDonald has beaten the Austrians near Modena, and being now joined with Moreau's right will advance towards Mantua! I doubt all this—almost all. There is here some talk of Van Hooff and Hasselt¹ having given umbrage to *France*. These will be tender times for her to push the government hard here.

I had read Giles's declaration for disunion, and Nicholas's, that things were verging towards a monarchy, or like that. No, the Dominion is too wise to separate. I should sooner fear the theorists of New England, who three years since did *talk* of it, as a *threat*. One flesh and bone, we shall, after much folly perhaps, be more and more united. These are not times for insulating adjoining provinces of our empire into separate nations. All things are against it, permanently; nothing but a temporary fit of humor can be for it. Powell will be excellent. Lee has more pretension and may now and then give a lurch from the helm. Marshall I fear comes in on middle ground, and when a man plays the amiable in a body like that he can not be counted, but he will vote generally right. I was amiable the first session! It cannot last.

Mr. Talleyrand has written to me that "*Maj. Mountflorencia will be obliged, having no public character, to quit France.*" He does not say, but I know, they wish *me* to draw him away. M[ountflorencia] has no public official character. I put the papers and books of the ex-consulate in his safe keeping, on Skipwith's resignation. They were at the time in the keeping of a young Frenchman, late a clerk in that office. I answered *that I had nothing but to thank him for the personal delicacy towards myself that rendered his letter in his own opinion necessary; that I could say nothing officially on the subject.* Some American probably has denounced poor M[ountflorencia] to the police, and there is I believe a standing law for the expulsion of all foreigners from Paris. I could and would not give any importance to the affair. If I had, I must have asked a favor upon a delicate point and been liable to refusal. They would not have refused, but they would have asked of me some favor respecting some one at Philadelphia, or afterwards have brought it into their account of favours. The fact is the Minister of Police did send an order for his departure

¹ Jan Willem van Hasselt.

about the 15th ultimo, and M[ountflorenc]e was so unguarded as to write him a letter announcing himself "comme agent de mon gouvernement, etc., etc." The minister recalled the order. He sent me copies. I sent him a pretty severe reprimand, "that he was no agent, etc., etc.," and in my letter to T[alleyrand] I have said he had no public character, but was merely in the safe keeping of the papers of the late consulate. T[alleyrand] mentions the order, but not its recall. He says M[ountflorenc]e is implicated in some affairs of delicacy but not *what*. I assured him I had always found him discreet and a man of honour. . . . Yours most truly, dear sir.

It is said and with probability that Switzerland, Uri and Glavis, and their neighborhood, will give the Arch Duke 10,000 men. Piedmont is without doubt a dangerous scene in its state of insurrection, and will check the steps of Moreau in any attempt to penetrate the ground which has been left. We have a *report*, it may be a straw at which people catch, that the troops beaten by McD[onald] are *Neapolitan* troops, but this is not likely. In a former war the Austrians I think suffered by the raising of the Siege of Mantua when they had penetrated into Piedmont, and were thus cut; but then France was more master of herself.

2 July. I have been very much gratify'd by a letter this morning from your brother, Mr. T. B. Adams, Quincy, 20 March. Parties seem to have been in what the old ladies call a great *quandary* by the nomination. Jacobins pleased, others therefore against it. He is also my "damned good natured friend," as he quotes me Peter's¹ ridicule against me as "the *sentimental* Mr. Murray" when he abuses me. One learns thus from an enemy, and I will examine to see if I am the *sentimental*. If hating *Universal Benevolence!* "despising *philosophy*" and narrowing down *Philanthropy* to a nutshell, is to be sentimental, I am a "*beefeater!*" I am weak, but I deny Peter's charge. The rascal knows when to touch a man's pride!²

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.³

Private.

THE HAGUE, 3 July, 1799.

DEAR SIR: For some weeks past the more violent party have been active. Daendels, restless and displeased since the new Government, may be considered as at the head of it. Lately a close connexion between him and General Brune has taken place. Brune and the Directory have been, to say the least, very cold towards each other for these two months. He and Lombard, the French Minister have also had differences. Small circumstances bring personal feelings into contact and collision. Lombard refused to attend, at Brune's

¹ Cobbett.

² Adams to Murray, July 2, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, July 2, in Pickering MSS.

³ From the Pickering MSS.

invitation, the French Fête on the Death of Roberjot and Bonnier at Rastadt. This is understood to have produced heat openly. Ten days since Brune received intelligence from Paris that the Ex-Director Merlin had quitted Paris and would pass through Holland. Brune wished to arrest him. He went to Mr. Lombard to communicate the intelligence and to secure his coöperation it is believed. Lombard said that if Merlin passed here he ought to be suffered to go, he was an unfortunate man. They parted in anger. Brune it is said sent an account of this to the Government of the French Republic. Long before this all the violent men here have been opposed to Lombard he was too good and too unmeddling for them. He respected the rights of the Batavian government as far as was possible, and was not an intriguer; he was of course in their eyes a nullity, and void of talents for Business. It is true he has not much knowledge of men, but he has good principles; with excellent dispositions, as his manners and his writings show. Treilhard the best of the Directory was his patron and friend and drew him from the Domestic life, which he loves. Treilhard was overturned as you, sir, know on the 16th ulto. Lombard had been a little incautious in seeking about the real character of the Directory a month before its fall, and had never believed in the Rastadt story of the assassination as implicating Austria. He has I understand not been paid either by his government, and has got along by advances made by the French banker under the security of this government. He was disgusted and perhaps saw the necessity of retiring from a service where all is intrigue, supplanting, mistrust, and ruin. He demanded permission to resign twelve days since; this was refused. I hear this morning that yesterday he received the refusal; but at night at nine for I was with him at the Minister of Foreign affairs, a courier arrived with dispatches to General Brune and a letter of recall for Mr. Lombard unpleasantly worded, as he was commanded to come instantly to Paris and from the moment to cease his functions as Minister. He set off at three this morning without any audience of leave, because of the nature of his recall. This morning Mr. Van der Goes sent in his resignation of the Foreign affairs. It was refused to be accepted. Doubtless he foresees an approaching struggle, and justly appreciates the external as well as internal crisis that seems to overhang this and other affiliated Republics.

An invasion from the English seems to be expected and they strengthen Zealand as the place most accessible and least attached. General Brune yesterday afternoon waited on the Directory and demanded that the Dutch troops here should be sent to Zealand and no troops be left here but the French! The Directory refused. They parted in displeasure. Some very serious struggle between the government and a party seems approaching, if some great external

event do not settle all minuter questions. The choice of Sieyès into the French Directory was considered as extremely ominous for this republic.

In fact, sir, every thing but adds proofs of the impossibility of upholding here or in Europe a purely representative elective government. Power is and will be the mere sport of intrigue and Military interference. They will all be obliged to re-tread their steps and this period of the recall or at least near approximation to the old principles seems to me not very distant. I have the honour to be with great respect and esteem, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

CXXXII.

5 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On the 2d night Mr. Lombard received an order to go immediately to Paris—and to cease his ministerial functions from the moment he received the letter. Of course he could not have the usual ceremonies of leave. At three next morning he set off with his lady, but leaving his children here. I believe also that de Mezières, the secretary, is not left chargé des affaires. Next morning, that after his recall, Mr. Van der Goes sent in his resignation of foreign affairs, which was positively refused. From this and some other circumstances that have recently come to light, there is cause to fear some approaching violent change here. The *Ami de Loi* and others have lately made round charges of “British” against this government. General Brune, it is known, is not well with it; and Daendel is well with B[rune]. Since Lombard’s departure a Dutch man of fashion and fortune, who is in the party adverse to the Directory and ministers, though a moderate, observed with indignation and contempt that L[ombard] was a mere nullity, had no energy. I observed he was in my opinion the best they had had there. He sagaciously demanded, “Why, sir, what has he done?” “He has done nothing!” So it is. A man who indeed respected their independence, as far as he could, is put on the level with the log, and they cry out for the stork! In truth L[ombard] took no pains to be known, gave not one party of any sort that I know of. There is a story here of Merlin’s having past the Hague, and of a dispute between Brune and L[ombard]. L[ombard] saying, if M[erlin] were here, he ought as an unhappy man to pass.

Your 50 [June 29] as I write. Sieyès was opposed to Moulins’ election. M. an old military of a good character I hear. You will have heard of *Gohier* in place of Treilhard, and of Moulins and Roger-Ducos in that of Le Peaux and Merlin. Barras is perfect quicksilver; he is broken to shivers, but conglobulates again, *totus in seipso*. My *Boulay* is thumbed to pieces—“Causes of the English Revolution and why it failed,” etc. He so draws events by a little force so as to preserve a parallel in the mind with those of the French,

for he never *compares* them. He shows in the causes of failure exactly the causes that must and will defeat the revolution of France, he ends with a very striking chapter—the causes that led the people back to loyalty. I do not remember that he mentions the French revolution once, but you see it throughout, and his object comes out glaringly, to my eyes. To show you that I do not mistake an ale-house for a moated castle, when I read it I had not its character. I expected to see a chart of the shoals and warning given. The objects were not *expected* that came out as I advanced. I knew too that he was a violent republican. It was a conviction concluded from the work, and opposed to what I had expected, for I could not suppose that he would try to make his party despair and encourage the royalists. Yours, dear sir, always.¹

CXXXIII.

Rec. July 14.

Ans. July 16.

8 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I can without much violence to the real principles of those violent men suppose them all to be royalists, if I have reason to think that B[oulay] is one. I really do not think that any of them are truly-anti-royalists; for of their being *republicans* in truth and spirit, I have never thought them so for a long time. If the two B.'s are royalists, one of them would write just such a work, and yet the other would denounce Adrien. Extremes are excellent parts under which to unite with extremes. B.'s book, when you read it you will say, is royalism. It was published before the crisis, an almost profession or at least expectation, if not faith. B. has been *not denounced*, though the handbills of Lyons have been. B.'s did not openly and in words demand a king—those did; yet B[ona-part] has been supported since by the violent party. As to *swearing*!! I pray God to forgive the human race for the *perjury* of the last ten years. Philosophy, I take it, has all the rights of the Pope-dom devolved upon her. She has magazines of absolution! My expectation is that some sort of royalty will make its appearance in the capital at no very distant time. Dupery is exhausted, hunger and thirst will have their day; and these fellows mistrust and dispute each other too much upon trial to remain long with a master. I do consider all their turns but as modes of selling themselves to most advantage, and they wish to put others out of the market. But as to *swearing*, I swear it is one of the pleasantest things I ever heard, and one of the severest against *France* and her host. I however must say that I believe Joubert to be sincere, and to believe himself a real republican.

¹ Adams to Murray, July 6, 1799, in Adams MSS.

Poor Lombard will be accused, not officially at P[aris], of negligence, not observing the movements of the Orangists and of a court not ten thousand miles from you! Count Bentinck's visits to Pichegru at Brunswick, and at Berlin, and London, and being accablé, too visibly in the company of royal ministers by the reverses of France. *Fouchet de Nantz*¹ is named to come here, once violent, now, I hear, phlegmatic. He went to cure Cisalpine's hysterics, staid but I believe forty days and left her as he found her. I hear that his secretary is a clever man. The French never respect a man who is not at least in appearance an intriguer. L[ombard] was not. I am too strong yet to press you and McDonald. I refer you to Suwarrow. It is strange that Moreau's right did not aid McDonald in the late action. I will only say with modest assurance that the citadel of Turin and Lucerne are in the hands of the Austrians! I had really expected that when the Attorney Merlin's removal] was on the carpet and the subject of foreign relations was spoken as forming a ground of charge, that some notice would have been taken of the United States. As I saw Barras left untouched, and as he had been exceedingly conspicuous against us, I supposed that they could not attack Merlin and LePeaux and execute Barras!

Since the liberty of the press I have seen some very bold little brochures from Paris. Rewbell by those, bore off the furniture from the Palace; Hoche² (of which I heard long since) was poisoned, and Marceau³ assassinated by order of the Directory; hints are given also of Rastadt!

Riou⁴ I see has again brought forward the subject of privateering in the 500. We may conjecture from their steps on this motion what spirit possesses them under their present new lights. Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.⁵

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁶

(*Private and confidential.*)

PHILADELPHIA, July 10, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On the 8th instant I received your letter of the 23d of April. I am sorry to differ from your opinion on the two points mentioned. The French government tamely bears our defiance, and "the official and public gibitings," not because they acknowledge the strength of the U. States, but because they have too much other work on their hands to trouble themselves about us, at present.

¹ Joseph Fouché, later minister of police and Duc d'Otrante (1763-1820).

² Lazare Hoche (1768-1797).

³ François-Séverin Desgraviers Marceau (1769-1796).

⁴ Joseph-François-Marie Riou (1765-1811).

⁵ Adams to Murray, July 9, 1799, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 432n.

⁶ From the Pickering MSS.

You observe that "the President's message of 25 February was not expected in *Holland*:" The nomination of any mission to France by *President Adams*¹ was not expected *here*: the truth is, every man whom you knew and respected, every *real patriot*, every man who had steadily and faithfully supported his and his predecessor's administration was *thunderstruck*, it was *done* without any *consultation with any member of the government*, and for a reason *truly remarkable*—*because he knew we should all be opposed to the measure!* Perhaps no intimate friend has frankly told you the facts: it is painful to relate what can hurt the sensibility of those we love: *I should have remained silent*, had not the sentiments expressed in your letter required me to speak. Perhaps I ought not to have waited for this, perhaps even the public interest demanded an early and explicit communication.

The first message of February 18. was referred to a committee of the Senate. *Some of the President's real friends* endeavoured to *persuade him to withdraw the nomination*. *He was inflexible*. Then they determined to *put a negative upon it*. *The President heard that* such was to be *the report of the committee in very pointed language* on the morning of the 25th. *This he thought best to anticipate* by sending the message of that date in which the Senate acquiesced deprecating at the same time the *mischiefs to be expected from any mission to such miscreants* as composed the French government, and under the actual circumstances of the United States. Without saying any more, I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed column of a newspaper. Who was the author I know not. The irony is severe: but it did no more than express the strong feelings of the men whom you respect and esteem, so far as it regarded a mission to France. The truth is, that negotiation for a treaty with a government so totally unprincipled, so shamelessly perfidious as that of France, would give us no security for peace or of compensation for injuries. All the nations of Europe within the reach of her arms, had witnessed the promises of the Directory and the violation of them, the moment they had leisure to renew or commence their operations of pillage and subjugation. What therefore the United States had to deprecate above all things was negotiation with such a power. There will not be any safe treaty with France until its government (not the tyrants who successively administer it) shall be changed. Thank God, the prospect of this approaches; and until then neither the rest of the world will enjoy safety or tranquillity, or the people of France themselves the smallest degree of freedom.

This frank communication I trust will find an apology in the sincerity with which I remain, dear sir, your faithful friend and servant.

¹ Cypher.

CXXXIV.

12 July, 1799,

and 24!! of the Independence of the United States.

DEAR SIR: The new French Minister Fouché de Nantes,¹ arrived here yesterday. Van der Goes I believe does not insist on resignation, and the Directory I rather think will act with some firmness if any attempt is made upon the chastity of the executive couch.

The Austro-Russian troops seem to acknowledge the hazard of their late positions on the event of a junction between McD[onald] and Moreau, but the 17, 18, and 19, June seem to have settled that doubt by the most bloody victory that has been gained since this new war commenced! And Moreau's situation must be critical, though I am not a military, nor minutely acquainted with the topography of the spot he is in. I confess that in calculating the operations of the allies my mind stops in shifting clouds when I suppose Suwarrow and the Arch Duke on the borders of France; or does any very probable conjecture even lead on to the effect of that measure in relation to the interior of France. All seems chaos there.

I have received yesterday some pamphlets from Paris, one which is dated July, 1798, "*Cassandre*," by Dannican,² which seems to me to have been written there but retouched *after events* had happened. But there are some good things in it. The others [are] of the revolutionary parties. The "Theory of Conspiracies" is a violent thing, that charges on Talleyrand an intimacy with General Washington—who never received him. Bailleul and Briot—they all tear each other to pieces!

I this moment receive a note from your old friend Mr. Bosset to ask "whether the report is true that Daendels is *suspended*?" I had not heard it. If they suspend without confining, he will suspend them. The 12 June arose from that state of suspense into which they put D[aendels] who is a decided man. Party, anonymous writings prevail, *since* the liberty of the press at Paris—one yesterday charging the Director ERMERINS with being sold to Great Britain! and such nonsense. In my next I may tell you who is *hung* up, though I now do not expect violence unless the Cisalpine doctor has some new prescription. Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. Your 52 [July 6] this moment. No, I hear I suppose *more* and more frequently and with fresher impressions from Paris than you can do at so great a distance; but I sometimes think that I mistake a mob of various facts and whispers and stories for evidence beyond what a real disciplinarian in reasoning would admit. And I know that I am no Prussian in that discipline! and among my

¹ See "Gedenkstukken, 1798-1801," 61.² Auguste Danican (1763-1848).

obligations to your friendship is that correction of sanguineness that I am too apt to fall into. Yet my *belief* is that parties wait—even *parties* (for the *nation* is ready); but to decide by some fortunate event WHICH of them shall have the stars and garters and riches that are to pour down on that set who may produce a restauration. I take the old Jacobite Johnson's spelling. The allies do wonders indeed! I am easy *now*. The struggle is now between France and the muscular force of her enemies. This was not so formerly! and the mental delirium cannot return, I hope and trust.¹

CXXXV.

16 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a copy of a publication from Mr. Iznardi,² consul in Spain, relative to an American vessel stolen by her piratical crew. I shall send on copies to Bremen and Hamburg by this post for publication, and to London to Mr. King.

I rather believe we shall be quiet here notwithstanding the late appearances to the contrary.

If parties at Paris do come to a crisis, I believe the crisis will be felt by the Directory, entire, unless B[onaparte] gain the army for the whole of the body to whom he belongs. What I mentioned as possible some time since, that the councils will or may make themselves a Convention and put aside the Directory, I understand is yet still more possible; and that it is understood that the army would in such case raise Barras for the purpose of negotiating at Mittau. This is news, or calculation rather, from Paris. It is hardly at all well founded. Much of it, that respecting the councils, I do rely on intelligence worthy of *great* credit. Pray tell me, a Dutchman asks me if in the United States an infant, a young man of fourteen years, can make a will of personal goods, as public funds. I said *no*. I do not form an opinion but on the law of England. Pray do me the favour to give me your short opinion, yes or no. It is believed that the 17, 18, 19, were the severest days this war! As to Peter,³ we ought all to join in endeavours to obtain a law rendering thirty or forty years necessary in residence to obtain naturalization in the United States, else we shall be inundated after these convulsions. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

CXXXVI.

18 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Nothing from you yet today.

Their majesties of Paris begin to exercise their sovereignty by mobbing the few as has always been their custom. They attacked

¹ Adams to Murray, July 13, 1779, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 435n; Murray to Pickering, July 15, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, July 16, in Adams MSS.

² Josef Iznardi, United States consul at Cadiz.

³ Cobbett.

the Jacobin Club near or in the Tuilleries, but the 17 division show'd and used the bayonet a little, and "*the people*" were obliged to run for it. Talleyrand has a severe time, denounced as he is by pamphlets, Jacobin Clubs, and the councils; but he is supported by Barras, Sieyès and Gohier—(77) 127—and 128¹ certainly, I believe, or a majority, mean to abolish the 133. The three above are working decidedly against this, and will rather abolish 36. 84¹ than submit. So my best letters say. If Eschasseriaux's² propositions succeed, and all France be thrown into one great camp and each man from 16 to 50 armed, I should expect to see a civil war, which could not last long. E[schasseriaux] has kindly placed the constitutions and *independence!* ! ! of the ally'd republics under the safe-guard of France. But as yet we have here no visible changes to effect that generous purpose, except that General Brune has the command entirely of all the forces in this republic. This however was done once in Beurnonville's³ time I believe. From Paris Mr. Bourne hears that our Envoys are expected in a few weeks, because they say that the assurances had been sent the middle of April, as soon as they read the nominations. T[alleyrand] did not mention a word of this; and if the assurances had been sent, I believe their pride would have withheld duplicates of them. Rey has denounced the Triumvirs "because they forced Turkey and the United States to declare war against France" in the councils. This is something. The silence on it proves it to be but little. Fouché pleasantly enough said, "I have heard of Anarchists here. It is impossible!" They were speaking of the repose of the Dutch character, and as Scholten had been fastened on his ear half an hour I suspect he judged from thence. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

P. S. 22d July, 1799. I saw Barlow's letter and am glad he wrote it. If our intellectual faculties receive as I believe much of their correctness and strength from our moral qualities, Citizen Barlow is a much worse man than the author of the "Privileged Orders,"⁴ though that work had no excellence in it. Literally it is a string of flat re-cooked commonplace from the *Aurora*, and a few of the pieces with which our papers teemed against the B[ritish] treaty. It does honour to the principles it attacks because it comes from a boasted pen. Garat and he agree, both are enemies to the "feudal honour." I mean not the chivalrous trappings, but to the noble and delicate sentiment of honour. He finds it necessary to beat down that pride of good faith which secures a *trust* from violation; he therefore attacks that sentiment as feudal which guards a trust from SEQUESTRATION. John Debry has the same idea in moving for *assassins* in

¹ Undecyphered.

² Joseph Eschasseriaux (1753-1823).

³ Pierre de Ruel Beurnonville (1752-1821).

⁴ "Advice to the Privileged Orders in Europe," 1792.

1792—*expressly!* It is in fact a new proof that those who would be Jacobins must consent to loosen the ties of morality before a basis can be laid for their systems.

Parties here are less violent and the cloud seems past, but they do fear I believe an invasion. They make great preparation to repel it if attempted. A line of redoubts from Meyden towards Grep is getting ready. A telegraph is erected near Schevelling to correspond with others on the coast, and the requisition has filled amazingly; but desertion from even old troops on the frontier presents a serious symptom of the moral state of the defensive measures and subjects.

The new comers into power have a good opportunity of throwing the blame upon the Ex-directors (except the author of the speech to Munro!!¹) respecting our affairs, and of professing moderation and sincerity with a better grace; but who can judge of such men! We shall defeat you, I see. So you had better follow the general F. of Turin, and capitulate on terms at once. By a letter which my secretary received of 2 June it seems that the United Irish are exceedingly riotous and *caballing* at Philadelphia. We ought to hold up the necessity of a new naturalization law; but that would not do unless a score or two of such fellows be driven from the United States! I envy you your Dresden jaunt. I hear they are the happiest people in Europe, but do not know it. I was sick the last post, and am still so. I hope that your tour will help to re-establish Mrs. Adams's health. LaFayette insists on going in September to America. I shall try to dissuade him. He is a little alarmed at Vianen. Yours dear sir, etc., etc.²

CXXXVII.

25 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: You see that my letters pursue you to Dresden, where as you will be among strangers, I hope they will be more relishing though intrinsically flat.

Nine days since the world was invited to dine with our new brother Fouché de Nantes for to-morrow, to be sure the 9th Thermidor! Four days since he was recalled to Paris where he will be minister of police, and we lose the rare French cookery, and the poignant gooseberry sauce of his countenance, at once! Judging from the last, he will make an excellent minister of police in so corrupt a city as Paris, for he seems alert, and exceedingly bilious. It is said and believed that the present ruling passion of our poor friends, that of giving money, has been worked on to the extent of two millions of florins; but all on honor, as the girls of pleasure say, when they borrow—a loan! So he carries off a neat little sum with him for his govern-

¹ Barras.²Murray to Pickering, July 20, 23, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, July 21, 23 (from Dresden), in Adams MSS.

ment, for every farthing of this is to be sacredly devoted to the cause of dear human nature and liberty! The worthy successor of this industrious minister will be Citizen Florent Guiot,¹ a gentleman well known to the Grisons lately. It is the fate of our friends often to have new ministers from that quarter, and their misfortune to pay several thousands of Holland current as a present as a souvenir to each on his adieu, and to expect the successor with many alarms! On this occasion I doubt if they have cause of much alarm, if they would look at the relative state of Europe, and I should think also that France had no directions to revolutionise them because of his sudden departure. If he had had such intention, he would not have been recalled in thirteen days; for in that time, a man fit for such things would have begun the under part of his work, and his recall would discourage those intrusted with the parts, and would perplex the plot.

Chs. Maurice Talleyrand has resigned, and his resignation been accepted. The papers say that Rheinhardt² goes into his place, he who was at Florence lately, and not long since at Hamburg.

The taking of Bologna is a blow upon the French. Their late losses since 18 ulto., exclusive of Turin, are immense—at least 14,000 men out of 37,000, including Moreau and N. D. armies. The critical moment seems to me to be that in which, supposing Moreau's and Masséna's armies driven within, the combined armies will look into the frontier of France! Will Saxony furnish her contingent of men? I am truly yours, my dear sir.³

CXXXVIII.

30 JULY, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Some letters from America hold up an idea which I can not accede to, viz. that the late nomination is to have no suite, that nothing will come of it. In Paris they have or pretend to have the same idea. So Mount[florence] says, who has just returned from Paris whence he was ordered; but as he left his wife, I believe he thinks he will be able to return. This perpetual hankering after Paris, and I do not know that he has fortune, and his wife having gone in January three months before he went, is a marvellous thing to me, and seems at least imprudent. As to me I hear nothing like this from the United States. My papers are up to 3 June, but my letters, duplicates, as old as 24 April, and can not believe it. It is impossible, unless the change be authorized by some late discovered treachery on their part—that of France. The papers say that P. Henry is elected into the State Legislature; Mr. Ellsworth

¹ Guyot de Saint-Florent, known during the Revolution as Florent Guyot (1755-1834).

² Charles Frédéric Reinhardt (1761-1837).

³ Adams to Murray, July 26, 30 (from Töplitz), in Adams MSS.

on the South Carolina circuit. They calculate securing, at least, federalists in the next Congress.

A serious struggle will probably come on between the Direc'y and the Jacobins at Paris. The ancients are alarmed at the vicinity of the manège and will expel them. The *people* in such case would then be ready enough to mob them as they would be out of the scene guarded by the military. They talk here of jealousies between Great Britain and Austria. I see the king of England makes no mention in his speech of *Austria*—much of Russia; but I believe not in a *partial* peace, as R[ussia] is in the war. In haste I am, always, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CXXXIX.

Rec. Aug. 17.

Ans. Aug. 20.

2 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: They seriously prepare here against an invasion. On the 14th ultimo a sort of reconciliation took place in a fête and over the bottle between the violents and moderates. Some patriots who had been imprisoned last summer and last autumn were liberated. The military arrangements of every sort are in great forwardness, and General Brune, who a few days since (Sunday) announced himself as commander in chief of the ally'd troops, will have 40,000 men to oppose to the British—that at least. We cannot hear with certainty if Russians are to be with British troops; if they are not, the *ancient Bataves* will probably Ostend them, for though there be discontents here, yet they can not rise to energy!

Courtois¹ in the Councils denounced that the Jacobins of the Club Manège had resolved to have the heads of two of the Directory turn out the other three and convert the two councils into a Convention! On this the Ancients turned the blooddrinkers out of the Manège which is in their jurisdiction, and these resorted like the chased fox to their first bed, the church of the Jacobins.

The formal act of accusation by the 500 against the four ex-directors is very important. How can Barras avoid the vortex on the edge of which that trial must at every charge bring him? It must render him odious, for their acts are indivisible, and give the Jacobins in his fall power over the whole of the Directory. Is it possible to proceed ceremoniously with so august a trial as this ought to be, and at the same time wage war on the frontier? Or is the trial itself not a mode of convulsion considered as favourable to what they call "the revival of public spirit." I can not imagine a society so abandoned to the unsocial as France, so plunged, so disunited, so destitute of resources for self government as a body politic! It is impossible, I think, that it can last. WHAT *will* be

¹ Edme-Bonaventure Courtois (1750-1816).

its cure can not be seen; but they are ripe I believe for an extreme change.

I ought to tell you that in the last *Publiciste* your treaty¹ is spoken of as very favourable to Prussian interests in respect to Silesia linens. As they would like doubtless to aid their *party* by hints against your treaty—for anything to divide suits them—I mention this, that you may know that some one at Paris has got hold of that point, and of course you will take care of your details, if any may be necessary, to be sent to our friends on that point.

Did I mention in my last what Mr. King tells me? Patrick Henry's death!²

Here we have Mr. Florent Gytot. He called on me yesterday at 7, first visit, left no card, but came in, and took tea—a thin dark man of forty, and something like Gallatin.

We have a new third in the legislature here, *four* days since—mixed. Belgium, Mountflorencia tells me, is quiet though reports say otherwise.

The French troops in Tuscany and the Genoese are in a bad way. However it is *ungenerous* to bring up such ideas! so I have done. I find a prodigious quantity of heavyness in this letter, particularly when I consider you to be now in the purer air of Dresden! Yours, dear sir, always.

The late orders of Sweden and Denmark to exclude all privateers is a good thing and will help our northern trade for it can not exclude our letters of marque. I wish that all neutrals at each war would exclude all privateers, and also *all* prizes.

CXL.

6 AUGUST, 1799.

You will perceive, my dear sir, that I am still where you left me, as I find by your air and breathing that you are not at Berlin, but in better air, and have had the benefit of exhilarating scenery. Yes, the sensations of a man getting from smoke and din and dirt into the country, are delicious. One is young again, and if I know you, I believe that like myself you occasionally require that sort of toying and caressing of the mind which it seems always to me to enjoy on these occasions. These excursions when made alone with one's wife are indeed extremely sweet, and I rejoice that while we groan under the lookout for invasion, you are rummaging up country antiquities and bracing you and Mrs. A. with more pleasant images. Mynheer looks very bold however, the troops are numerous, and the season advances. I doubt if Bull will try without the aid of *brother* BRUIN his skill here.

¹ Signed July 11, 1799.² Died June 6, 1799.

At Paris things go on. The great want is only in money, arms, and enthusiasm; on these there is stagnation! It is believed that the combined fleets have again escaped the British fleet and are, or will be, out into the ocean by this time.

The Ship *Camilla*, from Texel for Boston on 27 June, retook an American vessel from Bremen which a French privateer had taken two days before. The pirates plundered all they could get at and beat the captain cruelly—the *Camilla* 16 guns and 50 men, Captain Sword, of Boston. St. Domingo seems preparing for our trade, by our papers. A Mr. Taylor, long a prisoner with Sands in the Temple, has just arrived and waits for me down stairs. You will excuse this short letter. Make my congratulations to Mrs. Adams in the best Saxon manner, which I am told is the politest of all Germany. Dear sir, truly yours always.

CXLI.

9 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The proclamation of this government some days since, and the letter of Schimmelpenninck to T[alleyrand] complaining of the calumnies printed at Paris against the government here, will give an air of agitation to the interior of this country which it has not. No resistance is made to the conscription; all is quiet. If there are HOPES, they are very silent and sullen. It is true, I now believe, that the combined fleets have got into the ocean. This is very mysterious. I could suppose that it were a policy that might be defended, on the ground of Italian affairs, to avoid an uncertain combat in the Mediterranean; but that policy ceases, if it be true that Great Britain and Russia have troops ready to embark on the channel. To let these fleets out, just now, must of course be unsound policy, I think. It can hardly be expected that the expedition would now take place.

From Paris I see little indeed either of great party measures or of great national measures! Terror which could alone collect taxes and make muskets with the quickness of the Cyclops, would also cut throats, destroy the Directory, and overturn formally the constitution. The powers left in the machine, without that, seem too feeble to trust to.

By a letter night before last I hear that (but it is from a lady) T[alleyrand] said to M. D[upont] de N[emours] that, "Were I in Paris now I should not be received," and that a great sensation is made by the situation into which St. Domingo seems sliding. But this is lady's news; as is also that Genet is at Paris, just arrived.

Genet must get out of the way the moment you touch upon Bohemian mountains, ruined castles, steepes, and "antics deep." You see I have had the pleasure of your 58 this moment, and have just landed you and Mrs. Adams at the foot of the mountains. I had rather be with you on this occasion than at Paris, or even in the "hey-

day of the French vintage”!! Lofty feelings are felt in those grand and gigantic works of nature where humility is inspired by the relative insignificance of self; but in this country there is no competitor, but some envious tree, to the strut of a being full 5 feet ten by the rule! And you look over a creation that is man—if there be dignity in it, it is a dignity that is made up like all great sums by a calculation upon the repeated strokes of the spade and the labourer, and all the results of reasoning are diminutive in their effects on the mind, compared with the sudden expansion produced by the senses on the exhibition of grand nature. But I must defend that castle which you call the *robber castle*—so irreverently—of chivalry! I thought you were a true knight. However the works are too decay’d and as *lofty feelings* can not keep their flight long I must give it up, and modestly return to a draught I am making of the *t’Schep rat*—water-throwing mill, so common, so essential in this country. I have bespoken a model of this mill three feet high which will be extremely useful in the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where we have rich swamps in some places lower than the neighboring rivers. Possibly also this model may obtain me a seat in the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, if its members chance to hear of it!

I pray you, my dear sir, to continue your letters; for though I might perhaps be quite easy if the excellence of your pen were *confined* to political development, yet I forgive you for the pleasure which your letters give me even out of that walk. If Mrs. Adams sketches, she will prize any memoranda which this excursion may leave upon her papers, many years hence, and so would you. Yours, dear sir, always.¹

CXLII.

15 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I go to Leyden tomorrow morning to meet M. La Fayette who has requested to meet me somewhere. We have lately written about his voyage to the United States—I to dissuade him. General W[ashington] wrote to him in December dissuading him *neatly*; but he writes me he will go, and be quiet at Mount Vernon!

You shall now have all I know. Bourne writes me that young Van Swinden left a note containing an extract from a letter he received from Paris, “That Mr. Van Polanen had written to Mr. Schimmelpenninck”—What a Flani-nami-nihilitipication of a name, when one is in haste as I am!—to wit “that the American government did not mean to send the other two Envoys, until some preliminary change should take place in the affairs of the French privateers. And that in the interim the orders were not relaxed for the capture of French vessels by American ships, and begs Mr.

¹ Murray to Pickering, August 12, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, August 13, in “Writings of John Quincy Adams,” II, 437n.

S[chimmelpenninck] so to inform his government." I know nothing of this. But *entre nous*, from various things I do begin to doubt. When they hear of the late blow, the surrender of Mantua, added to the other doings of Suwarrow, they will, I can perceive, be as sanguine at least as I have been!

The Russian minister at Copenhagen has certainly availed himself of the Baltic armament to demand a very categorical answer to a demand made, I believe, the ninth, "Whether Denmark would enter into the coalition against France?" Gave a day to reply. It was prolonged to three by an interview with Count Bernstorff. The *estafette* set off to this government on the 10, and came here the 14th. It is probable that both Sweden and Denmark had rather fight Russia than France at present.

I am so desperate in my hopes that all your cold water in 59.¹ can not extinguish them. Things must come to the end which all men seem to expect here—in France!

The Hereditary Prince was some days since at Lingen with some officers. It spread some stir here, but no movement of bodies. It is said the King of P[russia] recalled him—a thing I can not credit, but it has an effect here.

We are quiet, and the government feels, or says so, bold—if the English come.

Last post I had an unexpected interruption and did not write. It was contrary to my wishes, as I like writing to you in your Bohemian wilds more than in a carpeted city. One thinks more intensely about friends among mountains. From this excursion you will years hence enjoy many a "*winter's evening tale*," though you will correct Shakespeare's geography, who gives Bohemia a fine sea shore. You see I ought to end my dull letter. Yours, my dear sir, always.

CXLIII.

Rec. Aug. 31.

Ans. Aug. 31.

19 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have seen M. La F[ayette], for the second time. I believe I have told you that I have very often in my correspondence represented to him a thousand things to indispose him from his intended voyage. He seems, or talks as if, undecided, but I believe he will go, as he has requested a passport of me. As I know that General W[ashington] had written to him a letter which he received I think in April to dissuade him, I have written to our great and good General, telling him of my interviews and of all I knew on this subject, and even sent a press copy of my last letter to M. La Fayette to him.² He is, however, *really* distressed now. The appearances of

¹ His letter of July 30.

² Not in the Washington MSS.

war in Denmark and Sweden, and of an invasion here, make him think very seriously of an asylum; but I think he would be safe here in all events, or not assailable here till things were so altered in his own country as to give him more latitude to seek his fortune. I still urged everything in my invention that I thought proper to prevent his voyage. He is graver than he was; Still however seems to think and talk as a PUBLIC character whose course was important. Hence my fears of his ambition. He seems as if he thought himself to belong to a certain system, less than to those cares and family affairs which indeed so many thousand good men belong to and attend to. He is a very pleasing and a very interesting man, and with his reputation and popular manners will have an influence in the present twenty years to come, anywhere and especially among those who living constantly under a "foolish look of praise" are tickled by the thoughts and confidence of a distinguished character. He avows to me explicitly federalism, and a support of our government, and abhorrence of the conduct of France towards it and our nation. He avows that he does not wish to see our government more democratic, nor less aristocratic. I aver that I believe him sincere, but I think that I know his character—his ambition—too well not to fear that should he go, he will think that he finds reasons to change his tone. Just now, when every dispute must recall his natural feelings as a Frenchman, and when the state of things affords such temptation to demagogue ambition, had I discovered that his theories had been even shaken by this terrible ten years of anarchy, I should not think him too democratic in his doctrines for us. He is not democratic, he is royalist of '91; but he is ambitious, uncorrected by experience, and has exactly that talk forever of *les principes*, les principes that belong to the new school which has set the world on fire.

Denmark I understand will not be pushed more. Here is much activity. We had it three days since that eighty transports left Deal seven days since; but if the British squadron be, as is believed, yet confined in the Mediterranean by west winds, the politics of even the Baltic may be affected and the expedition from England suspended. The combined fleets are in Brest to refresh. Mantua and Alexandria both are in the hands of the ally'd army, and Tortona and Conti must soon fall. These iron men and the Germans indeed have made a brilliant campaign. The Jacobins are (so I hear) arrested at Paris, and their club shut up. Marbot,¹ the commander of the 17th division, was dismissed at eleven at night the same night. Yours, my dear sir.

Have you seen Suwarrow's Proclamation to the French nation [from] Louis 18.²

¹ Antoine Marbot (1750-1800).

² Adams to Murray, August 13 (from Töplitz) in Adams MSS.

CXLIV.

23 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Things are becoming critical here. The British transports, 80, left the Downs the 13th and have been *signed* off this coast 18th and 19. Yesterday 150 sail were seen from Texel and a courier brought the news here. Immediately orders were given to the military to be ready. Large bodies of them marched off in the night and many passed this house—sweethearts crying and bidding adieux at three in the morning. It is thought the landing will be at Delfzijl (mouth of the Ems), in the Lauwers Zee, Friesland, and in Zeeland. Government thinks of going to Amsterdam, to Zealand, and to Utrecht. Again there is *some* reason to think that an arrangement may take place before blows. It must be apparent that France can not support them, and unless they do, the contest is very unequal between this divided nation and two such powers as Great Britain and Russia. An arrangement would be useful to Great Britain, as it would liberate her whole force for some other point. Unless an arrangement do take place there will be most ruinous proceedings. Half the republic may be inundated, the passions will be bitter, and if hard pushed the violents may consider the ruin of the country as next best to its defence! The councils were in session late last night and all is bustle here.

It is remarkable that at the Texel for some days flags have past and repast, expresses always coming off for this place after each boat's arrival.

The fleet of L. Keith ¹ has escaped from the Mediterranean, and the combined fleets are in Brest. A peace with the king of Hungary and Bohemia ² through Jacobi ³ is talked of. Dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc., etc.⁴

TO 'TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁵

Private.

THE HAGUE, 28 Aug., 1799.

DEAR SIR, I am exceedingly obliged and flattered even by the very letter in which you frankly condemn my opinion; as I perceive the difference has not deprived me of your regard. It is a painful thing to be thus situated. You, sir, have this great advantage in forming your opinions. Much of the ground on which any plan of the sort, would rest, is before you, at Philadelphia and in the United States, consisting of present opinions, and of facts that do not reach me. I can judge but by the *acts* of Congress, and indeed on so very serious a business I must still think that to rest opinions on any other state of things than these is hazardous in the extreme. From these acts

¹ George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith (1746-1823).

² Francis I, as Francis II the last Roman Emperor (1768-1835).

³ N. Jacobi-Klaest (—1817).

⁴ Murray to Pickering, August 28, 1799 in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray August 24, in Adams MSS.

⁵ From the Pickering MSS.

then, sir, I judged. Except the dissolution of treaties, I recollect no great measure but what looked to even a *speedy negociation!* my reason for so thinking is because they are *temporary, limited* acts, of course not evidence of systematic hostility, but provisional remedies. The more you turn that idea about, you will find that in its application in practice and to official duty, it forbid any permanent course of proceeding in the executive, and of course carry'd with it an obligation as well to things *not to be omitted*, as to do what was expected to be committed to fulfill the injunctions of those and to correspond with the only policy on which they seem to be founded, viz., a speedy negociation on honourable terms, and honourably commenced. If this is not the sense of them, considered as a basis of the official conduct of the executive, they are very impolitic things, for I doubt if ever any executive will be found, when the war power is in the legislature, who will act as if permanent means were put in his hands, when neither the war power nor any measures but temporary ones are actually and officially in him. Individuals will form various views of what is best, what is expected, to be done or omitted to be done, but he must measure both what he does and what he omits by what is officially in his power correspondent to the nature of the business, and this business was of a permanent nature, viz., the injuries of France, and a state of war, and yet his means were exactly adapted to a temporary resentment. I can find no motive except the expectation of a speedy negociation, to account for the limited character of the measures of resentment! Congress alone could have done that which could prevent what this writer calls a "recoiling of government," an alteration in the course of a government which is impelled, not by inconsistency, but by the force of things, can not be called a recoiling. Was there inconsistency in this measure? if there were it is a recoiling. On the contrary the inconsistency will be found in the federal men who had it in their power to render this *unnecessary*, and in the federal men who applauded similar proceedings of yesterday and condemn this to day. Those who call this a recoiling, because it is improper to treat at all, are convinced by events of too old a date—every word is true that shows the perfidy and danger of France with all with whom she treats. But did not these gentlemen know all this three, two, one year since! Did they not, notwithstanding, applaud or seem to applaud, every step of both Presidents for years back, which had advanced in vain to negociation! Well, after all the fresh insults and redoubled convictions did they do anything which would finish this wavering state, between war and wishes for negociation? Yes the cruising act, one of the best, and the suspension of commerce act, another of the best, were adopted to show resentment, but it was not war according to the constitution, it put the election with France, and as, if I remember well, all these acts were temporary, *and not*

war, I conclude they expected negotiation, or they would have been fixed and concurrent with a more steady resentment.

Mr. T. B. Adams was kind enough to send me part of *the piece* last month, and one other friend informed me that it spoke the opinions of the federal and best men. As I was handled without much ceremony in this piece I immediately wrote to Mr. T. B. Adams my opinion of the piece and of the federal opinions if there expressed. I received his letter the last of July or first inst. and wrote I remember to him the 3d inst. However I do lament this situation, afflicting to me, and mortify'd as I am that a friend should have publicly given his estimate of myself in this way; as I know that my name must come forward to criticism I have made up my mind to it. I stand before my conscience that I did act without hope of promotion and did for the best. The state of Europe and the then state of my native country ought however to be well considered as cotemporary with my share in this business, else it is not a fair trial.

Things are now changed! but every man is to be judged and every measure estimated agreeably to the obligations, probabilities and policy AT THE TIME of his acting, or of its adoption. All the ministers of state in the United States and in Europe must be so judged. You have *all*, yes every one, felt the *expediency* of public measures very strong at the moment when you all revolted in every feeling. Genl. Pinckney's two embassies, Lord Malmsbury's two, Rastadt, all show that truth. Be assured, sir, that I shall in all possible situations consider *your letter and opinions as personally secret*,¹ directly and indirectly, and a new proof of your friendship. I am affectionately, dear sir, yours with perfect respect.

CXLV.

Rec. Sept. 12.

Ans. Sept. 14.

30 AUGUST, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I missed writing last post. We are at last in the neighborhood of a theatre of war. The British fleet of transports which, in number 150, summoned Story,² the Dutch Admiral, on the 20th inst., since has made good its landing on the 25th at Petten, the only approachable place on account of water. 12,000 landed on that beach at 5 P. M., covered by a range of cannon-boats.³ The action was, it is said, hot and well sustained by the Bataves—no French. Daendels commanded, and has a ball in his boot. Some valuable officers fell, among others Col. Luke of the foot chasseurs, Dutch. The British made good their landing and kept their position near the shore. Daendels kept his at Schagenstrug and in front. It

¹ Cypher.

² Samuel Story.

³ This landing and its consequences receive quite detailed notice in Bielfeld's dispatches to his government, printed in "Gedenkstukken, 1798-1801," 252.

is doubtful if Daendels had more than 10,000 men, 3000 being at the Helder in the batteries and to protect them. For though the buoys are removed from the Helder and Texel they justly feared that the British fleet would push in and take the fleet in the New Deap. Daendels, it is said, but not officially, has taken a measure extremely desperate. He has sunk two or three ships in the man-of-war channel of the Texel! He justly foresaw I suppose that he could not keep his position at Schagentrug, and that the British would be masters of the Helder and turn the batteries. This actually took place on the 28th, their force augmenting to about 15,000. Little official detail is given, and all we know is that the event is so.

One demonstration is made out by all the treason and false accounts we have had for eight days—and they have often been very extravagant. There will be no conceit between the Orangists and the invaders. Reception, and a joyful one, there will be; but it will be given to a triumphant army only.

In the meantime government really stand erect, and apparently tranquil. Some of the softer civil legislators boast a little, and utter very blustering wishes that 20,000 would land at once! The second division has not yet arrived; and if a violent east wind should come on, and the French force be drawn that way, it would place the British in a very awkward situation. No Russians yet that we can hear of. Probably they and the 2d division may land at Delfzijl on the mouth of the Ems. If they should, and the British being masters of the Texel penetrate thence into the Zuyder Zee and advantage themselves of all its points of attack, the game I think would be over for all the country to the Rhine. They fear for Zealand—but observe France's kindness: Flushing is half hers, and all Zealand becomes an object of her maternal sympathies. I understand she has 5,000 of her own troops in Zealand.

Brune is not at the scene yet; it may be that he reserves himself for the hardest act of the drama. *Me deus intersit*. But I conjecture that it was the policy of the French to have a fair experiment made of the fidelity of DOUBTED troops. As yet no desertion, I believe. Dear sir, affectionately yours always.¹

CXLVI.

Rec. Sept. 12.

Ans. Sept. 14.

3 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Night before last the news came that the fleet under Story, which on the evacuation of the Helder had retired within, near the Island of Wieringen, had surrendered. This is not official, but official men believe it. The British brought sixteen of the line up, Story

¹ Adams to Murray, August 31, 1799, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 436n; September 3, in Adams MSS.

had six. So dissatisfy'd are they with Daendels's mistakes that a commission, consisting of Mr. Van Hooft, Director, Van Hal,¹ Van der Vein, warm patriots, Pompe van Meerweit² and Bosch, moderates of the councils, with Mr. Pijman, Minister of War, set off at five yesterday morning for the army, which stretches from sea to ocean by Schermerhorn, Alkmaar and to Egmond aan Zee. But it is possible that they may find it expedient to *treat*—if the fleet is gone. And as the British are masters of the Zuyder Zee, and of course the whole plan of defence overturned for Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel and Gelderland, the Republic is gone, and the government must go to Dort or Breda in ten days. If they can drive Abercrombie from the Helder, things are better for them; but this they cannot do. If the 2d division be come, of which we can hear nothing—Brune went day before yesterday—he has 7000 French and 13 Dutch. But Dumonceau³ from Groningen with 6000 men will not be able to cross the Zuyder from Lemmer, and Abercrombie I believe has 20,000 men independently of the 2d division. In fact we seem reeling towards the same fall that has attended the other affiliated republics. *France's* offspring prosper not!

Better health to you, my dear sir. Yours truly always.⁴

CXLVII.

6 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I am almost fatigued to death with the strange passiveness of these politicians. Abercrombie must by this day have thirty three or four thousand men near the Helder; his headquarters at Schaghenrug, where Daendels's lately were. General Brune has 25,000, of which 19,000 are Bataves. The fleet, seven of the line, surrendered by a mutiny to the English on Monday night, 2d inst. The French promise to do them the favour of sending 50 or 60,000 men, which they dread, as they will have to cloathe pay arm and feed them. They see that their little country will be the seat of war, that half of it is under the power of the English by the possession of the Zuyder Zee, or at least all their defence belonging to the possession of that important water overturned, and Amsterdam liable at any moment to the bomb ketches of their enemy. They as good as own the republic lost! And yet they bluster in the councils. And though I suspect that they pant for a capitulation, and though they have great means to offer to the Prince—royalty, which includes essentially the unity and indivisible principle, and which would overturn the States and change the lead of the sovereignty to where it ought to be in Europe, and I believe by a timely offer might obtain a representative branch and perfect amnesties—yet nothing of this sort tending to an arrange-

¹ Maurits Cornelis van Hall.

² Jean-Baptiste Dumonceau (1760-1821).

³ A. Pompe van Meerdervoort.

⁴ Pickering to Murray September 4 1799, in Pickering MSS.

ment is attempted or thought of I believe by any person authorized to think effectually of it.

The Director Van Hooff I believe returned last night from the army. An interview took place the 3d between Brune and General Don and his aid at Alkmaar; nothing known of the result. A courier left this from government day before yesterday for Berlin, for explanation of some appearances hostile—at least not neutral—from Münster—100 Orangists armed it is said—but I believe also to know what you can do for them in the present difficulty, and to search means of arrangement. Some members are so full of phlegm and piety as to think that the assent of the primary assemblies is necessary to disengage them from their trust, and that the assemblies might do as they please! This too when probably the government will be forced to move to Dort, or Breda in ten days. Already many have packed up and sent off. But *France* is pushing into Germany, and round to Coni! What eccentric violence. I hope you are recovered. My dear sir, yours truly ¹

CXLVIII.

Rec. Sept. 24.

Ans. Sept. 25.

13 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On the tenth General Brune attacked Sir Ralph Abercrombie in the morning. The French 7000 on the left attacked the British right at Petten and carry'd some works. Dumonceau (a Brabant French officer in the Dutch service) in the centre also attacked and carry'd some redoubts, which it is believed were permitted to be carry'd as they led him into masqued batteries. Daendels on the right did not much, it is said. Dumonceau was driven back with terrible carnage, and the left wing also with equal loss from Petten. Thus the day was with the English all hollow—General David of the French, a very distinguished and able commander, lost his arm by a cannon shot and is wounded in the head—supposed mortally. No Russians in action! The sensation was very great here.

This moment I have your 63 [August 31.] From your 62 [August 24] I hope that the ague has left you. Last post I could not thank you for it—and now I am pressed for time. One thing important I can tell you of, though it relates to Berlin, of which you probably may not have heard. There is I believe strong reason to think that P[russia] has demanded of France to evacuate the Cleves and Guelder country, and 2dly to evacuate this republic; that France has reply'd as to the 1st, it is an article proper for a general peace, and to be then talked of; as to the 2d, this was an independent republic, and so long as it chose to employ French troops in it, they should remain. And that on this the Prussian troops moved at Ham to Rees and at Wesel

¹ Adams to Murray, September 11, 1799, in Adams MSS.

on the 10th inst. Whether they will push in I am not so certain as that the demand was made. General Schladen commands 16,000 of them, however, and it is secretly understood he will cross the Rhine as on yesterday—for Cleves.

All quiet in the interior here.

The French are again very formidable, perhaps Masséna has 110,000 men. If Prussia do not interfere and France drive out the Anglo-Russians which I do not expect, now France will take the remains of the Batavians and her army from hence, and will be very strong on the Prussian frontier. I believe she is preparing for an eventual quarrel with Prussia. Dear Sir, truly yours always, etc., etc., etc.

I have some time since sent some remarks to your brother on a piece which a friend sent me from Porcupine's paper on the nomination. *As the SENSE of the FEDERAL MEN GENERALLY*, in which I am ridiculed. Very pleasant! no doubt, Mr. Puff. Yes, exceedingly agreeable to be thus held up.

CXLIX.

11 A. M., 20 SEPTEMBER, '99.

DEAR SIR: Since I sent my letter to the post, the intelligence has come that yesterday the Russians attacked the French. At first they forced them to retreat, but at one A. M. General Brune says in his letter which I have seen to Mr. Guyot, the French pushed them back and made prisoners. Another letter one-half past two, states the victory with the French and two thousand prisoners. At six in the evening, he says two thousand Russians killed and 2000 prisoners, with General Hermann, Russian, prisoner—who complained that the English had kept in their intrenchments—and General Essen, a Russian also, prisoner. Brune says the prisoners appeared to consider death and the guillotine as certain on their falling into the hands of the French. 20 pieces of cannon. This is General Brune's account. Mr. Guyot's Secretary came on purpose to tell me!! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CL.

20 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The intelligence respecting Prussia was probably, as far as it related to Holland, premature, and ought to have been limited to a demand for the evacuation of Guilder (Prussian) and the country of Cleves.

We are surprised at the inactivity of Abercrombie, his force probably at least 40,000, including certainly 5000 Russians, and it is believed that by the arrival of the 2d division of these, 13,000. Perhaps he acts in concert with the Arch Duke and Suwarrow.

There is reason to believe that *France* is suspicious of this Directory. Brune is in fact the sole power of efficiency here. This has

been shown in some late instances. He goes by the orders of his own government. We have *all*, as I believe even government has also, been deceived, as to the numbers of French in this republic. 18,000 or 20,000 were believed to be *certainly* here. In fact on the 11th inst. there were but 10,000 in all: 1600 in all Zealand, a few in Bois le Duc, Bergen op Zoom, Grave, etc., etc.; 120 here, and 7000 with General Brune.

At Paris once more exists a great heat and some motion. Jourdan's motion to declare the country in danger, equivalent to a conventional state and committees and Jacobinism, the unexpected dismissal of Bernadotte and La Febre,¹ and the open Town-Jacobins threats against Sieyès and Barras, concur to excite expectation; but I have been so often misled by such appearances that, in lieu of doubts guided by the actual state of things, I have a stubbornness against such expectations from the past.

From the eastern parts of the union we hear there was no yellow fever up to the 1 August, and no public talk of a successor to Mr. Henry. I doubt if the President can or will name one provisionally. He constitutionally may, but this is a vacancy in a post so distant that it would be difficult to find a person settled in life in the United States who would accept, to whom the President would offer it.

By two New York papers as late as 17 June, I see that in several ports they go on with a noble ardor in building fine ships of war. Upon the whole, this career in Europe, if the great Devil can be chained, will turn out a good thing for the United States in many respects—in fortifying the Constitution, in organising *power*; for without this necessity and impulse, the veins and arteries traced by the sketch of the constitution would else not have been filled with living blood and powers of life—perhaps never.

Nothing has yet resulted from the plan which I mentioned to you lately. If anything do, you shall hear. It is however in trial.

Yours, dear sir, always.²

CLI.

Rec. Oct. 7.

Ans. Oct. 8.

27 SEPTEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On the 23d I went to Amsterdam and missed the post of 24th. I went to receive some certificates and duplicates of the six per cents, which remained unsold of that mass which was sent in 1795, 20,000 florins only remained. These I am to send to the Treasury of the United States. Tell me, if you please, when I am ordered to receive such things and give receipts for them, and from the nature of the thing a journey to Amsterdam is absolutely necessary, am I to charge the expense of the journey to government? I have done so on account of the discharged bonds which I received

¹ François-Joseph Lefebvre (1755-1820). ² Adams to Murray, September 22, 25, 1799, in Adams MSS.

last November, and brought with me in the night boat to this place. The price of the three boxes, portorage, transport, etc., etc., and my expences going and while there, two nights—these are mighty minute things; but indeed 130 florins now and 75 then to me, who can but just make both ends meet, here, are as well in my pocket as in the Treasury. Yet I would not do what is *unexpected*, on money affairs particularly. A hint confidentially from you will settle my doubts, though I have charged the first already.

What I hastily wrote you on Saturday is pretty near the truth; not 2000 Russians taken, but 900, really taken *prisoners*. A mistake in the guide who led the column of 6000 to the left instead of the right as he was ordered, was the cause of confusion. The right had brought them into the Downs, and on the left flank of the French; but the left road carry'd them into the wood of Bergen and into the very pith of the French force batteries. They were surrounded in the wood, between three and four hundred killed and wounded, and 900 taken—some of these wounded, as they had been taught, it is said, to consider death as unavoidable if taken. The British lost about 300 prisoners killed and wounded. On the left Abercrombie pushed Daendels' wing round to Pancross near Alkmaar, and it would seem as if the plan had been to make that the great attack. For if the right of the Russians had not been confused and gone further than is believed to have been the plan, General B[rune] must have either attacked Petten—he failed there the 10th—or have retreated to Beverwijk; for Abercrombie was pressing their right very hard, when the intelligence reached him that the right wing was in confusion. He then fell back to his old position.

It is believed that the loss of French and Dutch equals at least that of the Anglo-Russians. Both have received reinforcements, and both are as yet inactive since the 19th. The French expected an attack yesterday. If not attacked, it is their intention to give the attack today or tomorrow. They will by tomorrow have received 3000 French troops more! At Amsterdam, which I left the 25th all is tranquil, and one must be very active and inquisitive to discover that there is a field of battle within twenty-five miles of it. No one appears to be informed of anything but what he sees, and all I could get there was that 900 Russians had occupy'd the Wester Kirk, and had quarreled with the English prisoners in the same church—these were Middlesex militia. All agree that the appearance of these men called Russians, Tartars, etc., etc., has done much to remove the terror which their Name had spread; that they are neither large nor strong nor well looking men. They however fought well and with impetuous valor, but much of the circumstance of terror is removed—grisly beards, broad shoulders, and hardy aspects, and unknown modes of killing. There is here as usual great talk of Prussia.

*I beg you to see Mr. Vos Van Steenwijk.*¹ His real object is to invite the king to demand a surrender to the² Prince as royal hereditary executive, with a chamber of representatives and an independent judiciary, in concert with 150. The *ostensible* business is different, and the secret pact is not known even to *all of them here*. This I tell you in strict personal and exclusive confidence. You may have it in your power to *aid*.

You are probably by this at Berlin. I could but think of those intimate friendships which you have formed for the mountains of Bohemia, while I was pulled along the canal between Amsterdam—bless its gilded mud—and Haarlem, where by the favour of the municipality I obtained a two-wheel chaise and pair for Leyden. For all is in requisition, rooms of the Golden Fleece for the members of the Departmental body, and the horses for the army. . . . Yours always, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.³

CLII.

Rec. Oct. 12.

Ans. Oct. 15.

1 OCTOBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Night before last I was present at a very precious scene at the Club between the Director Van Hooft and Mr. Florent Guyot, the French Minister. In the late action, 19th, 900 Russians and 250 English were made prisoners, and I think not wounded, but able to travel; five flags were also taken, three by the Dutch in the center, and two by the French on the left. All these, my dear sir, have been sent off to France, the General Hermann and the colours (among which is said to be one of Suwarrow's regiment!) without a word to this government, *in whose pay*, clothing, equipment and feeding, the whole French army is. This made as it ought a greater sensation among the violent patriots even than anything that has happened, in my time, Pijman, Minister at War had provided accommodations for the prisoners in different cities and so wrote General Brune, designating these places. He got no answer. B[rune] always *will* write to the *Directory*, in spite of their orders to the contrary, which are to write to their Minister.

Night before last I went at nine to the Club (a Societat) not a debating place; but I got nothing but smoke, till at eleven, going out, Mr. Guyot called to me, begging me to wait for him as he was going. I went to where he and Van Hooft had long been chatting lowly and then were. I soon heard the word prisoners "often repeated." V. H. began to raise his voice, both raised; the affair was a bitter and angry remonstrance on the part of V. H. on account of the prisoners being sent away and particularly against the consent of government, the insult and injustice of this, and misconduct of the general. On the

¹ Jan Arend Vos van Steenwijk. ² Cypher. ³ Adams to Murray, October 1, 1799, in Adams MSS.

general's side it was a vindication of the measure on treaty which gives the command to the French general. The reply was, yes, but that is merely to insure unity of military operations and designs, and that if such a thing were borne with, he should consider the station of Director as beneath his personal dignity. The other charged him with heat. V. H. became more warm, and had the scene been in a place more suitable, I should say V. H. behaved throughout with the dignity of a high magistrate. There must have been twenty members in the room I think. All was silence except in the two performers. G[uyot] and I went. He told me he had begged me to wait for him because he wished to go, and feared unless I waited for him the Citoyen V. H. might detain him a long time. I told him on the contrary I was much obliged to him for having detained me, as I had never before seen Mr. V. H. warm. These were indeed precious nuts for me. The conduct of the F[rench] government was monstrous, cruel, impolitic; it is a public contempt, and it was Dumonceau's division (Dutch) which turned the day! I could perceive from G[uyot]'s talk on our way home that he suspects that Dedem, who was made prisoner the 19th, was designedly so made. This Mr. D[edem] returned that night and appeared at the Club. He told me the Duke of York had sent him back—he was not exchanged; but I am almost certain that D[edem] was not intentionally made a prisoner. If that which I have told you is not as good as a castle and a mountain, I can not help it. There is some variety in it, and among the few instances in which nature has departed in this country from a dead flat.

But though I have no castles, no toppling cliffs, nor sweet moonlights peeps and glimpses, and not a drop of moving water, yet I have
A Story (true one) for Mrs. Adams.

Dedicated in consideration of the pleasure I have enjoy'd from her tour in Bohemia, sketches of which Mr. Adams has been kind enough to give me, and drawn with a taste and tenderness which I am almost sure he had not before he was marry'd, and which I am also almost sure the *mutual* enjoyments of the scenes inspired, and which without her, had been dry statistical collections, and political opinions.

About the year — the Queen [Louisa Ulrica] of Sweden died. She had so lived as to make all the pious a little uneasy at her death, and no one rejoiced at it but those who cared not how soon she should enter into a state of eternal punishment. Her corpse, as is usual, was carry'd to the ancient castle of E—, about 30 miles from Stockholm. This was a fortress formerly of great strength to which the Court had often retired in times of danger. Its hall and a few other apartments had however survived so as to be habitable, and the chapel in which rested the remains of the kings and queens of Sweden had been preserved in excellent order. The left wing of the castle

was on this occasion appropriated to the funeral honours of the queen. Two apartments were particularly fitted up, one, which looking over a deep ditch was darkened by the trees that covered the common graveyard, was that in which the body was placed. The room was hung as is usual with black, and it was lighted up by a few glimmering candles. The room adjoining, and which was the only one which opened to it, except the door to the corridor that led to the chapel and which was strongly bolted, was that in which her attendants and the officers of the guards, attended by turns night and day for three days and nights. This room looked into the court of the castle. The corpse had remained two nights—The ladies in waiting and Count —— and Count —— were chatting on the third night, when the sound of a carriage was heard rattling over the drawbridge and then round the court to the left. They were surprised, as it was near one, and the weather *extremely cold*.

In my next to be concluded—the post will not wait

Continued.

The old domestic opened the door and announced the Countess de Bare. She was of the court of the late queen, aged near eighty. The countess made her compliments and informed them that as she had been among the late queen's oldest friends, and had been deprived by illness from waiting upon her on her death bed, she had come to pay the last duties, and she begged to be permitted to see the corpse. The old Countess was detested for her vices and character; however, the officer who superintended consulted his friends the ladies, and it was agreed to permit the Countess to see her old friend. They were however surprised at the hour in which she came. It was known that she was ill in bed; but as this was the last night before interment, and as she appeared ill, pale, and much wasted and mournful, they lit up some more candles in the state room, and suffered the Countess to enter alone, shutting the door after her on account of cold. All was still, except that now and then a sobbing seemed to be heard, which they attributed to the affliction of the Countess. Every moment they expected her return. At length one hour and more elapsed, but the door yet remained shut, and the countess made not her appearance. Among the attending courtiers was a young Count P——, a gay young man; and an old officer Baron B——, an old officer, who had seen much service, and was a man of great worth and steadiness. All the company expressed their surprise at the length of the Countess's stay in the other apartment on a night so uncommonly cold. Count P—— began to be merry from what he called the interview between the old Countess and the dead queen, and joked gayly upon the wicked secrets which they might tell were they both

alive. The ladies also became a little curious, and indeed alarmed at the delay of the old lady. Count P—— said he would have a peep at the old wicked ones. He stepped lightly on tiptoe to the door—the eyes of the company following to gain from his looks some intelligence; he gently turned the latch, opened the door an inch, and tumbled back with a frightful scream upon the floor. The old officer sprang from his seat and rushed to the door which had opened by the fling which the count gave it as he fell. Baron B—— gave a scream of horror and reeled back, and at the same instant the lights in the State Room were extinguished by some invisible power, and the room was perfectly dark for a moment, until the moon flashing through a window show'd that the corpse of the queen was as it had been. The ladies and another officer ran towards the Baron and the Count. All was terror and confusion. The Countess was called loudly, but none would venture into the dark apartment. Baron B—— at length gradually recovered from the damp chill state into which he was thrown by the full view of the spectacle which he had seen; but Count P——, though breathing, recovered but to fall immediately into convulsions, that finished his life in half an hour. The Countess was implored to come out of that horrible chamber, but she appeared not. Baron B—— then told the company, that, on rushing to the open door, he saw the Countess sitting by the head of the coffin, and the corpse reclining as in the act of speaking in whispers, on the elbow, and half raised, the head of the Countess being leaning forward as of one listening; that on the instant the corpse sunk into its position, and the countess vanished and the lights went out!

The Baron and his brother officers secured the doors of the apartment in which they were, and entered the room with lights. Everything was quiet—the corpse as it had been, but no Countess was to be seen. At that moment the sound of a horn at the drawbridge announced a messenger. He was admitted. He brought orders to expect the King next morning for the funeral, and informed that the Countess de Bear, the old favorite of her late majesty, died that night in the royal palace at one o'clock. These things were so strange and were deemed so authentic, as to merit a place in the archives of Stockholm.

CLIII.

Rec. Oct. 12.

Ans. Oct. 15.

4 OCTOBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I have to thank you for many most pleasing letters, that have done me as much good nearly as they did you when you wrote them, as they made me forget the morose and unkindly political affairs with which it is natural to occupy the mind too much. I know nothing which prepares so many agreeable stores for the mind as travelling in unknown places. Reading is far short of it.

To me it is delightful while engaged in it with all its vicissitudes and upsadowns, and I have found in the tours I have made the recollections which give me never failing pleasure in their liveliness and accuracy. When you place me in the gallery at Dresden you awaken a passion which absence alone had cured. Had I lived in London I had been a professed amateur, and perhaps connoisseur professed, having I believe a greater *turn* to drawing than to anything else naturally. Reynold's Discourses, which I read studiously, seemed to justify an inclination that before I had always feared as a mark of a mechanical bias of little dignity. For in our country town Reynolds and Raphael would at this day be called *limners*, because fifty years since a Mr. Hesselius,¹ a Swiss called a *limner*, traveled about and left likenesses of good old folks, and of ladies with an orange on one hand and a bird on the other in a few families. He afterwards settled at Annapolis and has left a very respectable family in whom you find a superior taste and power of painting at this day. During my connoisseurship I found a principle growing on me which rendered me a little fastidious in receiving pleasure—that the subject be familiar, the composition of familiar forms. This excluded mythology. Scenes generally taken from poetry—particularly from Shakespeare, Tasso, Dante, Milton, even scenes from scripture—at length offended my taste as improper for painting. So you can perceive that truth itself, if not of familiar objects, would not do, and of course that the taste which rejected it in colours must have been fastidious. West, Raphael, etc., etc., the altar painters, did not please, because I considered their subjects as unfit for painting as for poetry for a *connoisseur*! They are proper for the churches and the people. At last even the historical pictures lost much of their weight—such is the progression of a grain of heterodoxy. Thus though not become a Turk against paintings, I fell to the shepherd taste entirely; loved Claude and other landscape, even if tolerably done, and mere family pictures dressed exactly as they lived. And at this moment, though I have before me a large five guilder bargain of the Battle of Nieuport between Maurice and Albert by Sebastian Frank, I would prefer a good painting of your friends the fine mountains, with Bohemian figures and castles, if I was sure it were done on the spot, to the Alexandre of Le Brun, or the ascension of the Virgin by Raphael. So fallen am I. The only historical pieces I love are those which do not attempt to tell what is uniform in all ages, the passions, the affections; but which portray the manners of that very year for which the piece is done. For instance, Cicero at his villa. Ah, I should love such a scene. Atticus and his other guests dressed as was their custom, and at table; for there is a greater assemblage of the manners and customs and things used in life. But if you give me a tall figure and another tall figure near a torrent

¹ John Hesselius. He was a Swede, not a Swiss.

and under trees, it is nothing. Let the scene be perfectly painted, and let what is *done* be something that makes (?) that very time and in the manner, and I could relish it. Those coarse pictures of Eastern manners please, because they do or pretend to give you the *manner* peculiar to the East in which, for instance, a common salutation is made. General ideas are nothing in historical pieces. Trumbull's are among the best historical pictures—they are likenesses; but his Death of Hector, though better painted perhaps, is but the picture of *death*, of ferocity and brutality, and of a father's sorrows—the same in all places and times. I have looked about for your Cassandra, that light charming figure so full of talkative inspiration of which you told Mrs. M[urray] and me in a trek¹ once, but can not find it. Should the British get here—a fair occasion I think to slide “from gay to grave”—we shall have prints in abundance.

On the 2d inst. the British army attacked the Batave-French army. The action continued from the morning till seven, when the last council of which *we know* left them fighting. Reports give the victory to the British. I believe it is certain that they took the French works at Bergen, two or three leagues from Petten. The inundation of the Polacs² near Alkmaar, which we hear was made by the French against the opinion of the Directory, is exceedingly injurious to the center and right wing (Dutch). Brune I think will be obliged to retire towards Utrecht. Works are preparing some days at Beverwijk, the Isthmus of N. and S. Holland. These may sustain points some days. You will know sooner than I the operations of the Arch Duke on the Lower Rhine. These I think will be great, and among other consequences must divert aid from the French here. The inclosed is the conclusion of my true story.³ I will get the names and dates from Count de Löwenhielm. Dear sir, yours truly, etc., etc., etc.

I have nothing from Philadelphia, but Bourne says he has a letter from Colonel P[ickering] of 31 July, which says he has not received anything respecting the assurances there. I see that the *Maria*, who had my dispatches one set, was taken from Hamburgh by a French privateer about the time the assurances went; but I sent two sets.

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁴

(Private.)

TRENTON, Oct. 4, 1799.

DEAR SIR, I have received many private letters from you, the last dated July 23d, came to hand this day. Such as contained any interesting details of French affairs I have communicated to the President, particularly those intimating the “portentous scene” ready to be displayed in France, the exhibition of that scene, the prospect of fur-

¹ For Trekschuyt.

² Folders.

³ See p. 597, *supra*.

⁴ From the Pickering MSS.

ther changes, and the review of Boulay de la Meurthe's remarkable pamphlet. I had for some time before been looking for great changes in France, to arise from the successes of the Austrians and the certainty of the coalition of Russia. I have for a good while been convinced, not only "of the impossibility of upholding" in France "a purely representative elective government," but imagined that monarchy would be unconditionally restored; because the French were not likely to agree among themselves on any modification of it; and because, wearied by successions of revolutionary tyrants, they must feel the necessity of getting rid of them all as the only means of obtaining *rest* and *tranquility*. But whether monarchy shall be conditionally or unconditionally restored, I have believed that the situation of the people would be ameliorated in the final settlement of the government; and that it might be limited, after the model of the English. Such a government will secure to them all the liberty they are capable of enjoying; and therefore I wish they may acquire it; but at any rate let their violent, unprincipled, corrupt, self-named republic have an end: for until then, neither France, nor Europe, nor America, will find repose.

I could not notice without regret the style of your letter to Talleyrand on the subject of the proposed new mission to the French republic: a mission of which the institution is and has been uniformly viewed by every member in the administration, and by all the ablest and best supporters of the government throughout the Union, as the most unfortunate and the most humiliating event to the United States which has happened since the commencement of the French revolution: *for it was not a condition imposed upon us, but one voluntarily adopted*. But as I have formerly dilated on this subject in a letter which I hope you have received, I forbear making any further remarks.

By the style of your letters which I regret, I refer to the strong expressions of pleasure with which you communicate to Talleyrand the projected mission in your letter of May 5th, and receive his answer in your letter of the 18th, and the professions of "perfect respect and high esteem" for that *shameless villain*¹ with which you conclude them. This is not the necessary diplomatic style: the customary, cold "consideration" would have been enough; and the more proper because it was his own language toward you. "Respect" is due to station filled by talents accompanied with virtuous qualities: On the score of talents, I form no pretensions. "Esteem" is the sentiment of *affection* and *friendship* for *moral worth*: the profession of it you have constantly and abundantly lavished on me: and I hoped that I was not wholly unworthy of it: But what value am I to place on it when I see that with the like facility it is addressed to one of the most false,

¹ Cypher.

hypocritical, and corrupt *villains*¹ of whom France has produced so plentiful a crop. At any rate, it can afford me no pleasure; on the contrary, it is an opprobrium to be in any form associated with that man.

So much for private feelings. In a public point of view I consider the eagerness with which you as the representative of the United States address Talleyrand, and the strong expressions of joy at the prospect, or rather "the plausible appearance" of a prospect of reconciliation, to be alike injurious and degrading: *injurious*, as it will naturally suggest to the French government, an idea that we are impatient under their displeasure, and willing to make any sacrifices to regain their good-will: *degrading*, as it implies aggression on our part as the cause of the existing differences; and that we are overjoyed that they are so condescending as to permit us, penitents, to approach them, and humbly seek to regain their favour.

The two letters handed you last autumn by Pichon (the sole object of his secretaryship at the Hague was this intrigue) of the 11th Fructidor and 7th Vendémiaire (by which the French government have insidiously obtained what they sought—new overtures and envoys) have lately appeared in the newspapers of the United States. They were first published in a virulent Jacobin paper called the *Examiner* printed at Richmond, and of which the infamous wretch Callender is the *actual* editor. The last only, you have seen, was laid before the Senate and that alone was consequently published: but the French government, persevering in their projects to divide the people from the government of the United States; and suspecting that the President would not make them public, caused Pichon to prepare and certify new copies, on the 13th of March last, to be published in the United States. Pichon's certificate subjoined to each letter, is in these words, "Certified conformable to the original in my hands of which I have given a collated copy to Mr. Murray 22d Fructidor 6th year, to be communicated to the President of the United States. Paris, the 23d Vend., 7th year. L. A. PICHON."

The certificate to the letter of 7th Vendémiaire is the same, "*mutatis mutandis*."

Both these letters are very exceptionable; and the first contains very impudent lies: they are indeed so gross as to be insulting; and combined with the charge, that you like other men at the head of the affairs of the United States, had received *British impressions*, with the recollection of their frequent insinuations that we were all under *British influence*; would have justified you in dashing the letter in Citizen Pichon's face. But the Rubicon has been crossed! and we are humbled past redemption.

I wish to renew to you the respect and esteem with which your character and manners originally impressed, dear sir, your obt. servt.²

¹ Cypher.

² Adams to Murray, October 8, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CLIII.

8 OCTOBER, 1799.

The British attacked the whole line from the sea near Beverwijk to Purmerend day before yesterday. For on the affair of the 2d they really triumphed and drove the French from Alkmaar to Beverwijk—the Russians having little share, as they were on the left and had the care of the Dutch right. This action, on the 6th, was not we hear as severe as usual. The French I believe retain their position, and Mr. Guyot says have taken 1500 prisoners. *Their* loss is not mentioned; they as usual say “*Enfin, la victoire est à nous.*” Lord Chatham¹ is badly wounded in the throat. I will give you a copy of what Mr. Guyot sent to me yesterday, and of what I suppose he sent round. It is from Brune to him, dated Beverwijk le 14 Vendémiaire (5th October): “*L’ennemi a attaqué ce matin sur toute la ligne. On s’est battu 13 heures avec des succès variés. Enfin la victoire est à nous. Les Anglo-Russes nous ont laissé onze pièces de canon et quinze cent prisonniers. Le père de Mr. Pitt,¹ Lord Chatham est grièvement blessé à la gorge.*” The cannon here yesterday, and the flag at the Tower top, swore to the truth of this. Mr. Guyot also the day before announced round, that the army of the enemy was destroy’d, etc., etc., etc., in the late taking of Zürich. I believe it not. Doubtless the removal of the Arch Duke and his corps much weakened that important position, and I fear that Messéna’s success may force the lower Rhine operations not to be suspended; but I have no idea of their success. Yes, there will be one more battle in Italy—and probably against the imperialists; and I think it probable that this superiority in Switzerland will endanger a little the state of Italy. But with the fortify’d places in hand, and the peasantry in arms, poor as they are, and such armies to back them, I have very little fear for the end of the autumn. Here we are twenty-five miles from fighting armies, and at a seat of government; and *you* who so intimately know the worthy Dutch, will not wonder that we are as tranquil as dish water! Yours, dear sir, always and truly.

CLIV.

11 OCTOBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: On Tuesday last, the 8th, the British army retrograded from Baccusn and Limmen to Petten, evacuating Alkmaar. This was done it is understood without attack, except slight skirmishes on their rear, in which they lost about 300 prisoners. Some say not more than the 200 which I saw pass here on the 9th. The report given out here is, that the British army after an action was in full *déroute* and the French pursuing them and had retaken Alkmaar. To my eyes this movement appears the wisest thing they have done after taking the Helder and fortifying at Petten, where

¹ John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham (1756-1835).

the submergeable low land of the Zype runs into a point on which Petten stands, a place susceptible of great strength under a few troops. I suppose their intention is to leave a corps at this place and submerging the Zype, change their plan of attack, probably on Friesland where a superior force can display its wings, and where such a victory as that of the 2d would have put them in possession of a province, and where the people (poor sheep as they are) might support them. Whereas on a neck of land a great force has no superiority over a smaller one which may be adequate to one position.

The affair of the 8th was a theme of dramatic exhibition. The Secretary General of the Directory in their company in a box read, between the play and the piece on Tuesday night, a letter from some *Commissary* of the Directory near a Burghers corps at Harlem, stating the brilliant affairs of the day, and the mortal combats between the British and Russians. According to this sagacious commissary the last had murdered their general, and the *déroute* was much owing to these devisions. This has been officially announced, and was, I understand, yesterday officially contradicted as premature—perfect harmony subsisting.

The result of the 26th and 27th in Switzerland will be deeply felt here in the British operations, as troops, which were some days stopped in their march by the appearances on the lower Rhine, are now marching on to join General Brune.

I rejoice that I have seen even some Russian soldiers, or rather warriors; about fifty common soldiers were in the line of prisoners which past here. They are very like in complexion, and character of countenance, and step, our Southern Indians, with a profile not so noble. So strong were the points of resemblance that even their yellow coarse whiskers of the upper lip, and the paleness of their hair and eyes did not overpower them, though opposite. I never could before attain what I considered as the correct visible form of a barbarian—and man uneducated and ferocious, yet civilized enough to submit his courage to the voice of strict discipline, grave, fixed, yet without the lines of reflexion, but full of the lines of the fiery passions or rather of but one—rage. I have seen the soldiers of Attila. They were a most complete contrast to the Britons who were mixed with them, who, I was sorry to see, appeared, the majority of them, to be very common fellows, very inferior to the lofty barbarian—those coarse but hot irons. The people gave them all not halves—guilders, doits; the applewomen gave apples, and with an epigrammatic cleverness which I had not expected from such goddesses, a seshalf now and then stuck in the apple and given with heartiness. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc.¹

¹ Pickering to Murray, October 14, 1799, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 15, in Adams MSS.

CLV.

Rec. Oct. 21.

Ans. Oct. 22.

15 OCTOBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: It is understood that another battle took place day before yesterday, the 13th inst—an attack of the French and Dutch upon Petten and the British line; that at Petten the French had at first some success, but failed in their attack; that Mr. Deforgues,¹ the new adjoint of Mr. Florent Guyot, past the 13th June *on to General Brune*, where by the bye many of the discontented *patriots* have been some time, and given some alarm to government; as it is believed these five or six days past that some precious plot is ripening against the moderate, government party. Again, it is said with confidence, but confidentially, that D[eforgues] is sent to ascertain the true state of affairs, in consequence of some variance in the reports of the minister and the *proconsul*—quaestor may not the first be called, but both perform what I suppose to have been the occupation of that character—superintend the chest of the independent ally. I presume if that solution of his appearance here be true, either Mr. G[uillot] or General B[runo] will go, as he will not find both correct. If his award be with B[runo], then I should fear some violence towards government. Poor government, ancient Bataves. They are hands and feet at head quarters, whatever mud hole be these Bakkum or Beverwijk. On the 13th I was assured that they had had no official information for five or six days. Brune will write to *them*, when he please, not to their minister of war; and the other generals durst not write. They get a letter from Commissaries at Harlem (of the Burghers), publish it, and in twenty-four [hours] it is contradicted—tales of battles between republicans and British, general murdered, and most triumphant slaughter and fratricide. But Mr. General does just as he thinks proper, and Daendels has thrown himself into B[runo]’s party, which is the strongest certainly. The French force is about 15,000 in North Holland; in 10 days will be 20,000. The British prisoners say that thousands of their army are sick and sent to England; that near one-third are forced to keep the open air for want of houses, turn about—about 500 have been ten days at Lemmer in Friese, but the country people, the militia, are against them near the town, having failed in one attack. It is strong because approached by one or two dykes. Just now affairs look gloomy for the expedition. Had the Arch Duke come down the Rhine, the face of the nation would have been very different, though I have no idea of their supporting, actively, the operations of the English; they are not men of that sort.

Mr. Vos van Steenwijk, who it is said has been at Berlin, returned on the 13th. I saw him at the play that night and asked him what

¹ François-Louis-Michel-Chemin Deforgues.

news; he said, none. It is to milk the ram—to do anything with P[russia]—if he went to do anything. Unless a man is skating, his place is to *stand still* if a crowd of skaters are flying about him on the ice; and that seems to be the position of P[russia] and his plan—but he ought to be on his skates.

I wait with the anxiety natural on the eve of a great expected event, for the issue of the meeting between the armies of the Arch Duke and Suwarrow and Masséna's—the first and second on the front and rear of the last. All things considered it will have more suites than any that can now happen. Much of Italy, Suabia and certainly, I think, affairs here, hang upon that day. I expect that M[asséna] will be almost crushed. Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

I just receive a line from a Mr. Browne, merchant of Rotterdam. He informs me of the death of our consul, Mr. Beeldemaker¹ and applies for his place. He was his brother in law, he says. I never heard of Mr. Browne. Do you know him?

Mr. Guyot this moment sends me a note, I suppose as usual to the corps also: "that he is officially informed that Masséna has beaten Suwarrow, and killed and taken 6000 Russians in the pays de Grisons." I believe yet that the official news is telegraphically official, and I can not believe it yet on that account.²

CLVI.

Recd. Oct. 27.

Ans. Oct. 29.

SUNDAY, 20 October, 1799.

I have the misfortune to find you but too often right—the "best natured man with the worst natured muse"—if you too have an inspiring assistant; and if no prophet, very much of a Scotchman. Yes, my dear sir, it is but too bad.

On the 16th (so the Directory say to the councils agreeably to General Brune's dispatch of the 17th to them, and as one of them told me on the 18th at night) the Duke of York, at the head of at least as many men as the Duke of Cumberland gave up at Closterseven sent General Knox to make proposals to the effect that he would evacuate the country!! Some secret reason can alone account for this affair so important to the allies, who, doubtless, count on his co-operation. Brune answered, give up the fleet, and 15,000 prisoners, and quit the country without doing mischief. Letters last night say, that the capitulation is *SIGNED*; whether under these disgraceful conditions, is not known. As I write (immediately on receiving your valuable favour 69 [October 8]) I hear the discharge of cannon, and I lay my life they announce the capitulation. I will

¹ John Beeldemaker.

² Murray to Van der Goes, October 16, 1799, and to Pickering, October 18, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, October 19, in Adams MSS.

go out—seriously it is not a novel letter—and find if it be true—as it is so probable!

I am just returned from the S. Chamber, summoned to receive the great news that the convention for the departure of the Anglo-Russian Army was signed yesterday!!!

What is curious in respect to this affair's connection with this government is that the capitulation, or convention rather, itself has not come. The detailed articles are not positively known. It is believed, however, and even asserted by men bound to know (were there any way of knowing from a general in chief by the government who pays him!!) that 1. Evacuate in fifteen days; 2d. delivered 8,000 prisoners, exclusive of those to be exchanged; 3. put the fort at the Helder *in statu quo*, and deliver the artillery. Some still say a 4th—the fleet lately taken to be inactive during the war, and to be delivered after it, but this last I believe is incorrect. If some secret motive equivalent to the sacrifice, and even embracing the principal objects of the expedition be not at the bottom, it is not easy to solve so strange, so unexpected, so apparently unnecessary a step, and one which will give the rising blow to the British armies, whose reputation was really fast rising to a level with the continental character! Lord have mercy on the cause of law, order, and good government! At the moment that reinforcements must have arrived this measure is adopted. What will not be the sensation in the government and nation of Great Britain, unless there be some secret attainment of their object *by these means* which appears so disgraceful till their real agency is explained? It is not likely that this secret exists, and yet the whole without it is really too bad. It is said by the Dutch and French that great confusion has lately reigned in the B[ritish] army, and some marks of insubordination; that the Russians and they disagree. The result of any folly is natural, the folly once admitted, and this convention would seem to justify even the charges lately made, ridiculous as these seemed on the 10th, the disagreements between the B[ritish] and R[ussian] troops, etc., etc.

At Paris the vote of thanks to the armies sets out in the course of the debates, modestly: "It is acknowledged that the French people are the greatest of nations, and that the French troops are the first soldiers on earth, etc., etc., etc." That brusque and mustachioed preparation is but to give you the effect of strong contrasted colors in the portrait of peace which reposes in the background; and these contrasts, Sir Joshua says, are useful in painting, when the sublime is attempted. In fact, they, at Petten talk of a peace as near.

I hear from Amsterdam that the Boston papers announce Mr. Davy¹ of North Carolina as Mr. Henry's successor, and that late letters say Mr. E[llsworth] and Mr. D[avie] would set out in September.

¹ William Richardson Davie (1756-1820).

The person¹ whom I mentioned to you in a late letter in cypher has returned, and did not succeed. He did set in motion some useful things, but these have since failed. What I said was for you only as I have not wrote it, fearing possibilities. Yours, dear sir, always.

If you have not read Abbé Winkelman's letters, and his larger work on the fine arts among the ancients,² your Dresden enjoyments will give you a high relish for them; but of all the things of that class of literary leisure I love Sir Joshua's Discourses—or rather did, twelve years since. I have not got them. Your large square bale of books are with me. If I go, tell me what I shall do with them. However I shall have my own also to take care of, and unless you direct otherwise, your bale, which is unopened and well packed and sewed with cord, will be where mine will be left. Your initials are on it. I will put your name, etc., etc., at length, to guard against difficulties, *should I see the inside of the Temple!*

CLVII.

Rec. Oct. 27.

Ans. Oct. 29.

21 OCTOBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Your 70 [October 11] was a great luxury to me after I had been pummelling my head with the Secretary of State about the Duke of York, Russians, Dutch, French, mud, misery, mistakes and melancholy marvelling. So that I enter the field in support of the familiar in painting pretty much in the temper in which this ill-begotten son of a king past so piteously into Petten, prepared more to call for capitulation than combat. However, notwithstanding your 44-pounder, which I felt, in your paragraph entire from "give me the painter, etc., etc.," yet I do, like a true protestant, stick to the familiar, and vow against con- and transsubstantiation, though I perish in the burning of that sentence. It is not an idea well digested, but it does seem to me that many things are fit for poetry, (which all critics allow to have a gift of mental painting ungiven to painting—as in the well-known cited case of Shakespeare's "sleeping moonlight" which Viola sees (I think)—things that are in the imagination a learned one. Yet I do not see why painting, which is absolutely imitative, should dare so much as to go beyond a prototype in nature. I do doubt if she ought. It ought to tell its story without inscription, that is, the story should seem natural. This applies to mythology and to the marvellous in scripture. Without a sincere veneration for religion, I had rather see left to the mind than the eye.

As to the historical, perhaps my objection may be more to the ability of man to execute than to the thing itself. I never, that I

¹ Vos van Steenwijk.

² Johann Joachim Winkelmann (1717–1768). Murray refers to his "Briefe an Bianconi" and "Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums."

remember, saw an historical piece of much or rather numerous a composition and intricacy of detail that did not weaken the idea I had conceived by the narrative. My narrative is cotemporary with each succeeding moment, hands me along, the scene thickens, everything succeeds as cause and effect. In the picture I see the whole of one instant—an insulated scene. No, perhaps it is too great an effort, and unsuitable in its nature to these subjects.

As to the uniformity of the passions, that is my objection. A man with Le Brun's book of heads¹—attitudes—in his hand, dresses up a scene—love, hatred, rage, cunning, hypocrisy—all commonplace, nothing *historical* more than in the painting of landscapes—mere elements. I want to see the caprices, the manners; I do not know these. I do know how Achilles looked when in a fury; and as to Alexander in the Tent of Darius, he is any Grecian general and the ladies are in sorrow as ladies are at any time. Tell me that they are *likenesses*, then, indeed, I can pour upon them, feel with them; but I have not philanthropy enough to sympathize with the representative face of sorrow as it universally is seen. As to Lazarus, to return, I turn from such things, because I feel them void of taste. Were I [an] unbeliever in a future state I would so think, because they suppose the resurrection of the dead true, and yet attempt to paint it with the accompaniments of a scene totally adverse to any sublime idea of the manner of the event. The same departure, once admitting these things within the bounds of classical painting, has led to a thousand extravagancies. All travellers have somewhere seen the author of nature himself painted. I remember that when I read Winckelmann's remarks on the Torso by Angelo, considering it as the ruins of the statue of Hercules (it was long since in an *Annual Register*), I felt in his efforts to give an idea adequate to what he deemed sublime in the work, and one worthy of a demigod, that he was dressing a pigmy in gigantic clothes, etc. He started the impression in me that there was no *taste* in the ancient statuaries who attempted to portray their divinities as works for the admiration of thinking men.

Let me ask you, was not your own eloquent character of Cicero absolutely, from the nature of the thing, infinitely beyond the reach of the pencil. You may have him in any *one* of the cases in which you so well distinguish his unlikenesses—things reconcilable in the mind but not, I think to be reduced to painting.

I should have preferred another time for this. You are just from enjoying these works, and brimfull of their defence, and with arms fresh. Politise a month—and study *painting* at the card tables (mind! I hear Mrs. Adams does not use paint!) and get your mind smoked dry'd a little in a musty city and then, if you will challenge me, brush in hand, I am your man. Dear sir, always yours.²

¹ Charles Le Brun (1619-1690).

² Adams to Murray, October 22, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to John Adams, October 23, *ib.*

CLVIII.

Rec. Oct. 30.

Ans. Nov. 1.

25 OCTOBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: *The capture* (voilà the last column of figures on the right is incorrect—figures repeated) of Donn¹ gave me uneasiness. I feared discovery.² But all is right.

On the 6th (I forget if I mentioned it) General Donn was detained as a prisoner, though he came as a flag—certainly at a questionable time; as at the moment of his coming to General Daendels's headquarters, the attack was on the left of the French. On him, it is said, were found papers of some mysterious nature, and instructions from the Duke of York. Perhaps with the same object on which he attempted to come on openly to government here in the beginning of September, when General B[rune] would not permit him to come on, to treat with government directly. I think it was General Donn.

It is known that Mr. Guyot eleven days since demanded his dismission, and it is understood that Brune goes also—probably with his troops, and by this day 30,000 to the Rhine. This was the effect which I supposed to be the strongest against the allies of this inglorious and unexplained convention. There seems to me more matter for a general peace than has been these six years. Oh! the Patriots here rave against Brune like geese, because he did not get the fleet, a free fishery, no blockade—I do not know but the Cape also! Dear sir, always yours, etc., etc., etc.

The royal race goes on I see in Berlin. I pity those babes, unless some Frederic be among them—which can not be expected in a century.

What was Durand's business at Berlin? My *true story* could not be finished by that post, and though it was a proper place to break off—as Hudibras says, in the middle—yet I had not time to go on.³

FROM TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁴*(Private and confidential.)*TRENTON, October 25, 1799.⁵

DEAR SIR: In the bitterness of my indignation, chagrin and distress on the appointment of new envoys to the execrable government of France, I have vented my feelings in some private letters to you: for I thought it important that you should know truly the sensations which the measure has produced: and be assured that mine rise no higher than those of the other members of the administration, and of men whom I am sure you remember with respect, esteem

¹ George Don (1754-1832). He was kept a prisoner until June, 1800.

² Cypher.

³ For Washington to Murray, October 26, 1799, see "Writings of Washington" (Ford), XIV, 213; Pickering to Murray, October 26, in Pickering MSS.

⁴ For the Pickering MSS. A good part of the letter was to be sent in cypher.

⁵ Sent to Phila'a to go in a vessel to Bremen. Note endorsed by Pickering.

and affection—among them I need mention only General Hamilton, Mr. Cabot and Mr. Ames. The rumour of a *suspension*, gave them some relief: but the late positive order of the President that the mission should proceed, has excited anew our deep regrets and will overwhelm them with the most poignant sorrow. Mr. Ellsworth I know is absolutely averse to the mission: but he goes for the same reason that he at first yielded to the nomination—to prevent something worse.

I have formerly told you that this mission was, in its origin, exclusively the President's own act: and the determination at this time that it should proceed, is in like manner entirely his own. When he came on to Trenton lately, we all expected that the actual and impending changes in the affairs of France, as well internal as external, would have produced a solemn pause; and that as Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Davie were both here, the President would have willingly compelled them as well as the heads of departments, before he finally decided on a measure of magnitude surpassing, in the actual state of things, at home and abroad, every other since the formation of the federal government. God knows it was not for the honour of being consulted, that we wished it: but if the opportunity had been offered, we hoped that our joint opinions and reasonings, supported by the voice of the most enlightened men and truest friends to our country, might have prevailed with the President, at least to *suspend* the mission, until a government evidently possessing some stability should exist in France. But we were disappointed. As soon as the instructions were finally arranged (and in these our opinions were in every part received and adopted), we were the second time shocked with the President's *sole* and peremptory decision. Mr. Ellsworth was just going to the President's lodgings, to make a last effort to dissuade him from a present prosecution of the measure, when I *called* to tell him I *had orders* to furnish the envoys with their instructions, and to desire them to embark by the first of November, in the frigate *United States*. The Secretary of the Navy at the same time received orders to have her got ready for the voyage. These orders leading him to call on the President to ask some question, the President spoke of his decision in this manner—*That he did not think it respectful to consult the heads of departments, for he had maturely deliberated on the subject, and made up his mind, which was unchangeable.*

While the President was at Quincy, we thought it our duty to express our opinions (which were unanimous) with some reasons, why the mission should be *suspended*: at the same time I sent him your letters noting the important events in Europe, particularly the interesting changes in the interior of France, and your idea that the *republic* would probably not survive six months. It was after

the receipt of these documents that the President wrote Judge Ellsworth, *that he should for a longer or shorter time suspend the mission*, and for the very reasons which we had suggested. But he ridicules the idea that the period of the French republic is at hand: he says it will last yet seven years; and desires his prediction may be remembered. But his ideas of the measure and its consequences differ from those of all other men whom I know: and without some interposition of Providence, will prove fatal to our dearest interests. It has already prevented a commercial treaty with Russia; and it would be folly to attempt one with the Porte. An actual treaty with the French republic will probably bring us into a war with the combined powers; or if open war be not declared, our commerce will be harrassed and deeply injured, and from the Russian ports (on which we depend for sailcloth and hemp) be probably excluded. In the mean time, the intercourse with France will be renewed, and we shall be cursed with a revolutionary minister to intrigue with the numerous enemies of our government, until it be overturned. These are some of the evils with which this mission is pregnant. When it was intimated to the President, that the negotiation with the French republic, at this time, might lead to a war with Great Britain, would you believe it possible that he should answer, "*Great Britain could not hurt us!*"

These facts I thought you ought to know; to aid you in making a just estimate of things at home.

Whatever you find in my private letters to hurt your sensibility, I trust you will forgive: persuaded of the purity of my motives. In the ardour of your mind you have appeared not to me only, but to your friends McHenry and Wolcott, to have exceeded the bounds of prudence and propriety in those passages of your letters on which I have animadverted. I formerly noticed your congratulations to the revolutionary government of Holland: but I did not, I believe, repeat the President's earnest remark upon them: "that young man will ruin me." Perhaps this single remark would have supplied the place of all other comments; and saved me the pain and you the displeasure of seeing them expressed. But in performing a duty or an act of friendship, I relied on your candour to put a just interpretation on my acts. "If I have been 'angry' I am sure it was without sin." Faithfully yours,¹

CLIX.

4 NOVEMBER, 1799.

There was but one subject on which I suspected I had any sort of advantage over you—painting. Perhaps it was because I was a drawer from chalk to pencil, and from infancy and a tulip to seventeen, when I accomplished, victoriously in the eyes of our village, a

¹ Adams to Murray, October 29, November 2, 1799, in Adams MSS.

pencil copy of my grandfather's portrait in a full bottomed wig and dove colored velvet; and of all earthly superiority that attained in remote villages is the most tenacious. So that I began like an expert fencer to play loose with you, not thinking that it was very natural to believe that you too might have wielded a pencil; and I will lay my life that I am not the only man of rhyme either in our diplomacy—always as in duty bound placing Humphreys' atop. To try you I will venture the little piece below as a touchstone, and if you are a poet too, I am done with you and will begin to write sermons. Critics agree that the mind should be prepared and warmed gradually for the reception of the fine things, and as this relates to my wife it is too important not to have an introducing remark, and that is, that it was written in 1786, and that the seminal idea was produced by, not found in, the reading of the *Discourses* by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in the doctrine which I admit as a most interesting one—to derive general ideas from a very comprehensive study of nature, and a learned and constant meditation on the works of the great masters in the arts. To reach the ideal beautiful! This is a charming and sublime idea, and the polar star of all that is lasting and great in all things. But to my couplets:

TO LAURA.¹

Nature in the impassion'd mind
Breathes the ideal form of love;
And in this we see combin'd,
All that happiness can prove.

Fondly in each fair we try
The sweet prototype to view;
Longer could my roving eye,
Search for this when fix'd on you!

Then the soul with trembling chord,
Own'd the unison it sought;
Then was Laura's form ador'd
As the image Lov'd of thought.

However indulgent the rights of friendship, I would not send you this but that my friend Wilmot, now dead! thought so well of it that he obtained a copy of me, and in a few days I saw my verses in a newspaper—(but without name or allusion).

Besides I have the authority of Colonel Humphreys who lately sent me an excellent, but too sentimental, sea song for our seamen. However I do positively send my lines in deep secrecy as to the United States, for there is, and perhaps justly, I know an absolute distrust of the ability (and of course want of confidence) of any rhyming diplomat, especially among the mercantile members of Congress, who—my fame never has reached them—have unbosomed

¹ It was Laura or Charlotte—most of my *amatory* pieces (as Johnson has it) to her being to Laura according to usage. *Note by Murray.*

themselves to me on this subject with an inveterate frankness of contempt that made me shudder.

But this question respecting general ideas is too important for me to pretend to handle without much previous reflexion and writing. It seems a great elementary rule intended to correct and form the taste; but that taste formed under the arduous study which can alone attain it, must be liberated as to the selection of objects in a picture—there being a general idea belonging to each genus, species, variety and family of all things. And the act of the painter as the poet is not to omit things which are incapable of being generalised, as costume, manners, which if generalised are not historical; but this again returns to the question what are proper subjects for painting? Those most susceptible of being generalised, or those not so much so. Sir Joshua, whom I warmly admired, either says somewhere, or it is a remark which I drew from the study of his portraits, and particularly of those whose originals I had known or seen often, that a profound portrait painter preserves *likeness*, and yet so develops the hidden powers which may be supposed to, and generally do, belong, to such and such an outline and expression, as to give you the portrait of that same man, *as he would stand* before you under the highest state of perfection, or rather improvement, of which his particular character, age, circumstances, etc., etc., etc., would render him susceptible. His portrait of Monsr. Egalité,¹ then Duke of Chartres and in England, was a striking *likeness*, but it was the Duke of Chartres as he might have been, noble minded, lofty, yet polite, and brave. This Duke I saw perpetually about town “A Satyr to Hyperion,” his picture, yet a strong and unmistakable likeness. So was Lord Rodney’s. The king’s certainly did almost defeat his magic powers; but indeed that was an interesting picture (but at that time my own eyebrows were nearly as light as his and my eyes as large)—perhaps I was flattered. Turn that idea often in your mind, and then I think you will find what I in vain can show by analysis, that Sir Joshua applied his general ideas in that particular way which I admire, and you will perceive that in the painting of Trumbull of our glorious Independence you could have all that I contend for retained, and yet the great, derived from general ideas, most happily blended. Your father, sir, would have been in the same *firm* attitude, with the countenance more full of the great ideas which he actually had; but the attitude would have been better. He would have had his hair as he now wears it, instead of a wig, (which he now hates himself). Mr. Sherman’s straight hair would have been locks, and all sanctity of countenance would have been thrown out of his meager face; and Mr. Jefferson would have seemed more in action—which is what the whole three want; but it is to me

¹ Louis-Philippe Joseph, duke of Orleans (1747–1793).

a most invaluable picture, and has enough to immortalise the painter. In the figure of Jesus Christ there is a fine field for that profound idea which can be reached but by immense study and discrimination. I will admit even the ascension of that figure—it is historical and consoling; but I deny angels, gods, or devils a place in painting, notwithstanding I see you are borrowing their arts and arms to overturn my resolution.

Mr. Guyot goes today; General Knox, it is said, as *hostage*, with him, to Paris. Mr. Deforgues stays, so does Brune. G[uyot] has acted well and candidly here. He gave in his dismission. I will, wherever I be, attend with sincere pleasure to all your commissions and wishes, and those of Madame also, who must do me the honor to read my verses.

My letter was too late. I do not send it.

As soon as by several letters from Mr. Bourne, Pitcairn, and one from Mr. King, I was informed that our “newspapers reported Mr. Davie’s appointment, and that Mr. E[llsworth] and Mr. D[avie] would sail probably in September,” which was about fourteen days since, I made a point of informing Mr. Guyot verbally at the play house exactly what I had heard, as of newspaper news exclusively, and that I had no intelligence official or by private channels of the fact. I was led to tell him by knowing that “the French combine badly,” and that had they heard this newspaper news a month hence for the first time, it would have been attributed (the fact of the new nomination, etc., etc.) to their successes in September and October!! though impossible, “*Eh, bien c’est égal.*” I hear that I am quoted to the effect above mentioned in a French paper.

4. November, 1799.

CLX.

Rec. Nov. 14.

Ans. Nov. 16.

8 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: Day before yesterday I received a letter from the Secretary of State of the 4. September. He says that the assurances which I transmitted from Mr. Talleyrand are considered as a substantial compliance with the President’s requisitions, and that notice to prepare for the voyage had been given to the envoys there. By a slip which Bourne cut from a paper for me I see that our gallant Truxtun has resigned. A dispute on a point of seniority with Captain Talbot¹ was the certain cause, and the decision of the government being with Talbot’s title to it. I presume some strict rule on this point necessary, but surely distinguished merit will find a door more generous and noble for its ascension and honor than the grade by grade of junior to senior. It seems that there is no discontent on Truxtun’s part at the decision which Mr. Stoddert says was long

¹ Silas Talbot (1751-1813).

delay'd, because it was understood that let it go either way, the government was to lose one of these officers. But I do wish, my dear sir, that Truxtun had had a seventy-four given to him and title of post captain. For as to adhering to mere seniority, it is too mechanical for the formation of a young navy or the support of an old one. The Executive must have some means of raising a distinguished officer above the old; the mere men of inapproachable obscurity, and of inactivity and want of success! So it is in the British navy. The mischief sometimes of that power of making illustrious exceptions to a general rule of grade, there, is that great family influence keeps down an old meritorious lieutenant forty years as such, and gives great command to younger men of family. But even then, if this be true, you see a Nelson burst forth, taken too from a lower grade than Captain Frederick, Sir J. Orde,¹ and three others in Lord St. Vincent's fleet. In our service the cause would not operate, or very little. I am not personally acquainted with Truxtun, and it is from a sincere zeal for our main right arm of force, and for its distinction that I write with this freedom to you! Talbot, I think, it is the same I knew in Congress, and I dare say is a good officer. One of the first frigates was given to him; but in the Granny days of Congress they knocked down his frigate I think among others, so he has not had a chance of distinguishing himself. The other has struck his blow, and has now a first niche in our naval hall. Could I lay down a rule it should be, gentlemen you all start with your *commissions* and *dates*. You are as *yet equal*, agreeably to dates, in the eyes of government; any one of you may make that inequality cease by great and distinguished services. We will be the judge; public opinion will generally precede our judgment. We have no titles for you, but we *will* distinguish merit. Length of service is much, but distinct strokes of merit *shall* have distinct rewards. Just fame and promotion shall go together in our navy; but the idea of patient grade that rises by a mere *date* suits not impatient glory, and will palsy all this sort of pursuit into mere mechanism. I write and speak to you only on this subject. You know that I am not querulous on government affairs. It would be unbecoming were I so inclined to, indeed; but this affair has made me uneasy.

Brune yesterday had his triumph. I did not chuse to "partake the gale." He demanded a public audience of the Directory. Notice was given to the foreign corps. Some went. The Directory appealed to him as the hero who had saved the republic!! They dislike each other.

Day before yesterday I addressed a note to government complaining of the Governor and council of Curaçoa, Lauffer, and put an unusual quantity of vinegar into it. It was a good occasion to attack

¹ John Orde (1751-1824).

principles, not long since practiced *here*, by abusing at length Lauffer and council as mere instruments of the anarchists of that colony, and of the French banditti who infect it. No answer of course these six months!!

Our paintings must wait the most charming subject I have thought of in Holland! Dear sir, affectionately always yours, etc., etc., etc.

I inclose the slip. Mr. Smith writes me the 2d October, that a short time before that Captain Murray¹ (whom I am exceedingly pleased indeed to see in the *Insurgent*) was in that frigate a week at Lisbon. Would he could strike a brilliant blow.²

CLXI.³

Rec. Nov. 17.

Ans. Nov. 19.

12 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: I assure you that I had mistaken your excellent cypher, which is the best I ever saw. I wish the Secretary would give us three or four sets, marked A, B, C, D, as a key to the one used, for I fear ours may by this time be known. But be assured also that the office itself is under the guard but of honesty, and has few barriers against the thousand ways and means by which papers are obtained in Europe.

The English and Russians are believed by this to have departed to enjoy undisputed box lobbies—the birth right, and Xmas pies in dear London. *The anarchists feast the hero who has saved this country*,⁴ who unlike our truly great, bows his head most complacently to the laurel that feastical uproariousness places about his august temples. Here I call your theory to the bar. A picture to hand to future ages the figures of crouching pusillanimity licking with a tongue dry'd by anger the foot that is on its neck—for angry it is—but yet pleased that its head is not off. The *Beau* will not do; likeness alone can give the portrait its true force. General ideas drawn from general characteristics, from the likeness of Spartacus, of Retzi or of Weishaupt,⁵ will not do. Carnot's image of Auraujo painted, the haughty brigand would best call up the soul that is to be painted, but that would not, for it is of a man who is not that, but one who would personate such a character, smiling in the triumph of deceiving a set of poor devils into this belief, while the poor things, more cunning than he, cheat him into the belief that they consider him as *fac totum*, but at the same time show the rest of the world that they are not *fools*, but poor timid things. No, nothing but likenesses—the face that shows astonishment at being in a situation to become famous, the eager look that seems to fear the spectators would not live

¹ Alexander Murray (1755–1821).

² Adams to Murray, November 12, 1799, in Adams MSS.

³ This is almost too bad to trust by post. Observe the seals. *Note by Murray.*

⁴ Cypher. Brune is the "hero."

⁵ Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830), reputed founder of the "Illuminati."

long enough to witness the glory of the hour, the satisfy'd smile that shows that this very sort of stuff was long the veritable object of ambition, to contrast it, and to be historically true, a placid but cunning cast of phiz, rather than of look, a set of features buoyed up into a state of ready activity but by a submissive spirit, and a blue glassy eye in which meaning is lost in thickness, and yet a cunning air over the whole countenance which is visible to all but the eye of the vanity imposed on—Raphael could not, as far as we know of his extent, paint these. If he could not, we can trace, not perhaps the limits of the beau ideal, the great sublime, but its class. The truly great and truly beautiful are the exclusive objects of such a painter. To attain a correct idea of these would consume a life. I doubt if our conception of the opposite, the deformed, the loathsome and hideous in nature and in moral, are as correct as that of the beautiful and grand. We attain the last by *correcting*, by gradually laying aside this and that as incongruous, not assorted, unworthy, not in tone, according to the sublime and severe idea we may have a glimpse of in our happier moments of meditation; but of the deformed we have never prepared a prototype. All our powers on the contrary are seeking truth, grace, perfection; and it is to be hoped have a greater natural preparation to receive ideas of these than of the reverse. To this too our very passions and instincts tend. A painter then might have reached one walk *only* in attaining Raphael's path, and he might perhaps be incapable of pursuing the opposite course; because perhaps it is true that our ideas of the deformed and ignoble are more particular and personal and local—our ideas of the great beautiful and noble formed on profound and comprehensive reflexion—our power over the first; of limited duration, because relative to objects particular and even local and not of an interest so deep as that over the first, because we are not formed to hate or to laugh with the same intensity that we are to admire to love and to adore.

You see how barren the budget is of politics. We have nothing. I am resolved if Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] come, to demand my *whole* outfit, as Mr. P[inckney]. "The law awards it." If I am not entitled to it, I am to none; for suppose Mr. K[ing] moved to Petersburg—is he to have another full 9000 dollars, or *none*? Each minister is a new appointment, and new commission. If you did not demand it, it was from motives that do not apply to me; but you ought to have had *the whole*. You see I am convinced at least. Dear sir, always and truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

CLXII.

15 NOVEMBER, 1799.

My last was, on reflection, too bilious, and even unkind to distressed humanity—*absentem qui rodet*. I try not to be, though my

bile and the state of the world betray me I fear into that fault sometimes.

Great events seem prepared at Paris. You will probably before this reaches you know that Bonaparte and Sieyès on Friday (this day week) overturned the four other Directors, and moved the councils to St. Cloud! Bonaparte's proclamation pledges to nothing which could be a barrier either to his own power or that of another, if he wish to change radically, at least the executive. A new negotiation for peace, or a change in the executive, or even L[ouis] 18—one or all of these would not surprise me, as S[ieyès] and B[onaparte's] objects. A report is here that he made his circuitous voyage to France under a Prussian passport. S[ieyès] probably sent for him, as the date of the sailing of the fleet from Brest and its supposed destination to Egypt accord with S[ieyès's] installation. Whatever were S[ieyès's] *real* plans when he quitted Berlin, are probably those on which B[onaparte] was sent for, and to a degree now the outline of their joint labors.

The essay on *German Literature* in the *Spectator* of last month has made me more and more envy you your growing intimacy with Germany and its letters. Is Lessing's *Laocoon* published, or translated rather, out of the German? Dear sir, most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.

I refused one Jesse Honneywell a passport the other day, because he had been in one of Hayley's privateers, captain or mate, not long since, out of France.¹

CLXIII.

22d NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: In truth I knew you were a poet—your Boston friends having told me so some years since; and I remembered at least that fondness for it which is essential to become one, from your fondness for Gray; though I thought that your having chosen the *Ode of the King of Prussia*, to translate, when you were with the President in the Burgwall, was not very much in accord with your Love of Gray's Pindaric fire and boldness. A touch of the coxcomb made me at that time of life adopt and defend heterodox criticism against the great masters. Vain apprentices generally act so; but I recant these heresies. I love Gray's and Milton's odes, and they are among the very few poets whom I read. Some parts of Wharton's v. d. Odes too, founded in the gothic fable, so superior in my opinion to the heathen mythology! are charming to me. Your remembering of my remark upon Gray, so far back as 1784, is a circumstance that I will confess pleases me extremely—the mere remembrance of it!

¹ Adams to Murray, November 18, 19, 22, in Adams MSS.

But to business. We have been upon the brink of a convulsion yesterday [Friday] was a week was the day intended, but the intelligence which came the Tuesday preceding of Bonaparte's revolution at Paris kept these inferior spirits down. It was prepared at Paris, that vast antre of plots, and doubtless was a link in the chain there forging by Barras and Co., which Bonaparte broke on the 18th, and of which he speaks publickly. Ten days before, about the 1st inst., Deforgues had by order of his government demanded the dismissal of Messrs. Van der Goes, Minister of External Relations, and of Spoors, Minister of Marine—indeed of that of the Police and War too—but the two first particularly. The Directory demanded the *cause*—they were disagreeable to his government. But Citizen Minister, what is your *charge* against them? No charge in particular; they are men prejudiced against us. "They are faithful men to us as far as we know, and are agreeable to us," I hear was the answer. What could you expect after that refusal but a Revolution! which, like Doctor Last's remedies, is radical; whether it be the foot, the hand, or the head, "I cuts 'em off." Thirty thousand troops too all round them, French troops; 3,000 billeted here, and particularly, numbers billeted close to the Directory, and about in convenient places. They would have commenced by liberating those friends of liberty confined in a state prison—that near which the De Witts were killed, and in whose house by the by Mr. Van der Goes now lives. The liberation of these anarchists had been demanded and refused.

It is understood that Brune *deliberated* when he received orders for the departure of 20,000 troops from hence after the 18th Brumaire. He certainly pested extremely when he heard of Buonaparte's proceeding even against B[arras]. Some days' reflexion has taught him that B[onaparte] is the superior spirit, and he submits; and yesterday the new oath was administered to the garrison here—fidelity to the republic, one [and] indivisible, and the representative system and sovereignty of the people.

Entre nous, Mauberg (son-in-law of La Fayette) came to me last Sunday night "for my commands to Paris." Sir, are you not an emigrant? Yes, but Mr. Deforgues will give me a passport. He went, in half an hour returned mournfully. Mr. D[eforgues] had not only refused to give one, but had put in his pocket the order signed Fouché de Nantz, Minister of Police, for the passport, saying, "I will send it tomorrow to Paris." I concluded two things: that D[eforgues] is opposed to B[onaparte's] revolution, for the order was signed the 10th November; and that La Fayette will, with all the emigrés of the Constitution of 1791, return upon principles to which I see no obstacle in anything yet promulgated as the new faith. Yours, affectionately, Dear sir.

CLXIV.

26 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: If the talents of Raphael must be exclusively devoted to the great, I should expect to find the mannerist in him—monotony, sameness, and after some time insipidity. Without a perpetual supply of variety this would be the case. General ideas are by no means sources of that variety. A happy turn as Reynolds had to generalise particulars, still however keeping them distinct, and individually different, is the source of that rich variety in which nature abounds. In classing, without absolute similitude, a man takes great pains to reach the ideal beautiful. He gets a glimpse of it, and unless he is a most correct observer, and possesses an activity and freedom of search into particulars equal to the rich field of nature, he will, and I think I have seen it in most who have studied the antique, Cosway¹ and Koffman,² etc., etc., he will get a habit of giving you a copy as it were from a MODEL; for he will say there is but one true beauty in each class. So that it comes too much round again to Le Brun's book of heads. It is from having seen this, as I thought in paintings much cry'd up, such a mere shifting of models from one piece of plagiarism to another—the same Cupid that is today on Venus's robe, a fold of it in one great picture, tomorrow placed in some other of Paul Veronese's (this was proved in Desenfans's lawsuit at Guildhall), such a wonderful likeness of the true beautiful, borrow'd exchanged, the same troop under different evolutions and change of tactic, that I began to doubt how far all this sublime idea were susceptible of anything beyond its own divine image and its altar at which I was disposed certainly to worship. For surely it is the all in all of the *high* perfection. But that *me deus intersit nisi, etc., etc.*, and this can rarely occur. This perhaps contributed to weaken a relish for the historical.

But the drums of this garrison warn me of the past.

Swift⁴ of Connecticut (the New York papers say) is secretary of legation to France. I rejoice at the choice. He is a man of talents and law learning with a literary turn, and as author of the *System*⁵ (law work) stands high. He is also a respectable speaker, and certainly a very respectable man. Dear sir, yours always, etc., etc., etc.

CLXV.

Rec. Dec. 4.

Ans. Dec. 6.

29 NOVEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The two envoys will embark about the 1st inst. for some port in Europe. Would they were arrived, the ground try'd, and the issue KNOWN!

¹ Richard Cosway (1740-1821).⁴ Zephaniah Swift (1759-1823).² Angelica Kauffman (1740-1807).⁵ "System of the Laws of Connecticut," 1795-1796.³ Noel Joseph Desenfans (1745-1807).

A torrent of violence, mixed also, in my opinion, with great crudity of information, seems to be dashing away on all sides against the mission, and the friends of government seem to consider the government as "humbled past redemption"! I will cut out a column of young Fenno's¹ paper—his own. It is a mere thunder cloud, obscure, noisy, full of sheet lightning that confuses, without well digested and concentered streams; but it shows the atmosphere's character. They are I suspect a little disjointed. I can see too that I am the object of criticism, not only for the thing as far as I was a channel, but also (*entre nous*) for the smallest expression of politeness which I used in my first letter to Talleyrand, and my answer to his containing the assurances which were almost an echo, in which I thanked him for the promptitude with which he had forwarded the answer of his government. The word "respect" at the close is even most severely CLEVERED, though I find it in much of Colonel P[ickering]'s correspondence with Adet, whom he justly did *not* respect, and in that of Hammond to Jefferson and to Randolph, though the first certainly felt nothing of it—is well known. In fine I feel deeply hurt, and fear that among some of our excellent characters, unconvertant in the European world, there is a radical error in taste and judgment which leads them to mistake a dry, or a style approaching to slight, for spirit—words in fact for war!

Pichon too, damn him, has play'd a fool's and a perfidious part. (I wrote immediately to him yesterday.²) He, or some one for him, but he, I presume, has published Talleyrand's letter to *him* of 11 Fructidor which he gave me a copy of confidentially, and under an absolute promise of secrecy of *its never being published!!* without a verification, (to the published copy in the Jacobin paper, "*The Examiner*" in Virginia) "that it is an exact copy of the one he gave me to be sent to the President of the United States at the Hague," *without the explanation* which would have saved me some trouble with him, viz. "that Mr. M[urray] would not have received this, but would have returned it upon my hands with marks of personal contempt, unless at the moment of his reading the first passages about British impressions I had explained away what he considered as offensive; and if he had believed it possible that it would ever see the light without that explanation." So I have written yesterday to Mr. Pichon. Some day I will send you a copy. Well, this letter now I suppose makes an immense clatter in a nation where indeed a set of infernal Jacobins on one side and grey feds on the other can turn anything that impudence dare to publish or folly can write, into things of consequence. In the mean time an absent man is torn to pieces!

¹ John Ward Fenno, who had succeeded his father to the United States Gazette. The article appeared October 19.

² Having received my letters on the 27th evening. *Note by Murray.*

In fact, my dear sir, I have suffered greatly ever since the evening of the 27th—day before yesterday—more than a man of my age ought to do, more than a sound man and a faithful one ought to do, however weak and mistaken in judgment I have been during times of great and complicated difficulties.

And a pretty part I fear the federal men, some of them, will play division at the moment when Union is essential, with a government so popular, with gentlemen so assuming, whose very friendships may be called unconstitutional, because obtrusive when *not* called—it will require the FIRMNESS of your father to have a chance even for anything good in negotiation! However the new Congress collectively and in the seat of government will be a very different body from what they are scattered—each one insulated, and feeling the feverish gossiping of every country village. The majority will be with administration, and the middle of the session will have the news of the downfall of the French constitution. God bless you, Dear sir.

Judge McKean¹ has carried his election as governor of Pennsylvania against Mr. Ross,² the federal candidate, and it seems this is attributed to the mission!!³

TO TIMOTHY PICKERING.⁴

THE HAGUE, 1 December, 1799.

SIR, On the 27th ulto. I received your letter of the 4th October on two subjects, viz., my letters to Mr. Talleyrand of the 5 May and 18 May, 1799, and the treacherous publication of Mr. Talleyrand's letter to *Pichon* of the 11 Fructidor last year.

I request the favour of you to give that letter a cool and deliberate re-perusal, and to do me the honour of weighing the following remarks:

I had the honour to receive the President's commands, through you, to inform the French government, or rather the Minister of Exterior relations, "that Oliver Ellsworth, etc., etc., etc." This I was ordered to do "by letter." This I did; this letter and the one which was a consequence of it is the subject of your complaints on account of its manner, and united with the publication of a piece which I ought to have dashed in P[ichon]'s face—the ostensible causes of the loss of your esteem.

I vindicate my letters, sir, when so harshly and cruelly attacked. I vindicate them diplomatically, as proper from me though *an agent of the United States near the Batavian republic*, because I was UNKNOWN to the government which I addressed, and towards whom I had no diplomatic relations, none, no more than, had any young or

¹ Thomas McKean (1734–1817).

² James Ross (1762–1847).

³ Adams to Murray, November 3, 1799, in Adams MSS.; Murray to McHenry, December 2, in Steiner, "Life and Correspondence of James McHenry," 429.

⁴ From the Pickering MSS.

old American been travelling in Italy or in Spain and received orders to communicate, would have had. In point of *fact*, certainly Mr. T[alleyrand] knew me, even personally; but *officially*, *governmentally*, he did not know me, as a man *authorised to communicate* THE INTENTIONS of my government in a case which was to be or not to be the basis of a governmental act of high importance on their part, and naturally nettling to their pride! Such then, sir, was my situation diplomatically speaking: such I believe every countryman of mine who has been a minister abroad, if asked, must admit was my real situation.

Towards the French government then, sir, as this was not made through the intervention of a neutral power, I was to be considered as writing a *private letter*—or AT MOST a *semi-official one*. Hence, sir, the style, for it is merely a discussion of that, a style proper for an agent appointed and *ready to show his powers and authority to open the way to negociation*, is one thing: that of a man *unknown to the foreign power*, ought to be different. If in that which I adopted, I have erred in the eyes of the President, I lament it! for, sir, I have no haste to excuse me; having thought over my actual relation to the government which I was ordered to address, at least three hours, before I could settle upon the sort of style of the passages introductory to the comma'd body and substance of the letter, which was proper. I hope that you, sir, have that excuse for your criticisms; if not, you have indulged your feelings very much indeed, and estimated the intercourse between *individuals accredited near one government but unknown to another government upon principles too familiar*. Though in relation to my own government I have the honour still to be an agent, yet this is *unknown to the French republic, or any other government*, except that with whom I am accredited. The moral sentiment was perfectly out of the question. Whether it be wise and proper to treat with a vicious and domineering government, is a question in which these moral considerations would justly meet with great weight; but if a government be to treat, the course, the ceremonies, the actual and technical relation of one thing to another, of one agent to another, of government towards government is to be follow'd. The Jacobins, if I remember well, attacked in the true special pleading spirit, Mr. Jay's adherence to polite language—*though he had letters of credence in his pocket!*

I was bound to consider the object as agreeable to my government, and success as honourable to it.

I then, sir, considered that an air of *empressment* in handing to the French minister *the substance in the commas of your orders*, was the best style; that it was but drapery, mere "leather and prunella" to a piece of substantial dignity, which suited an occasion presumed to be agreeable, and which suited *me*, who was *officially* speaking *unknown to the governemnt which I addressed*. No, sir, they can

gather nothing, nothing from what has so unnecessarily excited your resentment and produced the loss of your esteem. [*Two lines are blotted out.*] (I beg your excuse for this blotting!)

Give these men a proposition, concede an article, they will turn heaven and earth to make advantage of it; give a finger they will if possible drag the body too with it; make to them a substantial explicit and dignified demand and they are too clever to imagine that the pith of the demand is weakened though it may be more pleasing, if a bow attend its introduction. Words of roughness never add dignity to weakness; words of mere civility no more detract from substantial strength, and dignity of measures, than an embossed scabbard does from the polished and strong blade which it surrounds. Had the body and nature of the letter of 5th May been pusillanimous, there would have been more reason to be economically scrupulous in my share of it in wasting dignity. When we feel weak and humble, our fears are alarmed by the least thing that even remotely looks like like a diminution of importance. Strength feels not this minute inquietude and vexatious vigilance. Had I erred ten times as much, sir, as it is possible that even very grave men may think I have done, there was substantial dignity enough, and vigour enough in the body of that letter, (it was in fact the President's message,) to have sustained me, at least from such feverish charges as you have thought proper to make against me.

*The assurances*¹ which I still aver have been *extorted from a haughty and insolent government* will add to the *glory* of my country when the manner of my letters and of your critique shall be in oblivion. They will do this, sir, even now in Europe; but much more will they add to the early honours of the United States when history shall exhibit them among the few, I might say *as the sole*, instances, in which, during times of which I suspect it is impossible to have coextensive impressions at such a distance as you are, that republic, *so vicious* and so powerful, came down in that or in any other concession! Yes, sir, I say concession. If you ask me if to do a common act of decency be a concession, morally, I say no! historically and politically I say that even an act of common decency if refused, fought for, and yielded, is a concession, and one that will be or ought to be proudly appreciated by a calculation of the hazards and the dignify'd efforts that have obtained it and given it that magnitude which depends on circumstance.

In 1796, Gen'l Pinckney's first mission, they averred that they would not receive a minister of the United States till we had redressed their grievances. I speak of the point of pride, as to grievances they had none; they were and are on our side—I assert that, sir, because it may be necessary for even *me* to give to *you* that creed,

¹ Cypher.

at least that was Charles Lacroix's declaration to either Major Rutledge or Genl. Pinckney.

In 1798, we armed and fought, and in February, 1799, Captain Truxtun's glorious action settled our gallant but irregular hostility into well known unequivocal principles. She knew this. In May, 1799, they quit the ground of 1796, and come down to assurances to receive as pat almost as echo to the message! These things, the world's state considered, are brilliant in our young armorial bearings, they will be so considered, by the great bulk of Europe, and by all who will throw pecuniary calculation out of the Estimate of comparative national glory.

They *may* mean to *amuse*. No man who judges knowingly of their ways can deny that, but a victory is a handsome thing though a bad or negligent use of it may lead to an ambush! It is for governments to appreciate each step gained and each thing in all its relations, to place what adds to national honours in its appropriate niche, and not to be so far amused by it as after having gained it, to let it be a door for national danger. In governments I believe there is no absolute *end*; but all is a career of progression.

So far, sir, for my situation relatively, and the point of view in which may letter of 5th May (which naturally led to the last) is to be candidly considered: so far as to the way in which I am bold enough to say their object will be considered a very few years hence.

With respect to the terminations of them of "Cit. Min'r, etc., etc.," I will briefly remark, for I anticipate your fatigue and feel my own, that such a sort of criticism is absolutely new to my reading, and that either you and Messrs. Jefferson, Hammond, Randolph and Adet perfectly understood each other to use the term of "moral virtues," respect, as all gentlemen I always thought did understand it, or that there never was on earth such an unintelligible jumble of moral likings, hatred, contempt, and admiration, for I know not two that *respect* each other of the whole set of secretaries and ministers! Sir, you have been angry at the thing itself and no *manner* of success could have pleased you!

As to Mr. Pichon, if he did verify agreeably to the Jacobin *Exam-iner*, he is an imposter. I have written to *him* on 28, not as a minister but as a private man, though I was not in a temper fit to write to you. As to "dashing the paper in his face" it is a flourish! Hitherto I really had considered a foreign minister's *hands* as tied! It was given to me in the confidence of never seeing the light, and I thought might be useful. I sent a copy, speaking of his explanations, etc., etc. I cannot help regretting sincerely the loss of your friendship; the terms, the harsh and ungenerous terms, on which you have withdrawn it from such a man as I am conscious I am as an American, have helped me to bear it. I am, sir, your mo. ob. etc.

2 DEC., 1799.

P. S. If Col. P. have given ministerial opinions against Mr. M's. letters to Government to the public or to private men, Mr. M is certain of at least his frankness and candour in also either showing the enclosed or in liberally stating its grounds. The Colonel will feel more bound to do this, as his letter was not *numeroe'd*, and because Mr. M. though greatly inferior to the *publishing gentlemen*, hopes he is too sensible of official delicacy to publish.¹

CLXVI.

Rec. Dec. 9.

Ans. Dec. 10.

3 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: From all I can collect I should suppose that the federal gentlemen generally hoped that the conditions of the President on which a mission should take place, would never have been acceded to by the French Directory. That the success being not desirable and contrary to even expectations the very channel of these assurances has become odious to them by necessary association, and every word of mine of course becomes criticised most ungenerously and unhandsomely, and in some cases with an illiberal spirit excusable but from a profound ignorance of the real state of Europe, and of even the true import of words of mere civility. Let me also remark to you that in this case I was *to consider success as desirable*. I was to know and would not know of opinions for or against it. I was ordered officially, and so acted *in relation to our government*; but I felt at the instant when I sat down to obey these orders, viz. to write to the Minister of External Relations of the French Republic, that I WAS NOT KNOWN TO THAT GOVERNMENT, though I was there to do a very serious thing. I first thought of the brusque, and wrote one copy in that tone. I thought that too dry for a proposition for a measure which though but justice, was in point of form and intangled as it was with pride—and with the previous declarations of that government² a measure of humiliation in the eyes of the world; that it was the *first* letter, that I was in point of FACT known to be Minister Resident here, but technically, diplomatically speaking of the Directorial cabinet, to it I was unknown as an agent empowered to bring forward for the first time a proposition so strong, strong at least to France, considering all that had past and all her blustering and domineering. I altered and realtered, each time more and more adjusting my letter in form and manner with more civility, without relaxing the body of the letter over which I had no right. Its vigour remained, and if it entered and went out with a bow, the bend proved

¹ Adams to Murray, December 3, 1799, in Adams MSS.

² Vid. La Croix—never to receive a minister of the United States till the United States had redressed grievances—in 1796. *Note by Murray.*

the powerful elasticity of the back and body, and its vigour. No words can alter meanness and real servility, and in my opinion a lofty spirit never appears with the air of true dignity and courage but when its air is polite. The thing is the point—the rest mere finesse, an ornamental scabbard.

But really when I look over a bundle of Fenno's papers to the 10 October just received; when I see the sort of effect in the election of that vain conceited old rusty weathercock McKean—the license of the press in Philadelphia is terrible. The Jacobins set the example of personal abuse, the federal seem to follow it! Words hot and burning seem to be mistaken for dignity, and perhaps for spirit; inflated minds, vulgar and rude, long familiarised to utter violent feelings, not in *acts*, but in abusive or in rude terms, bring their critical taste thus formed to the judgment seat even upon diplomatic papers. Of course such papers must appear spiritless, and all of our papers may be carry'd before this tribunal too. It is true that there are other tribunals where wisdom, and experience, and taste, judge correctly; but when these pieces are thrown to the public they travel as well through the dirty slough as over the carpet where candour and knowledge judge them. From the little I yet know respecting the manner in which I am treated even by federal men, I foresee the necessity of resorting to that solitary but firm rock on which a man who is faithful and honest wraps himself up, and, without despising opinions, sustains him against them, and loses not his own good opinion! Vanity may have a share, certainly, in such consolations; but she is in good company if conscience is with her. I never rejoiced, flattered though I was by your [friendly] distinction, in my nomination. Such immense [responsibility] I always thought required men of more age than me, more generally known, a sort of popular character. I never had that except in my own country neighborhood, and that is a drop in the bucket. Not that I ever expected or panted after popularity on the score of this or any other measure; but I assure you that if I had supposed I should have lost the good opinion of a number of federal men, it would have hurt me. This I take for granted is the case, and my consolation is that these men seem to me to have very little system, that they let their legislative *acts* fall far behind their bursts of indignation; that their system is weak and their passions strong; and the last can be indulged commodiously in the grand paw of criticism, while the first trims along between peace and war, so as that it may be shaped to serve popular and temporary turns! Forgive this egotism, but it is a great and solid consolation to, dear sir, always yours.¹

¹Adams to Murray, December 6, 1799, in Adams MSS.

CLXVII.

Rec. Dec. 13.

Ans. Dec. 15.

6 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The ports here are believed to be unblockaded by the English, though there is no official account yet; but vessels do come direct from London to Rotterdam. In fact a steady blockade of these ports would be in effect an embargo on so many millions of merchandise in London that I doubt if the British could bear it. These gentlemen have unjustly condemned ships and cargoes because they came out last spring, both from the Meuse and the Texel; and while I wish them success against France, I do not lament to see them pinched in their own thumbscrews.

In my last I sent you a cutting of what I consider as federal Jacobinism, for the disease is possible. There are disloyal Jacobinical federalists, for Jacobinism is but the insubordinate spirit brought into overt acts of opinion and deeds, said and done. It is the active assertion of our own opinions against the doings of government; it demands a submission of these doings to its own ways of thinking, and sprouts up into the true Jacobin form when touched by disappointment, when crossed and snubbed.

I wish that Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] would come along, if they are to come, of which I do not doubt. Whether I shall be continued in the mission I *ought* to doubt, for I have received a most flogging, and harsh, and to my mind unreflected, letter from the Colonel—*private*, I presume, as it is not *numero*—on my letters to T[alleyrand] about the assurances. I do not know if with the consent of the executive—I believe *not*; because he, I dare hope, would have considered that, though I acted by orders of himself and officially in respect to him, yet that my letters to T[alleyrand], particularly the first inclosing the body of the message in the past tense, was the letter of a STRANGER, of a PERSON UNKNOWN to the government which I addressed; that such a letter was properly a private one, at most semi-official, because I, without showing authority, and without neutral intervention had to hand them a paper which WAS TO LEAD OR NOT ON THEIR PART TO A HIGH official act of their government. Whether they were vicious or good was out of the question. They were a government—I, towards them UNKNOWN—though in point of FACT, Mr. T[alleyrand] certainly knew me even personally.

I had heard that my letters had been considered as improper, that I should “feel pleasure in fulfilling” that [*torn*] “citizen Minister with perfect respect and high esteem.” Consideration would have been better, but it would better suit a letter completely official, which they were bound to receive AS OFFICIAL, than one from a person to them

unknown GOVERNMENTALLY speaking, who brought into view an idea not a little humbling to their egregious pride, and absolutely adverse to their declarations in 1796 to General P[inckney], when they vow'd they would never receive till we redress their grievances. Vid. La Croix, etc., etc. A deserter, etc., and a suspected, could hardly have received a more ungenerous letter than the one I have! I have answered it as private, and have pushed in turn. Dear sir, truly.¹

CLXVIII.

10 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: The report about our prisoners being liberated is not true as far as I know, and I have that business under my care. It is true that fifty have been liberated from Saumur, and are now at Nantes; but our agent there, Mr. Dobree, gave receipts for them by name, promising that the same number should be set at liberty of French prisoners in the United States.

There have been efforts made by the late government even, *i. e.* by Mr. T[alleyrand], the Minister of External Relations, ever since April last to keep back decisions against our vessels. So some of the concerned have informed me, among others the Pigou, of great value. It was partly on that principle that I have mentioned, as I think I told you, to Guiot, that Mr. D[avie] was named in lieu of Mr. P. Henry, and since have contradicted the report that appeared in the Paris papers "that the mission was suspended." For I had letters of 19 October mentioning that it had been thought of but that Mr. E[llsworth] and D[avie] would sail in fourteen days certainly. When I say contradicted, I mean I have mentioned among my friends that it was not true, for I was immediately asked by many.

The sketches given in the papers of the new French constitution I begin to credit; at least to try the public pulse; and I consider the grand election, if not intended as the type of the monarch whom I believe they would if they could get back, at least as the character which, in the confusion which ambition will in a few years make of it, will lead to a monarch. Even if things rest as they are I consider the form as more susceptible of negotiation than anything they have had, and with more faith; not that I have any idea of Warwick's,² or Italicus's³ sanctity of morals. I rejoice that the 500 are crushed; it was a nest of privateersmen. Yours always, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CLXIX.

13 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: If the consuls have given the order of which you speak, I have not heard except in your last. I believe that even

¹ Adams to Murray, December 10, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 442.

² Siyès.

³ Bonaparte.

were things to remain as they are, under consuls, and commissions without power, it would be better for negotiation. LaFayette I believe is in Paris, with his lady and son. He left Utrecht without informing me, though I had some reason to expect that he would have told me. Liancourt was with me yesterday; tomorrow he sets off for Paris. Valmer left this a few days since, and the Maubergs have been there a fortnight. Generally they will not let the men of '91 return till after the new constitution is organized. LaFayette in going must either have been *invited*, or knowing that all the members of government and great officers would probably be either settled on or published in the Constitution itself when offered to the public for acceptance, resolved to be in fortune's path early. L[iancourt] says he ought not to push for any thing; that if he do, he will be laughed at. I had much to say to L[iancourt] on his book, and think I had the luck to make some impression. I had last summer written to him. He came to the Hague, and we discussed the passages, (a few which I had read) particularly that imputation against Colonel P[ickering] about the Seneca lands. He was then affected by what I urged upon his principles and delicacy. Yesterday he frankly said it was wrong, and wished he had omitted it. He is solicitous about the reception of the book in the United States. He hates Colonel P[ickering], he owns, because he says, "that he justify'd the murder of Louis 16th to the Indians after the reign of terror was known in 1794, and now is bitter against the French for cruelty," and that he had much against him on this account in his manuscript, but put it on one side. He is a true Frenchman, but to me an interesting character. He talked about our mission. I told him that the only thing which could be called unpopular which the President had done was to make and send forth that mission; that the military ardour had now reached the point when men feel and wish to act rather than talk; and though the President adhered to his plan of honourable negotiation, after a vindication of our honour by arms, yet the turn of the public mind was now so high against France that it would require all his firmness to pursue his path. My object in so saying is this:

Colonel P[ickering] droops, I hope unnecessarily, over my language, which I think but envelope, as leading them to believe that we are SOLICITOUS, AND READY TO PRAY TO BE PLEAS'D!!! By G—d that is impossible! Now I know that L[iancourt] knows Talleyrand intimately, and that L[iancourt] secretly in Paris about a year since, conversed much with him at great risks to both. L[iancourt] will see T[alleyrand] in a few days, and both having known me in Philadelphia too, T[alleyrand] will speak to L[iancourt] about the mission, and very probably of me (as you know the French try to gain personal knowledge in such cases). L[iancourt] will recollect much of the

tenor of my conversation. Could they be impressed with the idea that John Adams, President of the United States, is the man most moderate against them, it would certainly, without letting down his principles, at least very much exalt the colour in which the public mind shows itself or appears, and they have rely'd on the public as being too cool for war. I told L[jancourt] that I judged from private letters and the newspapers. Do not suppose that I speak fluently about the President! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.¹

CLXX

24 DECEMBER, 1799.

DEAR SIR: If I have been wrong in one of the grounds which I took in my letter to T[alleyrand]—the first, for after that, the second was governed as a matter of course by the manner of the first—I find it too late to correct the error. I inclose you my press copy of a letter I had the honour of writing to the President on the 16th inst. on that subject. I have some reason to believe that even that little circumstance will make a bad impression against me among the few even; as Mr. K[ing], in his of 14 November, which I received on the 6th inst., asks me questions about my letter which show that he has been told something of which a little is to be made. There are but very few men, to say nothing of duty towards our Chief, to whom I would take the trouble to write on an affair of reputation; this ought to take care of itself.

A few days ago I wrote a No. to the Colonel which will tire him I fear exceedingly, as it was tolerably long, and speculative—upon Boulay's introductory speech on the Constitution, and on that paper which I hold to be inestimable as a fair pact with the old theories, and as a very hearty abandonment of the new doctrines in France, of rights of man, sovereignty of the people, territorial integrity, and of ALL in point of *theory* with which they started, as to the great fundamental principles of a representative system. In this there is not one of these principles—no representation, no legitimate medium for the voice of the nation. A legislature, which has no right to legislate on the wants and sound policy of the nation, and not even to discuss a proposition, is less than a *Parliament* of Paris even; for that could discuss ordinances and edicts, did do it, and in the fact of remonstrating after refusal, could obtain alterations and amendments, and had more rights than this legislature. The Consul alone is the channel of the national voice, as he proposes exclusively. Yet he has not an appointment to do this as the channel for the nation's voice, nor is there any way by which the nation can approach his ear *on the representative principle more than they could that of L[ouis] 16 in 1780.*

¹ Adams to Murray, December 15, 20, 1799, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 444, 445; Murray to John Adams, December 16, in Adams MSS.

A council of state, appointed and removable at pleasure (I speak of the Consul, for as to the No. 2 and No. 3 these are cyphers indeed), may now as under the old regime listen or not and propose to the GOVERNMENT, which is expressly omitted to be called by a word of definite *limits*, executive, and which the Jacobins last summer, you remember, made a point of after 30 Prarial. As to the Senat¹ it has no CONSULTUS, it is but the reservoir of the 5000 eligibles, and has but a power of doing mischief legislatively, to exercise a censorial power at the demand of its own offspring, the Tribunat, or the Consul, in annulling unconstitutional laws. Indeed, without being a monarchy, it is in its theory a greater departure from the republican system than the government of the EMPIRE, or of any state in it; and is an hundred miles more so than that of Great Britain. From the little time I have had to examine it and I have only thought of it as a departure from the revolutionary doctrines. I am too little acquainted with its relations to say whether it be not, as I suspect it to be, a reduction into a more regular form of most of the ancient bases of the French monarchy with different names, excepting the hereditary principle. You are better versed in the French monarchy I believe than I am. If it be as I suspect, it would be worth while—I mean in respect to our country—could the lines be traced where they fall in with each other. Perhaps I overrate the importance of this apparent phenomenon in France; but as yet I consider it, in respect to our country and the misguided in it, as a most complete answer to the party who have been working the overthrow of all regular governments—our own even! under the pretext of the new lights of France. An impatient man and a good one may say that the misery flowing from the practise for seven years was a good answer: it is, when we are not in the theory, or not willing to use it; it is not, when men are in these dogmas that have distracted the world. Such must have their new lights put out by the same lamp lighters who undertook to illuminate. This can be done by a fair exposure of the new doctrines; their effects are known, and by a development of the present constitution, and its preface which are a DECLARATION *against* the late erroneous doctrines; promulgated too by the professors of these doctrines, who now declare them UNSUPPORTABLE, and horrible in the attempt to practise upon them; who do not abandon them as matters of a perfection too exalted to be attained, but as chimeras unattainable and absurd, and as dreams of PHILOSOPHISM.

If you think as I do, I pray you to draw your strength into action. As to what I did it was a couple of sheets of general remarks upon B[onaparte]'s speech and the constitution, as a *departure* from the revolutionary *theories*. There is no country where such a piece, if

¹ Yet I rejoice to see the Senat conservative—in for life—irremovable—self-elected!!! Note by Murray.

published—even without signature—would have more extensive effects; as there is no one where men talk so much and so well on such subjects. Our disease, in relation to France, has been in an overheated imagination on the very points on which this constitution settles the question. This, incorporated with Anti-ism, is at the bottom of much of the public false opinions or restlessness. The Anti's have pinned their cause upon the triumph of the principles now formally abandoned by France and her revolutionists, and the fall of these will greatly tend to the overthrow of those, if a good use be made of this late event. In this point of view I consider this constitution as important, whether the war continue, or whether Louis 18 be brought back, or the Consul continue, or not. The contest *was*, wild theory against social order and the old governments or independence of nations. Now, it must be for POWER and territory; it can not be *republicanism* against *monarchy*. *French republicans* against all settled governments! Messrs. Ellsworth and Davie arrived in the *United States* at Lisbon the 28 ulto., after twenty-four days at sea. So the Paris papers say, and private letters to merchants from Lisbon. I have not yet heard from them nor received orders. Nor do I follow the ROUTE. I rest on my oars here. Mrs. Adams I hope is perfectly recovered. We have snow and six degrees warmer; it has been excessively cold. Lucky our friends went to Lisbon! Yours, dear sir, etc., etc.

In waiting for my secretary to bring the inclosed I missed the post hour. I have for the first [time] read Cambacérès report on prize causes and laws, etc., etc., and I read it with pleasure, as a symptom and a confession. "La course était devenue," says he, "un brigandage." That may be worth something. When I saw this I sent a note requesting the *suspension* of a suit at Rotterdam against Mr. Beeldemaker for 10,000 on a bond he entered into when the captors of the ship *Farmer*, April 17, 1798, appealed for the *ship*. The cargo *was* condemned, and the *ship* too on appeal; so the bond is in suit.

A Mr. Georges, late Palatine Minister at Rastadt is here—in private, I believe—just from Germany. He says (I hear) that Austria and Russia will be reconciled. Tell me, shall I leave your bale of books in a chamber in the Hotel of the United States, where mine will be packed up also? An old woman lives in the old castle. I paid my 500 guilders as a year's rent, gave warning that I should quit, and moved to a small cheerful house in the large Voorhoud, where indeed our health evidently mended. Pray make my Xmas compliments to Mrs. Adams and wishes for a "*merry one*" It is very long since I saw a merry Xmas! I long to see one, to laugh once more and be a little natural. I am tired of men and women of WOOD.

I have not heard from Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie]. They have arrived a month tomorrow at Lisbon.

A thought has occurred to me. May they not be so struck by the supposed difficulties rising from a new government in France, and in regard to credentials, *and in being the first to acknowledge* the new constitution, before any great power in Europe has, that they may hesitate? For myself I feel not much force in this, but they may. 27 December, 1799.¹

CLXXI.

3 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: A happy new year to you and yours! It does open I think under better auspices than any for ten years past, and will close the 18th century more happily than seemed at all probable this time twelve months past. . . .

I hear not from Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] at Lisbon. They probably wrote by London, and the Hamburg-English mail does not come, in consequence of the extreme cold and the ice. Above a month has elapsed however since they arrived. They are in a soft climate probably pondering over the state of Europe, but in a place less informed except by English papers than Philadelphia; while I am freezing in the marshes of Holland, and burning with impatience *to know what may be their intention*. Smith however is there, and is doubtless acquainted with the course of affairs on the continent, has great general intelligence and sound parts, and is well disposed, while he has true American pride. I rejoice they have so good a friend (he knows Mr. E[llsworth] well) to chat over affairs with.

They quote *Washington* as the rôle for Bonaparte in the committee of 500. Strange how they confound everything! But little Caesar seems resolved to play a game strong as their stomachs will bear. Yours, dear sir truly, etc., etc.²

CLXXII.

7 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I did miss a post or two, but in revenge wrote since letters of unmerciful length to you—enclosures, etc., etc. I thank god I am not sick, but I rarely can say that I am well. One has in this terrible air, and in the midst of a good and honest people who have so tomblike so cold a character, rarely a sense a lively sense of existence, unless you tumble on the ice, or see a walse danced. I have been here two years and a half, and I swear that I seem estranged more and more from them. The moment the eyes had done with the visible marvels of labour and patience, the intercourse ceased certainly between the mind of the stranger and Mynheer in his paradise. One never can be angry, but rarely if ever pleased; and but for revo-

¹ Adams to Murray, December 30, 1799, in Adams MSS.

² Adams to Murray, January 6, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 446.

lutions and the exterior affairs a man would be indeed benumbed. The weather has been excessively cold—it is now three above freezing, and thick fog which I prefer to clear cold. Particularly here, where it really has the effect of *variety* and change of landscape. Mrs. Adams I see by your letter is restored. Otto and his wife are here waiting for a vessel and orders. They dropped cards on us a week since, and we returned their cards, and saw them at Mr. Van der Goes's. You will soon have Beurnonville. I wish to see what Prussia will do, for I consider the republican revolutionary spirit as laid in Europe, if the present French constitution stand; and of course the motives of Prussia as so far modify'd on the policy of joining even her against A[ustria] and R[ussia.] I hear not from Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie.] The ice at Hamburgh must be the cause. Dear sir, I am always and truly yours.

Did you [know] Ruhnken¹ of the University of Leyden? His death last spring furnished an occasion to Wittenbach,² who has succeeded to our worthy and enlightened friend Luzac, to write his life. For my part it is amusing to me to see a man thus announced after death.³

CLXXIII.

16 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: We have nothing new except Sémonville's arrival; Augereau⁴ not yet arrived.

I had observed the notice of the repeal of the law of 29 Nivôse, and a few days since I received from our agent at Nantes a copy of the Minister of Marine's letter to their consul at Corunna, ordering the suspension of the sale of the *Frederick* and cargo, because he says the law of 29 Nivôse is repealed, and the *arrêté* of 29th Brumaire last indicated a determination to do justice to neutrals. But I know not what is that late *arrêté*.

I am particularly unlucky in not having received a line from my colleagues, though they have been in Europe near fifty days; the severity of the season however accounts to me for the failure of their letters.

I have just run through a work called the "Dix huit Brumaire" the history of. It is by Lombard, an honest and worthy man when even here. You will find that he as well as Jaqueminot,⁵ President of the Commission of 500, holds up our Washington as the model for Bonaparte, and his power as their apology for a strong executive. Virtue will triumph in the long run, if once it have had a lofty station in worldly affairs, while Brutus—and I rejoice at it—is torn down

¹ David Ruhnkenius.

² Daniel Wyttenbach (1746-1820).

³ Murray to Pickering, January 8, 1800, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, January 11, 14, in Adams MSS.

⁴ Pierre-François-Charles Augereau (1757-1860).

⁵ Jean-Ignace Jaqueminot (1758-1813).

from his assassin celebrity. Early in life I condemned Brutus. Hume, I think, taught me, or something better than Hume, nature. Mind I do not touch upon your favourite, Cato of Utica. He did not assassinate, I believe. The weather softens, and my friendships and better affections return upon me again. Yours, dear sir, always, etc., etc.¹

CLXXIV.

Rec. Jan. 31.

Ans. Feb. 4.

[26 JANUARY, 1800?]

DEAR SIR: I do not know what motive could carry Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie] to Lisbon. It is a very awkward place for continental intelligence. I have as much authority for supposing that they embarked again, supposed for France and Holland, on the 18th of last month, as that they ever did arrive at Lisbon, viz. the official consular news to this government, received on the 7th inst., and letters from our agent, Mr. Barnet at Bordeaux, received on that day. But no one has received letters from them or brought by them! I have not—not one line. I have naturally attributed this silence to the miscarriage of letters, and I just hear that lately a Lisbon packet, and a New York Packet bound to England, have been captured by French corsairs, and that two packets for Cuxhaven are lost on the Vogel sands—a rare concurrence of things to keep me uninstructed. As I am a providence man, I am willing to think *for the best*—for our country—though domestically for Mrs. M. and myself, extremely embarrassing. . . .

I have heard of men who grew grey from scenes of shipwreck. This climate and the French infernal revolution have not made me grey, but really very old, for a man who was your companion when you had not shaved. Mr. Welsh of Boston dined with me yesterday. He gives a good account of the public spirit in Boston. The fine frigates built by that town and by Salem have both sailed on their cruise last spring; the keels of the six 74's were laid in the summer. I wish a sloop and two frigates were in the channel to pick up some of the long French privateers, an action there would carry striking effect.

B[onaparte], the consul, is very anxious I believe for peace, that is, to remain consul for ten years, with the chances of something stronger. Certainly he also is politic in attempting to place the odium of one more campaign on the coalition, but his own ambition and interest is to make peace. You have seen his letter to G[eorge] 3, and the answer.² Yesterday morning a courier came from P[aris] at night. I learned that B[onaparte] has sent another courier to London with fresh proposals. At twelve I had given Mrs. Otto's brother a passport for London.³ He is a citizen of the United States. He told me

¹ Adams to Murray, January 25, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 448.

² "Annual Register," 1800, 209.

³ *Ib.*, 215.

he should embark at Scheveling in the night, where another American, Mr. Griswold, embarked ten days since without difficulty. At night I learned the above, and that young St. John was also charged with communications for Otto, who went ten days since—his wife, I hear, still here. Barthélemi, who has passed some days at Amsterdam, and who arrived here night before last, dined yesterday with Sémonville, who arrived five days since, and instead of remaining here a week, as I learn he intended when he left Amsterdam, set off for Paris last night—so I am informed. Bourne informs me that B[arthélemi] told him a variety of curious tricks of Rewbell and Lepeaux in the Lille negotiation, 1797. He would be the fittest man they could send, if they mean to tempt England by terms, and cessions—as Belgium, etc., etc., etc.; and I rather believe that B[onaparte], to keep the sceptre, would give up Belgium. The ensuing campaign, unless folly is more foolish than ever, will probably deprive him of both, and I believe that he fears that. Mrs. M[urray] is sick with a sore throat. Yours, my dear sir, always, etc., etc., etc.

As to credentials, I rather think that let them be addressed as they might, B[onaparte] would accept them as sufficient. He could not do a thing which would unite the banking, mercantile, and manufacturing interests more in his favour, than to make a treaty with the United States; and for him it would indeed be a great thing. Prussia recognizes the new French government.

I am glad that Ruhnken had a pretty daughter. She must have given you more pleasure than the sour old Lingo, for he seems to have been nothing but an old pedant.

CLXXV.

31 JANUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: At length I have news from Lisbon. Last night I received a letter from Mr. Smith there, telling me that the envoys are there (15 December) and will sail the first fair wind for L'Orient. It is *said*, since, from Bordeaux, that they sailed the 20th December. They have not been heard of since, and I begin to fear some accident—great damage having been done to shipping all that month, and many shipwrecks having taken place. I also received a letter from Philadelphia of 26 October, but no news. I had also the honor of a few lines from General Washington on mine, respecting *a friend*¹ of his who wanted to go to the United States. Like himself, he expresses his wish that the combined (and then victorious) powers might know where to stop and sheathe the sword, and not be carry'd away by the gale of success. We may all wish, even Washington might, in vain! They think that they have their enemy "on the hip," and they will try the fall. Were I even a royalist Austrian I would wish for peace

¹ Lafayette.

at this particular moment, because though another campaign *may* restore royalty in France, yet it may not; and if it do not, will probably overturn Bonaparte's monarchy, and restore the democratic reign of Jacobinism. But if B[onaparte]'s remain to take its natural course, it does seem to me that revolutionary republicanism is done in Europe. That wherever a revolution be now attempted, it will be on the old principles a mere USURPATION, and this is a disease very different from the French principles, objects, and doctrines of revolution, though these included the other. It is the greatest voluntary game which they have yet play'd. Unless they have a *certainly* of their object, they ought to negotiate, that the present elective monarchy may stand long enough for the natural feelings of the nation to operate to its gradual absorption in the old monarchy of France, which I think it would do in a few years. For it is impossible that the passions will not work there, and if they do B[onaparte] would not long hold the reins, though he would have broke the horses to bear them in the hands of their original drivers.

Augereau is here; nothing *done*, much apprehended; no one knows what. . . . I am always and truly, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

CLXXVI.

Rec. Feb. 11.

Ans. Feb. 12.

4 FEBRUARY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Day before yesterday I had your favour of the 25 ultimo, informing me that my colleagues had crossed over with Count Byland. I immediately wrote to Mr. E[llsworth] at Amsterdam, assuring him that he could no longer conceal from my vigilance that he was in Europe, that I kept too good a look out in Petersburg and the north of Germany not to know of his arrival in Lisbon two months since, and of his leaving it the 20 December. But behold, Mr. E[llsworth] was not at Amsterdam. Nor does Mr. Pitcairn say a word of the Envoys in his which I received yesterday, of 28 ulto. Count B[yland] must have mistaken some other gentlemen for them! I am however on the look out, and they shall not slip by. My friend, the Frankfort paper, has already given me intelligence of them when at Lisbon, and if they get as far as Augsburg in making a circle from the north, supposing B[yland]'s account correct, I shall soon be informed by telegraphs. However, levity apart, I have real fears for their safety. Yet it is strange, for a gentleman just from London says Mr. King would not write, as he supposed I had gone on; and he knows, I suppose, that I do not go without them, or their being in France.

A report is at Amsterdam of General Washington's death!! but I will not believe it. Last summer was the same. Sincerely do I hope that this too is false.

¹ Adams to Murray, February 3, in Adams MSS.; February 4, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 450.

Bonaparte's second letter to the British I hear is repelled; that Lord G[renville]'s answer is, that the first answer must be considered as a reply to the second letter! I wish the combined powers may be in as good a situation at the close as they are at the beginning of his campaign. As Russia secedes, I doubt if they will be in a better; and France may and probably will be in a state relatively less tolerable as a power to have any relations with! That is the point which they seem resolved not to weigh with a diffidence which all history and particularly that of this war enjoins.

I do consider the new constitution as an immense and unexpected breaking down of the revolutionary democratic form and theory, and as such a triumph to the ostensible reasons for *continuing* the war that far, and as an obtained point solid in its good to the old governments, and therefore as one great reason for a cessation of war, under prudent peace establishments: For I believe that two years of complete peace would tend greatly to the *restoration*, which as a friend to the world's peace I ardently hope to see. If Bonaparte could get a peace, the continuance of this new constitution would be no longer to keep alive the question between democracy and monarchy. The example would not affect the monarchies so much as the late theory, form, and ostensible principles, would have done in 1797; and if it fell, as I think it would fall, to the old house from which it has been usurped. The daring personal example could not do mischief in this age. Nothing but what moves the mass of mankind can do that. And after a short peace, with such wrecks of whole nations floating as examples, it would be almost impossible to move the mass, however artful the pretext which usurpers might frame in the old monarchies.

Well, since it is your taste, I must indulge you at least in *theory*; but if ever I am king of the Choctaws, and we have an alien law, you must not enter the presence. You warned me against a theory which you thought to be too much in the style of walking the gunwale of morality, and ticklish; but I believe it was because my terms were not explained—using *good* means to a *good* end, in the same *manner* that wicked men use bad means or good means to a bad end. Vigilance, combination, plotting, espionage—a pretty list you will say—yes, to resist *illuminati*. Mind, that was my object—to have good *illuminati* combined and secretly working with equal activity, IF IT BE POSSIBLE, to keep men or women good, long, who once grow mysterious! But your and all the world's theory of Brutus (I did not attack *Cato*, I trust his example with you, as you are more happy and live in an happier time) that CAN NOT BE! It can not, indeed, my dear sir. I have spent many a paragraph to prove that in no case was it lawful (*i. e.* right) to resist a law of the United States by force, or to bear arms against the government. Not but that I know that there are cases in which despotism will be, and ought to be,

resisted by force; but in laying down a system respecting government, the exception is never to be placed among the possible rights. That excepted case need not be mentioned as permitted; it will find its time and place. So I think of the Brutus question; it is to be *feared*, not justify'd. No, I prefer Pangloss's optimism to the admission of that principle, "When all other means are exhausted," for the resources of man and of his god are never exhausted. I do not cant I assure you. Did you ever hear of a Dutchman who had killed himself? I remember no example, and though this climate has often reminded me of the disputes at least on this selfish question, I never become gloomy on it, as I could find no instance of such a failure of patience here. *Vive vaeque!*

CLXXVII.

7 FEBRUARY, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR: It is true that we have lost the great and venerable General Washington! At first I would not believe it, but a Philadelphia paper states the adjournment of Congress and of the courts the moment that John Marshall, in a voice stifled by sorrow, announced from a private dispatch that great event in Congress!

I ought to tell you that I have announced it yesterday in a note to the Minister of External Relations, and in short notes to the corps. It is true he had no connexion with foreign political relations, but it was WASHINGTON's death which I announced, a name beyond the common rules, and I thought, with filial affection, that I might dare to do it, though in his relations abroad a private man!

On the 4th I heard from Mr. Ellsworth and Davie. After four weeks from Lisbon they landed at Corunna, sent on for passports to Paris; and Mr. Talleyrand's letter with Mr. Sémonville paid me a formal visit to deliver at night (on appointment, not that there was mystery in it) informs me that he sent on passports on the 31 January to them. He sent one to me. I shall set off about the 18th; they can not be there before the 20th. I shall write by next post.

I wish you not to mention my letter to Colonel P[ickering] if you have not; I now think it was too warm. I shall write next post. Dear sir, most truly yours, etc., etc.¹

CLXXVIII.

14 FEBRUARY, 1800.³

DEAR SIR: Yesterday I took leave, *pour quelque temps*, verbally in an audience of the five Directors, and am now at the Turenne, having sold my furniture as soon as possible after the certainty that was given me on the 4th at night of the arrival of my colleagues at Corunna, passports, etc., etc. I shall be off as soon as possible—

¹ Adams to Murray, February 11, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 451.

² I think; my papers are in a packed trunk. *Note by Murray.*

day after tomorrow, I hope. MM. E[llsworth] and D[avie] can hardly be there before the 25 or 27th inst. If one buys books cheap, your furniture pays for all good bargains; as I sold mine all together as 2 are to 5 less than it cost two years and five months since! Your box, baled, stuffed round and covered with coarse linnen, and corded, is marked M. A., and by me afterwards, Mr. Adams. It stands with my books which are in deal boxes marked W. V. M., in the left hand room as you enter the Hotel des États Unis in the Burgwall; where is an elderly working woman and her husband and daughter whom I put in, to air the house and sweep it occasionally.

B[onaparte], you see, crapes the colours for ten days in all the armies of the republic, in honor of General Washington. His statue also is to be placed in the gallery of the Tuilleries. The grandeur of his name has burst all restraints; it became too vast, and had laid its roots too widely, for calumny to oppose. Here also there is an affectionate display, indeed, true respect, shown to his memory. The Minister of External Relations has sent me by order of the Directory a very handsome answer to my note of the 6th. I rejoice now that I risked that step. I am sure it will be agreeable to the President and the government generally. Congress, I see by a French paper yesterday, are in mourning, in consequence of a message from the President on the event! And the Assembly of Maryland have ordered scarfs and bands for all public functionaries in the State to be worn during the session. All this, my dear sir, will do good, it will give a solid hope to the truly great of our nation of that exaltation to which it is permitted to aspire—honest fame—and will fortify their hearts in bad times. It is a public and solemn consecration of the principle of distinction and respect to great men of our land, against which principle the Jacobins of it ever since 1792 have contended.

Mr. S[émonville] said to a German minister here the other night “though our countries are in declared war I must advise you to send a Minister to treat with us, for rest assured, sir, we shall very soon treat.” Write to me under cover to Mr. de Wolfe, banker, Anvers, to remain with him till he has my letter, or has seen me. Make our parting compliments to Mrs. Adams with kind respect and our wishes for your mutual happiness! God bless you, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

CLXXIX.

ROTTERDAM, 17 February, 1800.

DEAR SIR: We are here tonight, pushing our way across the marshes, sloughs, and wide waters. We shall be obliged to go by Gorcum, so full of ice are all the waters about Dort; but I hope to be in Paris as soon as my colleagues.

Now that I am off from the Hague—my original destination—I feel the full force of my new situation! I go on an affair which I NEVER anticipated when in America, and on one so greatly important! One great consolation and support is in Mr. Ellsworth on whose clearness, firmness and wisdom I rely, to supply the place of that prudence which I doubt in myself, and which even my friends doubt. My intentions are between God and myself, and I earnestly hope that we shall do the best possible.

If there can be a time more favourable than another to obtain justice in France, I think it is now. B[onaparte] wishes from self interest to establish character among the neutral powers of Europe. Our affairs will be, and he knows it, a touchstone. Sweden and Denmark (it is true they are remote!) look earnestly towards his conduct towards the United States in this new mission.

The Russians, it is *said*, remain, again. What puerility! Thinking that whatever recalls under good impressions the American character at this time would be of service to our country, I have sent my note on General Washington's death and Mr. Van der Goes's answer to Mr. Luzac, with Van der Goes's permission, and even his wishes. The answer is very good. You will see them—mine in the translation. Inclosed you have (notwithstanding the postage) a mark of Mr. Luzac's respect for General W[ashington]. The supposed letter from Baltimore is, except the first part which I took from a paper, my own to Mr. L[uzac] on the 5th inst.

Mr. Sémonville wants fifty million livres!! Flushing and a commercial treaty, and only 7,000 Frenchmen, instead of 25,000—the terms. They *can not* give it as quick as it is wanted, impossible. Augereau will *not* have the command, the struggle for which has so much alarmed them here.

The extract¹ which you had the goodness to copy for me from Mr. T. B. A[dams]'s letter can but cheer me, for I had feared that the noise and party writing would both harrass even the firmness of the P[resident], and do mischief. As to L's interference I did not believe it, though I had heard of it.

Farewell, my dear sir, I seem to take leave of you and Holland both together. It was here I bade you and your brother adieu in June, 1797, at the Turenne. Mr. Sémonville has shown me every possible politeness in relation to my journey. His lady's daughter, Madame Joubert, is a well bred, amiable, and most interesting and respectable young widow. My respectful adieus to Mrs. Adams.²

¹ Printed in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 451.

² Adams to Murray, February 22, 1800, in Adams MSS.

CLXXX.

7 MARCH, 1800. SATURDAY.

DEAR SIR: On Wednesday last we had our first interview with the Minister of Exterior Relations. On my asking on what day it would be convenient to have an audience of the Premier Consul, he remarked, it was usual in our cases to have an audience after the negotiation should be terminated; but there would be no difficulty; he would speak to the Premier Consul that evening. I mention myself, because though third named in the credentials (my commission *elder* than Mr. D[avie]'s—many months) I was obliged to be the organ of our wishes, as I speak a little French. The audience was fixed for the 17 Ventôse (being the day in course of public audiences lately established), today. The Premier Consul received us with a courtly frankness, asking which was each of us by name, and as he was obliged to address himself, he told me, with pleasure, and spoke to me immediately of the death of General Washington, of whom he spoke in praise, and then passed on. In fact it was a splendid levée, and he goes through the circle with a perfect but dignify'd ease. Mr. Talleyrand told me the commission of plenipotentiaries was appointed, and we should be informed tomorrow morning. I had before heard who they were—Joseph Bonaparte,¹ oldest brother of the Consul, *Fleurieu*,² author of voyages, and formerly I think Minister of Marine in L[ouis] 16th's time, and *Rœderer*,³ councillor of state. It was supposed Liancourt and La Forrest would have been the two last—moderates. As yet I see no insurmountable things. I say so to you, but have no other correspondent on this topic.

The indignity, the ferocious insolence with which the other missions were treated, you know, were justly among the causes of our resentment. I have therefore mentioned the *reception* to you, and can generally say that we were handsomely received and with the honours, I speak of that extensive drapery and noise of martial music which I believe attends the reception of all ministers, and we have been treated I believe in the same manner as Ministers are usually treated in well regulated and showy courts—for such is that of the French.

Being a good deal bustled in many ways, and to get lodgings, I declare I can tell you less of public affairs than I could have done, if sitting in my little book room on the Voorhoud. After running over this large city to find lodgings, and having been a week today at the Hotel de l'Empire—a splendid and dear hotel, (formerly Labord's⁴ the bankers, guillotined) we are at last at L'Hotel de Caraman, Rue St. Dominique, a private and elegant mansion of an emigrant whose lady now occupies a part of the house. My colleagues

¹ Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844).² Charles-Pierre Claret Fleurieu (1738-1810).³ Pierre-Louis Rœderer (1754-1835).⁴ Jean-Joseph Laborde (1724-1794).

live together and are well. I requested you to write under cover to Mr. De Wolfe, banker, Antwerp; I now request you to write under cover to *Citoyen de Lessert & Co., Rue Coqueron, Banquiers, Paris*. I send this to De Wolfe. I have not heard from you since I left the Hague, which was the 17 ultimo. I can give you no intelligence from the United States, for in truth I have received none, and have only had time to examine my instructions which I received on the 3d. To accomplish these as far as in my power, it is my duty and will be my every effort. Your brother was just in his reasoning. The mission will be popular.

I beg you to write to me. I am once more without an atmosphere, without my ordinary habits, books, etc., etc. Will Austria treat, or will Great Britain? There is a talk of B[onaparte]'s going to the Rhine soon, but I can not believe it, though Paris might be safely trusted. You see how bald I am of news and of everything. It is not always so when a man leaves such regular machinery as I have lived in so long? I am always and everywhere, dear sir, yours faithfully.

Pray tell me in cypher what address to give you at Berlin or under *[unfinished]*¹

CLXXXI.

14 APRIL, 1800.

DEAR SIR: We advance on pretty well. I consider two of their last notes as an *admission of the*² principle of *compensation*. From conversation with them also, for I hazard French, I consider that as agreed; what *terms* may follow you know we can not foresee. I write in confidence, not having mentioned a hint of such an idea to any one. I have told the Secretary some weeks since in a private letter that I had some reason to expect it; but as yet we have not officially sent one line, and I am afraid of sending many private letters, as I have already been basted with my own fat. I wrote a long letter to you as soon as I got out of bed, and sent it to Holland to go by post. I have had but one from you since I am here. My health and the only letters of value to me seem to have left me at the same time. I am still feeble—I fear consumptive—but I will write soon again. In great haste. I am, dear sir, always, etc., etc. etc.

CLXXXII.

19 APRIL, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I received your's of 28 March day before yesterday. *I doubt if France*² will make a brilliant campaign—such is the *want of money* and of all things necessary!! and though there will be less

¹ Pickering to Murray, March 10, April 9, 11, 1800, in Pickering MSS.; Adams to Murray, March 28, in Adams MSS.

² Cypher.

revolutionary treason on the other side, it is true there will be great folly, doubtless. *The Jacobins* are far from quiet. B[onaparte] has acted too much as Caesar did. He has thought it possible to exalt men of corrupt and base minds, who have a courage superior to all principles as well as dangers, up to a certain noble standard, and seems to have believed that the same age in which a brilliant military name could attract admiration, would be capable of a generous attachment. This would suit an heroic age, but not such times and such a people, where to be generous and just is to be to a certainty considered as an imbecile, and to be really good is to be weak. Lord, Lord *such a set*. To me there seems a greater probability for *the king than ever*. The campaign should be *against France*.

Baron Charles Bielfeld is here on his way to Madrid; he will go to Mexico on a voyage of natural history. He seems well qualify'd, and he seems also CURED, if some years since he had the political disease so common among the ingenious young men. Count Neal will tell you that he and his daughter have seen us (at third places). They both talk a great deal and properly of you both. We are *very busy*—as yet *no mountains*.¹ Yours, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.²

CLXXXIII.

Rec. June 3.

Ans. June 4.

11 MAY, 1800.

DEAR SIR: They admit that old treaties, IF EXISTING³ will oblige them *to pay*, but that they are not bound *to pay as a preliminary to a new one*. I still believe that *we shall succeed*. *Union in the Federal party* would insure it, I do firmly believe. *We and they* are damned if that should not be *apparent and striking*, so as to make its impression here in the summer's doings, on the ensuing *election*.

Wherever there is demagogism of what ever party, there is aristocratical Jacobinism. It is self importance bursting out of the limits, within which, could it be kept there, it would be duty protecting itself by power, and would do good; as the puffing and bursting of the bass viol helps to give depth and volume to a well ordered concert. Yet that is a disease, I see, by which even we are most easily beset, and which thwarts the progress of sound subordination even among the friends of order. The measure, which we have heard made some little sowness, I hear, grows daily in the public conviction as a popular and sound one. Would to god that *we may be able to fix it*.

Tomorrow I will send a few lines to *Luzac* from K[ing?]

I am better, but am exceedingly done up. So you will draw a foil on the sand, though you know you are to meet "St. George" there!

¹ This concluding sentence is not in cypher.

² Adams to Murray, April 25, Mar. 10, in Adams MSS.; Pickering to Murray, May 8, in Pickering MSS.

³ Cypher.

Well, it is my fate; and if my system be to perish, let it fall by noble hands. So, so, sah! The Museum, indeed, I owe you all of it—out of sheer gratitude for your Dresden letters. I have seen it twice only. Whether it is that there is a time when admiration ceases either from a morbid sensibility, or in the course of our years and their effect, I know not, but I have felt nothing like warmth of taste, much less delight, in viewing all this noble collection; which certainly, I suppose, contains the master pieces of the divine art of painting. And your Raphael, even his noblest and sublimest subject piece—the ascension of Jesus to heaven, the great fact of the resurrection of man—he has not in this “called such a soul” to the canvass as bears that celestial countenance which alone can enter into heaven, particularly that of a divine man. And I find that most of the countenances in the Italian school—of Jesus and of saints—have a meanness, a vulgarity that shocks me—many of them extremely like the heads of jail birds, grave but tricky in the countenance. Such seems to me the fact. Was it that at the era in which these fine things were painted, the painter sought awkwardly in living heads for the beau ideal, and blended the squalid and grave habilaments of a monk’s visage, with the living cunning of the dark Italian of those days? Yet they had the Apollo, in which I see great nobleness. For the men this has a godlike beauty, yet is manly and elevated in every trait. The Venus de Medicis, I see, has furnished most of the heads of the Virgin, and that when they quit that they have an ignoble countenance. I may mistake what is meant by the *beau idéal*. If it be a profound result from immense comparisons of individual up to general, I think that from all I see it ends in tameness, in sameness. Having long thought thus, a feeling that this ends in tameness, I do feel a relief in indulging nature, in spite of so strict a rule; in letting my affections and passions do their work in relation to what would seem to be their particular jurisdiction, as to the dominion of female beauty; and in this temper I turn from the Venus, as expressing geometrically what perhaps no man ever loved in the females who even approach her divine regularity. I then suppose that irregularity is almost essential to beauty, because I can not love regularity. The Venus’s nose for instance is perpendicular from her forehead. I think so. Did you ever see a man or a woman that had—the first much cleverness, and the last that something which enchanted you—whose nose was not a little one sided, and even the two sides of whose face were alike? Look at your own lady, look through the court and the shops—if Mrs. Adams will trust you on such a pursuit of beauty. As to the *form* of the Venus, then I confess there is voluptuousness, but such a face. It is the absence of what is deformed strictly, *i. e.* faultless, by the rule; but what is the use of this rule, if it end merely in what is

faultless? And yet the pursuit to which this rule is to guide is nothing more nor less than BEAUTY—something which every man at some period of his life has adored in some living girl! No, our affections passions and all of our vanities are adapted to enjoyment, but not to the *beau idéal*, the perfect. This is true in government, eating, seeing, all our senses; and in all things belonging to human knowledge. Suppose the Hercules, for quiet strength, and the Apollo, for male, and the Venus for female beauty, established as the rule. Every painting would be nearly the same. This one sees in Angelica's figures; all would be the spiritless variegation of attitude, merely to tell the respective stories. Whereas in *landscape* there is a variety always growing, and this almost alone seems after all to me, to suit the real *powers* of the art. Claude's pieces of course, and Vernet's, occupy'd the principal share of my admiration. But this is little more than repetition; yet, as I had not seen before so many of Raphael's, I was bound to recant or to persevere. It is true I saw all in a crowd of people, and with very bad health. Can you favor me with a copy of my Swedish ghost—if it have not vanished? Yours, dear sir, most truly, etc., etc., etc.¹

TO SAMUEL DEXTER.

PARIS, 12 July, 1800.

MON CHER MINISTRE: As I had the honour of a line from you now and then while you were Dear Dexter, you see I still take the liberty of writing. Alas! the times more than ever call upon us who esteem each other to be closer and closer! We just hear of the discord among men who call themselves of the same party. I have seen too much hypocrisy for three years; heard too much of "soft humanity" and "hearts bleeding with tenderness"—the crocodile [rogues!—to say that my heart bleeds at anything; but it is distressing to see at such a time the fédéral men deserting their chief. Personally, perhaps from vanity too, I feel very sore, when I trace the bickerings to an origin in which I was concerned! The whole seems to have broke out from the act of 18th and 25th February, 1799—the mission. That mission—I speak not of myself,—can and ought to be vindicated beyond the form of a letter; and I say if it had been possible to have foreseen the course of events in Europe in '99–1800, that was the measure precisely suited to the dignity of affairs of the United States. Forms of official civility, it may be, were less consulted than is necessary in a government of great Palatines, perhaps in any government, even where the responsibility is not on ministers but on the Chief; but as to the measure, as it turned out in reference to its first object and to the events of spring '99, its first object was further assurances. Had France been triumphant that spring, it is *probable* she would

¹ Adams to Murray, June 4, 1800, in Adams MSS.

have refused them, and referred to those which had originated the measure of 18 February; but as it happened she was generally defeated. My letter of May to Mr. Talleyrand found them in an humbled situation. She gave them. The second branch: when the President received the assurances last summer, he prepared the ultimate steps of the Embassy. He knew that France was humbled; that there had existed strong symptoms of a return of monarchy ideas and apparently even wishes; and that the revolution of Prairial failed but by accident, in some how or other accomplishing the monarchical speculations. Yet he wisely must have judged of the perfect uncertainty of anything respecting the French revolution, except that there were materials enough for several more years of change and bloodshed, and that the follies of a coalition must always be taken into calculation. *Vid.*; the last campaign in Holland, and on the Rhine, and Suwarrow's retreat. He sent the mission on. France had gone through one more change, which contained part of the views of Prairial; but Sieyès could not execute his whole plan. Bonaparte organised every thing, all power being in him, with great ability. The battle of Marengo the 14th June (last month) seems to have produced a general armistice, at least for Italy; this will in all probability end in preliminaries of peace. Observe, then, as far as the President is concerned, how either well calculated, or how fortunate his arrangements! They were adapted to go along with and to be rendered, agreeably to events, applicable to the times. *No measure of defence relaxed, negociation opened, ready to avail itself of contingencies.* Whereas, should a peace take place, which seems probable, and no negociation had been thought of, to say nothing of the uses which would have been made of the first indirect assurances, what would have been the political state of the United States in such case? No war having been declared; no willingness to make alliances; contrary to dignity to send ministers to a Congress for their first appearance on such a subject; but all Europe making peace. By putting negociation in train, he could embrace events and shape his negociation agreeably to them. By that he could have ministers on the spot to whom he could give, *without any change of system*, orders that might save us from the strange situation which a peace in Europe would find us in, if no mission had been at all on foot! We are not in war. We have no allies. Yet the settlement of our disputes rests upon what is in fact a treaty of peace, and all this will of course be materially affected by the turn of the victories which may lead to a general European peace.

Take the other course. Suppose no mission, conditionally named. We were not *in war*; but we were engaged in hostilities. It is said that the federal men wished to go on as they then were, *i. e.* no war, etc., etc., but defensive measures. By the bye our commissions of

marque are not merely defensive. Well in July, 1800, suppose the official intelligence to reach Philadelphia that a general peace seems upon the tapis at Paris. It would then occur. What is our position? If we now negotiate it must be upon the indirect overtures which had been rejected in February, '99, for government had solemnly declared, 21 June, '98, not to send more envoys to France, except, etc., etc. So it would have been obliged either to go on with defensive measures without a state of war, or to take up that thread, the old assurances. Would there have been more dignity in a measure apparently forced than in the other, which properly considered, agreeably to the then state of Europe, maintained dignity by making the mission depend on further assurances, and yet kept a track open, which imposed no particular terms of negotiation on our government? I cannot find any principle that can excuse so loose and undefinable a plan as that of remaining as we were February, '99, except that our friends calculated upon a *certainly of seeing the coalition completely triumphant*; because had they doubted, they ought either to make peace, or make war and have allies; but they were not for the first on Mr. A[dams]'s terms. Did they think of any better? But they did not make war, nor had they any ally who would be bound not to make peace till at least we should have notice. Thus according to their plan their views went only to means not to an end; to get along while the coalition lasted, without providing for the hour when that coalition might make peace, without knowing the United States as a party engaged in the war. The end, the ultimate object, is that which justifies a plan. Here I can find nothing but the means to some end. It is in vain to say we are as much insulated from the events that affect Europe, as we are geographically. We are not; we are in political contact, because we are a *nation*, keeping up a perpetual relation and sympathy with Europe and her dependencies, by commerce; and our political views must be governed by that contact. Belligerent powers here can and do act, not only on a plan, but can from local neighborhood, take their measures, any where, from ten days notice. Time is often incalculable, and the value of seizing the passing moment is proved among other things by the skill and expense with which each penetrates the interior secrets of the other.

The President was considered in Europe as a very able and very learned diplomat. We have many able political legislators; very few diplomatic men. He acted, it struck me, in spring of '99, as an able diplomatic man. I knew nothing of the manner. Vanity, it may be said, and it is true I was flattered, contributed to support its own hypothesis in my mind, it is possible; but I assure you as my old friend, that I did not wish a part in the mission; that had our government been near, I would have declined it, honored as I felt by his commission; for I feared more than I hoped, and was satisfy'd

where I was.¹ But two years hence the measure as an act of government will be looked back to as profound and well timed. No man can answer for success. Yours always affectionately, my dear friend.

CLXXXIV.

Rec. Sept. 15.

Ans. Sept. 16.

20 AUGUST, 1800.

DEAR SIR: In lieu of writing a long letter to you I will beg you to accept the enclosed, written early in July to D[exter], and a paper. By the first you will see how oppressed I have been by various appearances from the United States, and by the nonsense and absurdity of certain characters there. I wrote one upon the same principles to Colonel P[ickering] last autumn, and have indeed to others in Maryland, *on the wisdom of the measure*, which has so Jacobinically, united with ambition, been the pretext of so much absurd conduct. Smith writes me that his friends in Congress inform him that the President will be re-elected. A great aid to this, we here are conscious, would be a settlement *here*. Do not believe that we sleep over this estimate of the influence of a good end to our labour over the approaching election. We have all along felt it and worked to get along, but events have been very much against speed and success. No nation ever yet gave compensation on an end of hostilities unless treaties were put *in statu quo*; their principle is old treaties and compensation, or a new treaty and equality without compensation—because *war*! You can estimate this. Their instructions, which I *saw* after the Consul's departure, were diametrically opposite to the basis on which we started, and three months were lost in waiting for fresh instructions, as the French minister *appeared* to have come to a middle ground on which we would have met and saved much of our own plan. At last, a few days since, the new instructions are given. The same! We hope to conclude speedily by going *near* to them.

By the paper you will be able to judge pretty well, making an allowance for the Jacobin petulance. It is from an American displaced Jacobin here. Next day it was contradicted in the Paris papers. In fact they keep no secrets except *their own*! With respect to parties in the United States, I hear nothing, but that generally there is a division among the federalists, and that from Harper's letter I see they thought, in May, of running uniformly General Pinckney *also*. I have written to Harper on that subject as one fatal in a party election. But as to particulars, such as Colonel P[ickering's] dismissal and its causes, I have not heard. Boston captain, who spent the evening with me last night, tells me of our Essex Junto—I had never heard of this; of papers from me, which had been withheld for some time from the P[resident]—this was all news to me, and

¹ A sentence follows which was struck out and is illegible.

may be incorrect; and of obstacles which Colonel P[ickering] is supposed to have thrown in the way of the negotiation; the frigate going into Lisbon, etc., etc.

Duroc¹ returned last night. Mr. Sandos² has sent off a courier to Berlin on it. He and the consul had five minutes chat at the audience today. I could hear the words war and peace, but could pick nothing out—certain. It seems thought here that some thing *altered* from the propositions sent is *done*; others think that the silence is a proof that Duroc did not succeed. Silence proves nothing where there may be a motive to conceal *every* step, even successful ones. But we are all in the dark. Masséna is said to be arrested, and Brune put into the command. If B[rune] is put there, it would seem that the Consul expects peace in Italy.

Today we have made a move which will bring things to a speedy conclusion.

Mr. E[llsworth] was supposed in the United States to be originally against the mission. Be assured that he is heart and soul occupy'd to make it succeed. So is D[avie]. So am I. For the last six weeks I have been, and so were they, extremely occupy'd. I beg you to be disposed to excuse my silence, and you will do it. I am affectionately, always, dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

Mr. Dryer, late Minister here from Copenhagen, was today at the audience, though he has not yet had his letters of credence. He has just returned from Spain and left this on a formal *recall*. Denmark is supposed to be treated on the very best footing, but the poor armed neutrality will end without even smoke I suspect. B[onaparte] is said to have felt the usual influence of success, has grown less moderate in demands. Were the Court of Vienna less infested with women—the general weakness of imperial courts—it could refuse hard terms; as it is, and Prussia being either hostile or immovable, she must make peace. There was a great division here lately in the administration, but without changes they are together again. You will see if B[onaparte] lasts. Monarchy institutions under new names—that is the plan, what they call after Blackstone—the Pyramid.

I have from a good hand that Duroc stopped at the Austrian advanced posts, and, as was agreed, St. Julien went on; to either send a passport for Duroc or an envoy to meet him. The last was preferred by the Emperor, who sent Captain de Lehrbach. That some alterations took place in B[onaparte]'s propositions. These Duroc brought back. It is pretty certain that though St. Julien came here on affairs purely military, yet that he *listened* to more, and that something was signed by B[onaparte]—probably his own propositions which Duroc carry'd.

¹ Geraud-Christophe-Michel Duroc (1772-1813).

² Baron Sandoz-Rollin.

I pray you to excuse this sort of scribbling. I do return as I would be done by then with the regularity due to you.¹

CLXXXV.

Rec. Oct. 18.

Ans. Oct. 31.

27 SEPTEMBER, 1800.

MY DEAR SIR: Last night we finished the work to copying off and signing. For the last twelve or fifteen days, they have been serious and attentive, and we have done a great deal in conferences. We shall make as good a treaty as indeed could be expected—observe a *provisional* one. The arrangements in it, *upon its principles*, fair and honourable to both. We shall save a great deal of property *not yet judged* definitively, by the application of rules of decision to its trial; and till the signature, which in all probability will be the 30th, the council of prizes will we hope receive orders to stop the trials, as the French ministers, before we rose last night, wrote a letter to Mr. Talleyrand, praying that orders may be given to that end, instantly. If we have not accomplished every object of the government of the United States, we have done all in our power—all I believe which any others would have done, all that could be expected in the present state of our relations, and of the world's affairs! We, at all events, put an end to the equivocal state of things, draw the government of the United States out of the quarrel with honour, and establish honourable rules for the future. We shall have given the pacification of the two nations to the administration of the President, who set on foot the energetic measures which authorised any negotiation at all, who pushed these as far as our constitution permitted, and who then, and not till then, bent to the pacific idea. In fact, my dear sir, if the treaty we make be ratify'd, as I hope, the United States will have, it is true, paid a tribute to the miseries which have overwhelmed the world, with no expense to their honor, and with as little to their pecuniary interest as possible! Our state has been very equivocal, as to peace or war; and yet we have been demanding INDEMNITIES. We have thought it our duty to dare a little, to snatch the United States from the doubtful station, and as the prospect is a permanence to the French Republic, at least no submission on the part of the French nation, to make an amicable, but be sure an honourable, arrangement with her for our country. In the doing of this be assured that the honour of your father's administration has had a great influence with myself. I dare say so to you! You will appreciate the present state of Europe, and of the world. Convinced as I am of the profound policy which has directed him, in some respects in opposition to the unripe and inconsiderate politics of some others, I dare anticipate the pleasure with which he

¹ Adams to Murray, September 15, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 468.

and the vast majority of the nation will receive the treaty, as a great *political* measure in the present times it must be well received.

My colleagues have acted from the first jump with the clearest and most pressing sincerity.

I confess, my dear sir, to you that I am extremely rejoiced at it, even as it is; and I shall return to the Hague with more pleasure than I left it, because though we have not accomplished all, we have, I dare think, made a better treaty than the last mission might according to their instructions have made; and because at all events, if our folks are as wise as they are honest, the storm will have been honourably passed, and our country tranquil. My next will be from the Hague. My colleagues will go immediately after signature.

Yours, dear sir, with the sincerest esteem always. We shall sign on the 30 inst.

CLXXXVI.

PARIS, *October 1st, 1800.*

SIR: We have the honor to inform you that a provisional treaty was yesterday signed between France and the United States, which if ratified re-establishes the relations of amity between the two nations. We are, sir, respectfully your most obedient,

OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

W. R. DAVIE.

W. V. MURRAY.

CLXXXVII.

Rec. Oct. 25.

Ans. Oct. 31.

PARIS, *5 October, 1800.*

MY DEAR SIR: I delay'd writing to tell you the thing was done, that I might also inform you of the fête given on the occasion by Joseph Bonaparte, the president of their Commission; and also because, though we signed it the 30th, and sealed, etc., etc., yet a mistake of their own in the stile of their government, republic instead of Premier consul, which was omitted, but necessary, gave us something to do—partly gracefully and partly interestedly, as we changed the title from provisional treaty, which was disagreeable to us, to convention, and got out the declaration that it was originally written in French though signed in French and English. This alteration was to be made by new signatures and a fresh sheet or two at the fête, which was given the 3d at Morfontaine, a noble chateau gardens and park of J. B[onaparte].¹ It was suddenly made up, as my colleagues would not agree to delay their journey to Havre farther than the 4th. The whole character of the fête champêtre was highly complimentary in all its features, and splendid and courtly, and friendly. I tell you of a fête, because our last commission was so terribly treated! It's being done after the treaty was signed was the more agreeable. Perpetual peace between

¹ Not national estates, but bought by him of the heirs and Mr. Morfontaine. *Note by Murray.*

France and the United States, and the successor of Washington, were drunk to the sound of cannon. We gave no toasts; there were but three, by the three consuls; for to give dignity and éclat to the fête the government was there; the ministers of state, members of the senate, tribunat, council, secretary of state, generals, all the family of the Bonapartes, and the foreign corps. A splendid dinner of at least, I think, 150 covers, in saloons *en champêtre* united to the chateau by temporary *berceaux* of foliage, and wreaths, and flowers, full of emblems, transparencies, busts, and lustres, etc., etc., etc., music, and cannons, coffee after. This chateau, court, avenue and gardens illuminated; then fire works in the gardens; after, a comedy in one wing of the building ended by songs in honour of the treaty, or reconciliation. This brought round 3 o'clock in the night. We lodged there. Mr. E[llsworth] and General Davies seemed much pleased. A sketch was made of the gardens by Mr. Piranesi of Rome (late Swedish Minister at Rome), an artist of name, which will be I believe etched or engraved.¹ A concert before the play I forgot to mention, in which were Banti,² Garnt, Kuntgre and Frederick, and the most celebrated performers of Paris. In fine (as Brune said) it was a very pleasing noble compliment to our government and country!

I this moment hear that my colleagues have broke down—a thing I expected from their carriages—and are this morning but at St. Denis. So that McHenry, my secretary, who insisted on going to the United States in the frigate with them, and who set out at four this morning, two hours after my return, will reach Havre before them. He is an amiable young man whom I suffer to go with regret. La Fayette went in our carriage with Mrs. M[urray] and me, and returned with us this morning. The Consul was very civil to him, notwithstanding he would talk about liberty. He is a good but most incorrigible disciple of the true Sangrado school. It is impossible to know him much and not to respect his general turn of thinking and esteeming him, but he profits not from the past.

I set off for the Hague on the 10th to my post—from envoy extraordinary down again to minister resident. I am contented with this arrangement and the corps may stare, if they please.

Before I left Morfontaine the Consul received a dispatch from the telegraph of Moreau's news—Thugut³ dismissed, Lehrbach in his place, Cobenzl to come *here*.

By papers as late as 6 August no yellow fever in the United States!! Yours, dear sir, truly, etc., etc.

Inclosed I have the honour of sending a note signed by the envoys of the United States.

¹ Francesco Piranesi, son of the well known designer and engraver. The plan of the fête was engraved and published, and a copy in colors is in the Library of Congress.

² Georgina-Brigida Banti or Bandi (1757-1806).

³ Johann Amadeus Francis de Paula, Baron Thugut (1736-1818).

CLXXXVIII.

PARIS, 10 October, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of 15 September came this moment from Dresden. You have spent your summer much more agreeably than I have mine, and I hope, I think reasonably that some day or other your friends will be the better for it; for I am clear that every American of name who explores unknown scenes, unknown almost in the United States, owes it to the literary character of his nation to give a tour, travels, picturesque views; or statistics, involved in these; and notices, written on the spot, preserve for years after, a force that gives identity and freshness of line to his description. Who knows ought of Silesia but its loan and dispute! I am serious; it would be a pleasing present to us in the United States to have something of that sort from your pen. Mankind entire are sick of political writing, and if I mistake not, however versed I know you to be in the best schools of politics, yet I venture an opinion which I refer to yourself as judge: Your true mental luxury would be best found in such a work. It is a charming species of composition, I mean to the writer while at work. His thread of facts and recollections perpetually corrects, mellows and ennobles his imagination; it is a species of writing therefore more *wholesome* for the mind than works of system, theory, and mere fancy. It is to retravel, with all the learned reflections which leisure affords; and these partake of all the energy of the senses without the bewildering effects of first impressions and of the dancing of the senses upon new objects.

Would that some work would appear in the United States that would give a turn to our national mind, and lead [us] to seek consolation in literary attainments independent of politics! For these form a sort of fanaticism which is destroying even our moral taste, in its several modes, literature, characters, various speculation. As to the fine arts, we are not yet in a state to taste them fully; but my plan we can enjoy. I will add also, that, so much the friend am I of the senses, and of *particular* ideas as opposed to general ones, to *likenesses*, that I love the mezzotinto drawings in Tours;—the mouldering abbey, the old castle, a mountain, and its torrent, and whatever is *like* the place exactly. The drawing of even the *voiture* of the voyager at an inn door makes me his companion, and I enjoy the tour the more.

In the tour which you made you may have picked up old or new prints of various scenes seen by you. All this for such a country as Europe would not be *so* essential to a tour; but for ours it would contribute to rouse a taste, and a desire to do the same *in* our own country, which has had no tourist.

By this time you have received my letters, and known that we have made a Convention—130 September; that we were most handsomely fêted four days after; that my colleagues set off so rapidly

that I had time but to write three letters, and none to send some little trifles to my brother and a bust of Washington by so good a conveyance as the *Portsmouth*. They are now at Havre—wind and tide bound, and Admiral Massaredo, whose fleet has been so long at Brest, says it will be many days before they can get out.

In two days I set out for the Hague where I hope to again enjoy the pleasure of your letters, as I am now once more one and indivisible.

Count Cobenzl will be here in three days. It is believed that Count Lehrbach has wished to prolong the armistice, but if the bases between France and Austria are not settled in twenty-nine days from this, the war, I hear, will again be opened. Most truly always, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

LaFayette is no more talked of for minister to the United States.

12. Mrs. M[urray] took to her bed yesterday with fever—chills and pain in the breast—from a wetting she got at Ermenonville during the fête, the day after rather. Ermenonville is the chateau of Mr. Girardin¹ near Morfontaine. There Rousseau was bury'd I believe. The tomb is there on the isle of poplars, once an isle; but its surrounding waters are no more, and it is now but a brambly swell of ground in a rank meadow. During the reign of terror the very villagers of that enchanting spot were furious and bloody against their generous landlord and benefactor, Mr. G[irardin]. Since, he has suffered all to go to decay, and has not lived there. The peasants broke down the embellishments, water works, etc., etc., and the village, which thrived by the concourse of travellers whom the celebrity of the place attracted, has become as wretched and contemptible as its crimes. The spot has become ague and feverish, and the tomb of John Jacques will, in the sickly uproar which will probably surround it, exactly illustrate his levelling doctrines, his poisonous morals. The owner a fine respectable old gentleman of 70!

Joseph Bonaparte goes to Lunéville as negociator. La Forest, Secretary of Embassy.

J. B. has an excellent character. I know him to be mild and amiable, and to possess a correct but not very active mind, with a learning which flows from him imperceptibly to himself, apparently, and with less pretension than I have found here.

La Forest you must have known—the only man I have seen in France who is well acquainted with our affairs. Right in his principles as a Frenchman, and of a very clear and good head.

I just hear that Mr. E[llsworth] has some thoughts of spending the winter in England, as he dreads a winter passage home. He has gravel, and is not well. It will be a great loss, if he do not go on to defend our work! But I must stop. You do not like this miscel-

¹ René-Louis, Marquis de Girardin (1735-1808).

laneous sort of writing, and it [is] almost the only sort which I now like.

I had a dozen profiles struck off to send to the United States to our relations, and Mrs. M[urray] requests Mrs. Adams to accept the inclosed. It is in the costume of the day—a little regulated.¹

CLXXXIX.

Rec. Nov. 19,

Ans. Nov. 20.

THE HAGUE, 7 November, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Your favour of 30th ulto. came today and gave me a great deal of pleasure, because it announces a return of health and your approbation to the end of our negotiation. May that approbation be the forerunner of the contentment of our government and country. Indemnities, it is true sleep (You have seen the whole convention as *published* in the *Moniteur* ! ! !). That they ever should have been made a point so important in this negotiation, was, because the wisdom of government commanded it, not because we considered them as of first-rate consequence. They became impossible, and we thought it for the honour of administration and the good of the United States to draw the United States out of the dispute—honourably—and I think that good is accomplished. The march to this point had some gloomy and difficult moments. I have great pleasure in recollecting that I was honoured by the P[resident]'s confidence in this work; but my self pride can not be excited by the success, as most of the great turns which contributed to each part of our progression belonged to Mr. Ellsworth! who had resources, when I own I was staggered. That man has a head of iron—just iron—that works with the precision of a mill, without its quickness and giddy manner. I profoundly admired the neatness and accuracy of his mind. If he had *l'usage du monde*, the French language, and more literature, he would be a giant among the diplomats of Europe. Though I have often doubted if it be in nature to find a man of polished and accomplished and at the same time of great powers—and honest! and by the same token I recollect a long midnight discussion with my excellent friend Dexter, when we were sole inmates in '93-4 at Philadelphia, in which we came to this consolatory conclusion: that men who have neither grace nor beauty *may* have great powers of oratory and general powers of great strength, but that the handsome and accomplished fellows *could* not. Perhaps these mental exertions seem more powerful, like bar iron, because not polished; for surely beauty conveys essentially the associated idea of fragility. But idea—look round and examine that application, if you have not before. One thing too, more, I think is true in speaking of men in relation to France. A man of strong mental, but unpolished powers, who from

¹ Adams to Murray, October 30, 1800, in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 471.

that trait has a sort of fixed *caractère* in his awkwardness, grave but not sour, regardless of the graces, and not handsome, would do better at Paris, than a polite, soft and amiable man with equal strength of talents—I think. They are a singular people, whose qualities merit much study; and Paris is the only place to observe these in their true natural combination. General D[avie] is a firm, soldierly, and well informed man. We certainly did all in our power, and with one spirit. Believe me, that the 25 September—the night, or two in the morning in which we fixed things for copying and surmounted certain great difficulties—was I do think one of the very happiest nights of my life. Poor Mr. E[llsworth], whose health was very bad, and whose mind and nerves had been much agitated, (we had been all so!) that night got a good sleep. We touched a port—at least were on soundings, after a voyage of fog. Let what would come in Europe—general peace or not—it seemed as if a great option was in our country's power, and an honourable peace, under a state of things in which war might be hazardous. The old onerous treaties laid aside by their consent, and of course the perspective better on that very important head, no existing engagements violated, and the only thing lost, (a promise of indemnity) a stipulation not worth three per cent if made, and not connected with national honour when you recollect the state of things—belligerent between the two nations and the annulling of treaties. No, sir, had they stipulated to pay, their paper would not have been worth that to the *sufferers*, and these or their assignees would not have had twelve per cent of the cases rejudged in their favour under the latitude of principles (*i. e.* treaty up to 8 July, '98—*law of nations!* ! after) which must have been agreed to; such would have been the roguery at Paris under any commission we could have settled, unless, indeed, we could have been sure of the majority. And even in that case there is every reason to believe that by hooke or by crooke they would have cheated the sufferers of the judgments and their fruits. All this was not an equivalent for the revival in *all* their parts of the *two* treaties and the consular convention, the *sine qua non* condition! So we did as you see. What you see, the convention, was soon put together—the result of a long course of demands and omissions. It was all we could do, and we unanimously agreed that it was infinitely [better] to do this than do nothing, because we could not do all—when that all was a doubtful *pecuniary* thing. However, whether that pecuniary object—those never dying indemnities—were important, was not for us so far to determine on as to *give them up*. The idea then of a convention, tying up hostility, and keeping on record a right to claim, was considered as the best—even a good thing—and the nearest to our instructions. As a private man I would prefer the convention as it is, in the present state of our minds in the United States, to a treaty with

a stipulation to pay! even without revival of treaties. Such a stipulation would have all the political influence in favour of France, of a noble and magnanimous justice, but be towards the sufferers illusory, and towards the government a source, very soon, of either new submissions or of resentment. Our notes and our ground which we took perseveringly all along will show that this idea never weakened for one moment the warmth and vigor of our pursuits, though undoubtedly it may be correct to you or even for an American writer who may vindicate the convention to use that argument to weaken the fall of expectation—if the public really expected indemnities, and at the same time freedom from any one or part of old treaties.

Yes, sir, it is among the most soothing of all my reflections, and was so from the instant I saw we should close with them, that we should accomplish under the administration of the author of the measure, a federal and national good that would contribute by the sunshine which I believe it will shed, to indemnify the President in the very best way for the inquietudes which he must have experienced from the day he resolved on the step. From the first I considered it as a measure wise and proper calculated from American and European politics. Defeat would not have altered my opinion, but success was essential in the eyes of a popular government, to answer victoriously to the arguments against it. Deeply shall I always regret that it could not be done sooner, and time enough for its influence to have been auxiliary to him in this election! All was done—all—that could hasten it; in vain. Particularly I was bound to keep that result in view, and the zeal of duty was forever quickened by all the recollections which could affect a man sensible of a high personal confidence, and by a personal affectionate gratitude. It was in vain! However our country has good sense, and on this I still rest my hope that his election will be secured. If it be lost, the regret which will be awakened on the arrival of my colleagues, though too late for that object, will be a most honourable thing on the close of his administration, and a melancholy comment on the character of parties in a free government!

But of yourself, my dear sir, that spitting of blood. I beg you to exercise, to write less and read less, and avoid damp, and clear piercing air. Mrs. A. must have been a good deal alarmed, though I have old friends who have been in that way for twenty years off and on. Mrs. M[urray] is better. We arrived here the 26 ulto., and yesterday got into our lodgings; for when I went to Paris I gave up my pretty little house in the Voorhout, and sold my furniture. I did so though I took but a temporary leave, for two reasons: because I wished to have a fair pretence to quit housekeeping, which was too expensive; and because there was a chance that we might break off, *la guerre ouverte* take place, and in that case I could not stay here.

Since my arrival I have enjoy'd a great luxury, ease and some fat. I neither write nor read, for as yet my books are unpacked, and I do not know but it is best to let them sleep as undisturbed as I do. . . .

This unmerciful letter must finish. Whose travels did you ever read that have made the task so arduous! I converse with an enlightened traveller; I am charmed with his remarks. The more distinct and particularized he makes his description of persons, roads, places, manufactures, etc., etc., if these differ from the same sort of objects in general, the more striking and lasting his impressions. His remarks illustrate all and convert all into aliment for my mind, certainly in proportion to his knowledge is his ability to illustrate. Well, my dear sir, if he writes this down he is my enlightened traveller—plan or hypothesis spoil all. He follows the road, not makes it. It is not history. It is presumed that the reader has prepared some knowledge of this. No, I still see not the force of your argument. It belongs to that ideal beautiful theory which overwhelms all enterprise. Ever, dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

P.S. 10 November. I just learn from good authority that the courier which came today at ten from Paris announces that Count Cobenzl has parted for Lunéville, but that the game is up and nothing will be done! The E[mperor] will not treat unless Great Britain be let in.

There is still a hope at Paris that P[russia] and R[ussia] will mediate on this point.

As the post goes tomorrow I hope this will reach you to give you the first news of it.

To your kind interest respecting my future grade I am, be sure, sensible as an old friend naturally is; but do not say one word on this point my dear sir. I shall give Sir Robert Barclay a letter of introduction to you, by next post, etc., etc., etc.

The Council of Prizes have try'd one case, the *Ariadne*, under our fourth article, and have restored the ship and cargo. They always begin well.¹

CXC.

Rec. Dec. 15.

Ans. Dec. 16.

THE HAGUE, 18 November, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I have just received a letter from Mr. King of 7th inst., in which he tells me news that have given more pleasure than any I have heard for a long time; he says "as the convention has been published we all have had an opportunity to consider it, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that this government sees nothing in it, which in its opinion we were not free to stipulate, or that gives to England any ground of complaint. An official assurance to this effect has been given to me, which I have transmitted to our government." I am most heartily rejoiced at this, for I own,

¹ Adams to Murray, November 18, 1800, in Adams MSS.

though I was convinced that no just cause for complaint could be found in it, yet I did apprehend that the prudence of Great Britain might fail her in considering the convention, and that our government might be embarrassed by unreasonable conduct on her part. Of course I do rejoice. Mr. King too, I think, has great merit in having obtained something satisfactory on this head, for though it is enough that a measure be wise, and politic, and just, for our own government to approve it, and that we have not in the taking of a great measure to consult whether any other nation be wise, and honest, and disposed to put a fair construction on our acts, yet in this case, my dear sir, it is a glorious thing for administration to have put an end to hostilities with France, and yet have extorted the satisfaction of Great Britain. As a stroke too I do consider it as a triumph the completest over the "mob of gentlemen" who have chirped so much against it, and filled their eyes with prophetic tears about the certain consequences etc., etc! I hope King's dispatches will get to government immediately.

Mr. Ellsworth is in England. He could not go on. His health was very bad all the spring, and often since—gout floating among gravel! He winters in England—better there than in France, as he does not speak ten words of French. He has, says Mr. K[ing], been presented at Court, and "not only received well but with distinction—a circumstance in confirmation of the assurance that had before been given to me." *To do right and trust the rest to Providence*, is one of the maxims most difficult, and most fearful for politicians; but it is absolute and best! There was great boldness in the measure which ended by a successful negotiation; yet events and the force of truth have withdrawn the clouds which certainly threatened even its success! Doubtless too it is the best *policy* for Great Britain. Be assured that she *disappoints* her great rival; of that I am convinced.

Lucien and Fouché have had a terrible quarrel. L. has gone, Minister to Spain. Have you seen a "Parallèle entre Cromwell, Caesar, Monck and Bonaparte"? lately printed and sedulously diffused by post? Its principal object apparently to *ramener les esprits* to the point of a new dynasty in B[onaparte.] It is attributed to Lucien and has made a terrible noise at Paris against him. "When the kings of the Carlovingian race became too feeble to hold the monarchy, an extraordinary personage suddenly appeared, and placed himself by his great talents at the head of the French, though unknown in his origin! Who ever knows the past may foresee the future. It is among the Martels, and not the Moncks, that we must find a parallel to Bonaparte." I quote from memory. The pamphlet was denounced and is suppressed. What a circulation that will give it! Truly yours, my dear sir.¹

¹ Adams to Murray, November 22, 1800, in Adams MSS.

CXCI.

THE HAGUE, 5 December, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of 24 November, covering your dispatches came safely, and have been several days in Mr. Bourne's hands. They will go soon. I thank you for the great pleasure of reading them. But if the petulant P[aul?] has Maltha offered to cool his head, will not his heart warm once more towards the donors? Had B[ona-parte] last August given him that island, it would have been a blow. I can not, still, think that D[enmark] and S[weden] will be such fools as to join in an armed neutrality; it is to hunt with the lion against a lion. St. Thomas, etc., etc., etc., will not be a breakfast for the B[ritish], and we shall thus suffer. A nephew of General Pinckney writes me from St. Sebastien, that if Pennsylvania do not vote, the President will carry the election by 73 to 58. Should Maryland and Jersey give Mr. J[efferson] seven it would then be 66 to 65. Dear sir, etc., etc.

Several vessels go soon from Rotterdam also. I will send your letters, you know, with great pleasure.

CXCH.

9 DECEMBER, 1800.

DEAR SIR: My last letter was by the mistake of my servant (who has but lately come to this country) not paid for at the post, and I hear it will not go till today. I did not know it had not gone, till I sent some letters (to Amsterdam) night before last to the post. By papers from the United States up to the 10th June, New York, and to the 4th from Boston of October, it appears that a great alarm existed for South Carolina, in consequence of an insurrection of the blacks; that government had imposed a fine of £15 sterling on each militia man who did not turn out; that there was great backwardness; that the blacks were, some said, 700, others, 6000 strong; that in Virginia they had hanged some of those unhappy people; but I presume the insurrection there had been quelled. Assurances are given (in Russell's paper) that the South will be assisted by the East, if need be. A young South Carlinian who was with me when I had the papers observed, that he had long expected this misfortune, and had often wondered that they had not risen before. Certainly there are motives sufficiently obvious, independent of the contagion of Jacobinism, to account for an insurrection of slaves; but I doubt not that the eternal clamour about liberty in V[irginia] and S[outh] C[arolina] both, has matured the event which has happened. There are good things in most species of adversity. You may not possibly know that a year ago, if not later, a separation from the Union was much talked of by some of the leaders of the opposition in Virginia; and their arsenal, replenished from Europe. Their rigid collection of extra taxes gave reason for fear that they had some plan on foot.

These ideas I had last spring from a man who made it his business to know in passing through Virginia, and who talked with several leaders of the fed[eral] party.

I heard privately last night that Bonaparte has failed in a proposition which he made to the Tribunat. He gave his initiative for the removal of *all the archives* from their respective depots into the immediate care of government. This *projet* of a law was negatived by the Tribunat, and carry'd by them to be argued before the Corps Législatif. After a secret scrutiny (by black and white balls) there were 220 against, and 60 for B's projet. This is important as a development of legislative against executive force in the working of the Constitution, and savours of that Tribunitian spirit which will overthrow him, if he do not overthrow the Tribunat—which I hope he will do for the good of France.

While I write I receive a letter from Bourne with bad news. Letters to 20 October say that Pennsylvania has made a *regular* election (which I think impossible) of electors, and that they are all for Mr. Jefferson! Their votes will probably be disputed in Congress. I had not heard that her legislature had enacted a law on this subject.

Dear sir, I am always most truly yours, etc., etc., etc.¹

CXCIII.

Rec. Dec. 28.

Ans. Jan. 3.

22 DECEMBER, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Yours is one of those reasoning metaphors that put up the "spirit of a tun of detail and argumentation into a thumb bottle." We had try'd to beat off, wind and tide and coast against us. Every tack we try'd from April to 11 September, the wind veered and came in our teeth, though the look of the clouds and the set of the mare's tails, had constantly the day before we tacked, promised that the wind would vary where it then was, and at least give us a quarter breeze; but it chopped round always right ahead, as our log book which is sent to the owners will show; and I believe they will see that we did try every E. point of the compass to reach the market we were ordered to do. But who can fix the winds? Some day your honour may see our log book, for our owners let all the world into the secrets of their voyages, and then you will say you never saw such shiftiy, *fluttery* weather; but never a very rough sea. The oldest seamen on board often damned his eyes, though he never was known to swear much before; and all the others were uneasy at that, because we knew that there was not a more knowing old buck belonging to the employ, and if he with all his cunning did not know what course to steer, the devil himself would not have known how to get round the winds—and every one knows that he

¹ Adams to Murray, December 16, 1800, extract in "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 480n; December 20, in Adams MSS.

has a great deal to do with them. Often he thought and used to say that he had nailed the dog jack¹ at last, and we would go at the rate of ten knots for perhaps a day, when smack—right ahead again—and a fog so thick you could not put a handspike into it. The old tar had a way on such occasions of muttering to himself; some of the crew thought he dealt with the devil; for sure enough, always after he had been talking for two or three days to himself over his charts and with his quadrant in his hand, he always brought out some deep proposal for shifting the course. It is true for a good while we had not used our charts and quadrant much. The fog was so thick that after some months regular work we went entirely by the lead, and kept that and the helm and sails always in motion, finding if we could but save ourselves from a long reef of rocks where we had thumped for some time in a *former voyage*, A and which our owners gave particular orders to avoid, though there is a very pretty port in it,—and at last got into a neighbouring harbour. We should do well enough as the ship would be safe, though there would be little money from the voyage. The weather cleared as soon as we stood for that harbour, and the wind was fair enough for rough weather, and we did not mind a little baffling, so we got ahead, but were near sticking on the bar B above the harbour. However, after a little thumping, as the bottom was live oak, we did not mind it, and got over it only by shifting a little ballast, without losing a spar or throwing over so much as a pebble C. After that task, which was 11 September, at 2 P. M., we began to pick up and save some wrecks and bale goods, which other vessels belonging to our house had suffered and lost on that coast, and which luckily had not yet drifted ashore. D. So if the owners please, they can renew the voyage, if they will run the risk of getting money at the certain expense and loss of going on the reef.

A. alliances etc. etc., etc. B. admission of their privateers to equality. C. We have not sacrificed any of the rights of Great Britain. D. *Vid.* 4 article. E. To renew if they would pay; they would not unless *both were renewed*—thence, well renew all—but you will accept eight or ten million livres *out of the indemnities which you will pay*, as a consideration of *abandoning all*, i. e. abandoning 17 article, and alliance. Confidentially, *Yes*. Confidentially, *No*. Then we will agree to a specific alliance of aid—so much to be paid. Yes, No, because then indemnities would follow, and we tell you frankly that we know you consider the revival of the alliance as extremely onerous. We wish to settle the dispute without paying indemnities. We are sure you will not like to revive the alliance, yet that is the price we ask for indemnities. This was frankly their language the 11th September. I own I like it, as it is without

¹ "Explain for country gentlemen"—dog jack, the little weather flag. *Note by Murray.*

indemnities. They *could not have paid*, they would not have paid, and we had quarrelled again in five years, and they would have created a new negotiable stock of something like money influence in the United States in the meantime, as the paymasters of an unliquidated set of promises to the sufferers!

I should not have given you the above sort of Egyptian dark voyage had I not remembered that you once drew a good illustration, either in conversation or in a letter to me, from the immortal Pilgrim's Progress, and of course can have no dislike to an humble imitation of Bunyan. Mr. Davie must be there by this time with the convention. I am, as you may suppose, extremely anxious to hear definitively. Should the papers which passed in the negociation be published, you will find that we made every motion, and that we pulled them along the whole way. Our journal which we made out before we parted would explain much which could not be in the notes which passed; that will be laid before the President. It was not quite copy'd off when we parted. My secretary being on a *cong  * at Brussels, and our time being too much engaged the last twenty-three days, he had to finish his part on board the *Portsmouth* on his passage—for he went with our friends. By the bye, I have no secretary in the fixed way—a young Dutchman doing any copying for me that ought to be seen; and I will have none, at least yet, for I suppose I shall have a voyage home, if Jefferson be in. That we shall know in four months. As to you, Humphreys, and King—you were not in the way at the last contest in 1796, and of course not known to him in a way fretful to his recollection; but *entre nous* Smith and I must be so known, and it happens singularly that Von Polanen has returned here—of course, no Dutch Minister there, though there has been one always before. And I believe also, de Freire has returned to Portugal—at least Madame is at Lisbon. So I keep upon my oars, as I suppose Smith does. He writes me pleasantly that *when he is dismissed* he will visit Paris. He too is delighted with our arrangement—what he had heard of it; and Humphreys is astonished at the change of temper which he supposes must have preceded an arrangement with us, and seems rejoiced particularly at the maritime rules respecting neutrality laid down in the convention; telling me at the same time he had lately illustrated the same principles in an essay addressed to the United States and now published in Spanish, to the great pleasure of the Minister of State at Madrid. Now it happens that for myself, if I had had 1000 guineas as oil money put into my hand to obtain them, I would not have given that sum for all such provisions! and they cost us not one sou, and not one effort. The policy of the moment will always give or take away. What would be given or refused, without stipulation. A certain conviction that injury will be followed by a prompt and spirited and efficacious resentment is the Law and the

Prophets on neutral respectability; as we shall probably see to our glory, if Great Britain and the silly maritime metaphysicians go to war. Each side will respect us I rather believe, as our junction would be of great importance on either side. The marine philosophers would respect us *without stipulation*, and call it their principles—and doctrine the bully would respect us, without the wordy farrago, because we should be important in so peculiar a contest; *if we go on with our frigates and ships of the line!*—not else; and without these we can not claim respect, in a practical way, and as men of this world! God bless us, we are I think in a fine and healthy way. Yet I do confess I have often the deepest gloom in calculating the effects of that radical scorbutic Jacobinism which seems to pervade our nation, and breathe in most of our presses; and I am not among those *bons hommes* who believe that the press for the press, more than I do that a dram in the morning is a cure for the drunken headache of the preceding night.

I can now, time and place considered, say to you that I have looked from the first to your father's administration and to his re-election for the gradual cure of this spirit. The time and the events, all favoured his doctrines which he always in the dark times spoke and wrote boldly, with a boldness which made him lukewarm friends among some who were as we all were in '91-'92-3-4, political cowards! Events authorised his principles and predictions; their boldness which had been thought rashness became at last manly wisdom; thus the public nerve got gradually braced to the true concert pitch, and could bear truth and experience, and, but for this division in the federal men whose union had else ensured his re-election, the public mind would have been reformed, government well knit in its joints, and a firm and real governmental tone would have been the consequence of one more four years of a well sustained administration under him. I write now with freedom to his son, because his delicacy can not be alarmed for his friend, considering the great probability that the President will not be re-elected! Dear sir, truly yours always, etc., etc.

P. S. Your former dispatches went to Amsterdam, with some of mine, were returned to me, as too late. Went to Rotterdam and sailed about 15 days since for Baltimore. Whatever you send will, you know, be punctually attended to. Your last dispatch was a trifle indulgent to me, for which I am very grateful. Your favour of 16 came this morning and I determined to be exact for the post. Moreau seems a little checked. Is there any idea of Russia attacking the Turks?

I beg you to excuse the eternal blotting through which your indulgence carries you in decyphering my letters often. They are not second thoughts, so much as original incorrectness.

2 P. S. 22 December, 1800. We differ in the parallel. I do not think it written by an enemy of B[onaparte], but by some one initiated in the plans of those nearest the throne, for the purpose of sounding the public feelings and familiarising them to expect a something like a new dynasty established on the expulsion of the Bourbons. I had a conversation with one of these men in May. Much of it I find in this pamphlet. At first I thought my colloquist the author, but I learned that Lucien was. Much of the plan there talked of was intended to have been incorporated in the system of elections then working up. You have seen part of it in the talk about the *notabiliaires*—a term untenable fifteen months since; but things were not ripe for its development. Three species of noblesse or merit was the idea and a consul, call it what you please, on the top of the pyramid—pyramid, because for ten years past the government, *i. e.*, the executive, was in a line *too perpendicular with the people*. If B[onaparte] live—I hope he will—you will see something of this, and the Senate turned into qualifications of 25,000 livres landed income instead of receiving that from government.

One of these pamphlets was sent to me under a blank envelope. I threw the envelope into the fire before I examined the seal and handwriting, supposing it a case before the Council of Prizes. My pamphlet in passing through so many hands is lost. Men and women read it. I sent to Paris for another. My correspondent copy'd it and sent it to me (it was *suppressed*). I send it to you inclosed and request you to present it to the President, as it may amuse him. No, I consider it as an untimely declaration by some friend. It was suppressed because it was officiously sent to every public man in France, and among these were thousands not in that way of thinking. Being once denounced they were obliged to give an official *imprimatur*, or censure. They were not ready for the first. I do not agree with the author exactly. This age is not for a ready manufacture of monarchies, but of usurpations under a different name, I believe it is. B[onaparte] has leaped into a fauteuil not a throne, and there he will sit as long as he can review the guards, and mount a horse. By the bye, when he was away, the second Consul I learned, review'd the guards of the palace—a learned advocat. A great many jokes passed about at the idea, though Cambacérès is a respectable character and man of great talents. So it is, and will be in France. The attorneys, men of letters, good writers, great speakers, were beginning to take that rank at Paris which is their natural place there, *i. e.*, *les bons hommes!* but as to *great* and influential—no such thing. They would in one year of peace trot again on the *pavé* with their inkhorns in a button hole; and the great would there, and the people, recognise them as in their sphere very useful men in society, good sort of people; and the *Institut* would

be considered (politically) as was the Academy—admitted into the best circles as very learned physicians are now. The last Mayor of Paris you know, who died the other day, was a *ci-devant* Duke—a descendant of Sully. So the tide would be, if peace were once more to bless that strange people. You would see thousands of the late nobles, in all the first places, and France would in a very few years return to herself if not with the same master. But I have long since tired you. Again, dear sir, etc., etc.

CXCIV.

Rec. Jan. 4.

Ans. Jan. 10.

THE HAGUE, 26 December, 1800.

DEAR SIR: Today I received your favor of the 20th with the letter to your brother and the Secretary of State. I am truly grateful for the perusal you indulge me with. They will go to Rotterdam, where I learn vessels will soon go. When you wrote we were frozen up; but for three days past the thaw has opened the waters. I am harassed by the insubordination of captains to consuls, and fear that to force a captain to *appear before the consul* at Rotterdam, I shall be obliged to stop his ship if she attempt to go out! The case, a sick seaman who says he was discharged—and in this case the law '91-'92 gives him his wages and return money. The combination of mercantile jealousy and broker policy against our consuls, too, helps to keep up this insubordinate spirit.

Yes, the French do push on! But if the Emperor be as much of a man as his brother Charles, he will make every foot advanced a dear territory to Moreau. His means are immense; his court, it is true, is timid; but morally and physically every step the French advance in an enemy's country, perhaps as warlike as their own, they increase their danger. They may get to Vienna, but the map is not all, though the usual seat of government is much. Certainly, Bohemia and Hungary are great enough to give them a sad dance, if the Emperor have a spark of Old Frederick of Prussia. I did not know he had gone to Hungary before I read your dispatch.

That is a strange thing of Russia. Her gazette says as much as that the treaty of 30 December, '98, ensured Malta. As to this coalition, I lament it. I mean, armed neutrality. It will prolong the war, be defeated, and render the British relatively more powerful at sea. For depend on it the British *nation* ever will unite with government on such a question. They will nail the flag to the mast and sink or swim with it—as Sheridan has invoked lately in Parliament. The war will be *popular*.

Letters at Amsterdam say that on the 8th, or of the 8th of November, they knew of the convention with France at Baltimore. I therefore still hope that sound men may follow their principles in

their chief, and yet save the nation from the usual shame of republican gratitude and fickleness.

I wrote you a long log-book history of the negociation by last post—sadly blotted—and sent you the *Parallel*.

Inclosed is a cutting which I this moment receive from Amsterdam. Truly yours, dear sir, etc., etc.

As I have three or four of my precious profiles remaining it would be more absurd not to send you one, since I obliged you to request one! than to send it. I had a few struck for my brother and sisters, and they are not known here I assure you. They do these things at Paris for a mere nothing, and give you the plate and drawing and a dozen for a louis! So *son excellence* was cheap. Davie had his also—but he is a very fine looking man.

CXCV.

Rec. Jan. 8.

Ans. Jan. 10.

30 DECEMBER, 1800.

DEAR SIR: I have just had a few papers of Boston sent to me by a friend of Amsterdam, as late as 18 ulto. The disgusting scurrility and low license of the *Chronicle* is as usual. I send you a cutting by which you will see the lengths which the Jacobin opponents of the President go in bringing the basest treachery in aid of Mr. J[efferson]'s election, viz. a letter—a *private* one—from Mr. Adams in 1792 to *Tenny* Coxe, respecting Mr. T. Pinckney.¹ The public mind can not be in a healthy state that does not consign such unlawful hostility to infamy, but so it is. The press will ruin our national character. With us there is no decency of the press: every youth is a scribbler, any man who has gall enough to write, and a press near, constitutes himself public censor, and dashes away. Calumny and mean suspicion are gradually losing their meaning whenever they appear in types! for they belong to the *liberty of the press*! And then every anarchist says the press cures the errors of the press, which I am not *bonhomme* enough to believe, more than I do the drunkard's maxim, that a dram in the morning is the best thing for a drunken headache of the preceding night.

Alas too—public men of elevated minds become infected with this mania of character inquisition. Hamilton, whom I have always respected among the most illustrious men of our nation, he has come out, I hear in a pamphlet against the President!² We must soon search for common sense exclusively among the old women of our nation.

But the post will not let me indulge my bile longer. Truly always, dear sir, etc., etc.³

¹ Printed in Gibbs, "Administrations of Washington and Adams," II, 424.

² "Letter concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams," 1800.

³ Adams to Murray, January 3, 1801, in Adams MSS.

CXCVI.

Rec. Jan. 12.

Ans. Jan. 13.

3 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: My letters from Paris of 28 *ulto. seculo* say, that I may be assured that the Arch Duke Charles has requested an armistice in order to adjust the preliminaries of peace. And a copy of a letter from Mr. Lucchesini¹ of 29 December, speaks thus "le bruit généralement répandu ici (Paris) que les succès rapides des armées françaises en Allemagne ont engagé le Prince qui commande celles de l'Empire à demander une nouvelle suspension d'hostilités au General Moreau; que celui-cy insistant sur la signature des préliminaires de paix, s'y est refusé, mais donné cependant au Prince la permission de transmettre à Paris les propositions de sa cour.

"Le Gouvernement français n'ayant pas jugé à propos de rien annoncer de tout ceci, les ministres étrangers ne peuvent en avoir encore des notions positives, et ils restent dans l'attente de voir si l'Autriche se déterminera à prolonguer sa résistance, ou si elle aura le courage de se résigner à son sort; et dans ce cas, si la République conservera du moins pour l'Allemagne les principes de modération que depuis quelque tems semblent servir de base de sa politique"

(This extract, of course, *entre nous*). This news seems so natural that I suppose it true, and thus far the game seems up! I doubt if the French will revolutionise Vienna, if they go. I believe that B[onaparte] would not wish to see the republics increase, and that he wishes to be on good terms with the *Emperor*; that his pride is more embarked in this than in most other of his exterior relations and views; and that he would feel lowered, if there were no Emperors, Kings, etc., etc.

Pichon goes as consul general and chargé d'affaires to the United States. He had just marry'd I learn. I can tell you that his explanations on the publications verify'd by him satisfy'd me of his innocence. He was ordered, after his return to verify the pieces which Talleyrand sent him, that they might be laid before the Directory, who afterwards, he found, sent them to an American (he told me "*a damned Jacobin*"), to be delivered to the President; and this American, he says, sent them to Jacobins in Virginia. I saw he was sorry for their publication, and his explanations were verbally made through another on his arrival at Paris, whom he sent to see if I would receive him. I received him very coldly, and he gave me the above information. I had in the mean time heard he would be appointed secretary to the French negociators. In a few days he wrote me a note informing me that he was named as such, but would decline if I did not like the appointment! This was to draw a line from me—for I had never answered his explanatory letter in answer to

¹ Jérôme Lucchesini (1752-1825).

my first. My note was that on the contrary I wished him to accept. He was extremely important to his negociators during their labours, and contributed, I think, and so I believe does Mr. E[llsworth], to the smoothing away of difficulties. In fact he behaved the last two months in the best and most useful way. I then resolved, to withhold the letters which had passed between us, and which I promised Col. Pickering; but going to Paris soon after on the negociation, I thought it best not to stir up more dirt unless we failed. P[ichon] in the mean time wished me to publish them *for his vindication* he said. I have sent him a letter of introduction to Mr. Dexter, as he lately wrote to me dated 24 Frimaire.

The Boston Gazettes of 20 November, or a few days before, say Doctor Eustis¹ succeeds your eloquent friend Otis!!² and that the Senate of Pennsylvania has rejected the bill for the naming of electors. I still hope, then, that the President may be re-elected.

A happy new century to you and Mrs. Adams. There is something oppressive in a new century. It is a great center point to which we know we never shall come again.

How goes on your *Oberon*?³ You see murder will out, and if you deal with the fairies, I too have a fay—a newsy fay. Dear sir, always yours.

Tenny Coxe gets a basting in the Gazette the 20th November. Nothing this nor last post from you.

CXCVII.

6 JANUARY, 1801.

Though I am sure you will have had the news of the very important armistice before this arrives I can but tell you of it. It took place the 4 Nivôse 25 December. The Tyrol is given into the possession of the French; Würzburg and two fortresses, one in Bavaria and the other in the Tyrol, given up also; and it is said the army of insurrection licenciè; the Emperor in fact ty'd hand and foot and to sign a treaty in the armistice of 30 days! *C'est fini!* The French government received this news the 1 inst., and immediately orders were given to the armies *generally* to suspend hostilities. This may save Belgrade's army in Italy as the Arch Duke's act did not affect him.

So much for a new century's nosegay for Berlin! Whether it will smell sweet in a year may be doubted, for her! I swear one has little to do but to write marvellous things during these times. These Romans were within twenty leagues (French) of Vienna—nearer than Leoben. The day before the armistice Richepanse⁴ entered Steyn from which the Austrians retreated but left him 4000 prisoners and a prodigious quantity of stores!

¹ William Eustis (1753-1825).

² Harrison Gray Otis (1765-1848).

³ Adams made a translation of Wieland's poem, which he never published.

⁴ Antoine Richepanse (1770-1802).

The first news came last night by Mr. de Sparrie, aid of Augerdeau and son-in-law to our worthy French Minister here, Mr. de Sémonville, in five days from Neurenburg, A's new headquarters. The line of demarcation is ten leagues French on this side Vienna!! "within the whiff of the fell sword."

I wrote today by Rotterdam to government as good an account as I could gather from the then best accounts, as it is important they should know it as soon as possible; not direct to the United States—no vessel goes yet—but by London, and tomorrow will send duplicate by Hamburg through England. Had I a right I would send a packet boat, as I consider the Peace between Austria and France as now certain. A Paris paper says, Mr. *Cobentzl* has orders "to sign the Peace."

My dear sir, I do not believe that Bonaparte wishes to *revolutionise*. It is his interest and that of his party to discountenance now all principles which teach an irregular way to power—and such *are* discouraged at Paris. And I believe he wishes better to the gallant Austrian army and to a court which has display'd a fixed *character*, than to some others. Moreau could have gone certainly to Vienna, could have erected a drum head republic there, at Stuttgart and at Munich; but nothing of that sort is done. As a military power France is indeed formidable; politically as to theories and revolutions she has ceased to be so for a year. Dear sir, I am always yours, etc., etc.¹

CXCVIII.

11 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Yours of the 3 with the letter for your brother came this moment; it will go in a ship for Charleston inclosed to the Secretary of State in the vessel now ready at Rotterdam. Several vessels have lately arrived, but, thank God, I have not a line! except from the good Mr. Jeremiah Condry, about the 20,000 guilders which was obtained on account of the capture, etc., etc., of the *W[ilmington]* Packet of troublesome memory. He writes, I think, by every keel, and for the unattainable end of getting me to settle the dividend to which he may be entitled; but the 20,000 guilders were lodged with our bankers, subject to the orders of government, and I tell Condry I am done with the business. The *cargo* (or a great part I am certain) belonged to Lorando of Bourdeaux—French property—and the vessel *was* bound to St. Domingo, though we thought otherwise. L[orando] claimed his dividend of me instantly as the cash was obtained. I rejected his claim (supported by authentic vouchers to prove his property!!)

From what I believed of *Bona's* intention (*we* by starting half his name helped his destinies) I thought he did not wish neither to over-

¹ Adams to Murray, January 10, 1801, in Adams MSS.

turn the Emperor nor revolutionise his states. Of course he would have done nearly both, perhaps completely both, had his armies pressed on to Vienna. No, I believe he wishes to be on the best terms with the Emperor of Germany; there is policy and true pride in this.

Yes, our countrymen would have looked very wise at each other and peeped into their pamphlets had this great event found our government without a negotiation *finished* or *on foot* in Europe! In all my private letters, as to Dexter and others while at Paris, that was the idea I urged, for as to *public* letters we wrote I think but three *inclosures*, and as the youngest of three I could not write *public* ones, though I wished it had been proper.

I have written, I think every post of late—a few lines.

On the policy announced in B[onaparte]'s message I do say I see great moderation, and the Emperor and he will be on good terms, at least for a few years. Cisalpine I consider as negociable funds for the *poor* king of S[pain] or to fill some other projet; but not to stand as a state (republic).

We shall soon know if England will treat. God send it. I had great anxieties on our account that she should! Dear sir, etc., etc.¹

CXCIX.

Rec. Jan. 26.

Ans. Jan. 27.

20 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Last post I had the pleasure of yours of 10th inst. but too late to answer. Your letter for your brother went yesterday by a Mr. Roberts of Boston, inclosed in my dispatch with a French executed copy of the Convention of 30 September, which I thought best to send in case of accidents to the *Portsmouth* and Mr. Davie, who carry'd two copies, one in each language. This was the first personal opportunity I have had. Young R[oberts] (he is of the house of Parsons—and never was permitted to learn French, because Mr. P[arsons] would not that any of his house should do it; *le bon homme!*—) left Boston 10 November. He says the general idea was of success to the re-election! The papers generally hold up the same hope. Fair speed the great event! I have read H[amilton]'s pamphlet. I can readily feel what I can not rationally explain, that you would feel an inquietude upon such points. To tell you the truth I began to read it with the apprehension of finding something, some argument drawn from the domestic state of the United States against the mission—for I had heard it was against it—stronger than I had been able to conjure up; because I knew that H[amilton] was the war horse and the strongest man certainly of those who were adverse to that great measure. But, my dear sir, I was infinitely consoled in the perusal; there is nothing in it drawn from the relations of the

¹ Adams to Murray, January 13, 17, 1801, in Adams MSS.

United States with other powers, nor from the present, or their frightful state of the world's affairs—very common place dicta of what was proper, without any thing like force of argument or even ingenuity: and as a popular thing it carry'd its antidote in what I am sure is repugnant to the untutored feelings of *men*, for it makes a use of T. Coxe's infamous treachery that I am sure must have revolted our best men and even those who may have been *en bonne foi* against your father! I read it with sorrow! for I have always esteemed and vaunted Hamilton!

Yes, I agree with you, and lately I said to government that the French are not erecting their drum head republics at Munich, Saltzbergh and Vienna, which they could have reached, had they pleased, proved the change in the maxims of the present government. I am sure that had the villain Directory governed these critical moments, we should have had a Bavarian, a Suabian and an Austrian government *provisoire*! I never supposed that B[onaparte] wished to *overturn* Austria; on the contrary I think he wished to be well with that family in the hand and glove way. By the bye, the separate peace will be with the Emperor and Empire, and the Emperor will not probably have a foot in Italy!

I think still, though I agree you are strong behind the Sybillic leaves, that the MEANS of Francis were equal to a glorious and triumphant defeat of the French, supposing he was master of a *military* court; but it is a dovecote of women, fluttering at the sound of danger.

No, my dear sir, if the A[rmed?] neutrality comes to active operations *i. e.* war, Great Britain will be relatively to colonies, adverse navies and these luckless powers coalised against her united centre, what France has been relatively to the coalition. Enter on this poor continent her manufactures will, in spite of law. She can also substitute R[ussia] and S[Sweden] by the productions of Kennebec in some province of Maine, for General Knox alone could give her ship timber and masts and by the tar of North Carolina, and in 18 months by its hemp also, if once a certain ready money market be opened for 1,000,000 of it from North and South Carolina and Kentucky. Should this miserable neutrality last three years, we may be great gainers, and a fundamental benefit may be established in our agriculture; and as to iron, *we* can, though not as cheaply, furnish Messrs. the English. Yet, though I think I foresee great pecuniary advantage to all, I confess I ardently have sighed for a general peace. We have some strong reasons to avoid ticklish constructions of engagements which could not be otherwise worded. Hence my abhorrence of this A[rmed] neutrality; for, from what I *saw* and knew at Paris, I am pretty sure that the *talk* even of this measure raised those pretensions which ended as we have seen, *i. e.* insisting on a separate peace, marine armistice, etc., etc.; and I do consider P[russia] in a great

measure the cause of all; for without free support and countenance R[ussia] would not have pulled by the hair Sweden and Denmark into such a scrape. After all, P[ussia] has no more influence at Paris, I think, and so thought ever since last summer, than Denmark has!

But I have written you a very long letter and ought to end it. Let me thank you for the honourable and flattering reception which you gave to my representative. Except to my brother and Dexter (to whom I wrote the 16th) I have sent not one to the United States. Dexter is a man of a warm affectionate heart, and whom I esteem highly and also admire, and an old Congress chum. We differed at first, but we pulled [together] in two months. I have long thought that much [of our common] prosperity and stability would depend on the friendships of the extremities and different parts. I still think so. I do not think that I am very mechanical and systematic in such things, but it has so happened that some of my most valuable personal friends are northern men. This is a great consolation to me. Our friendship commenced at a time when the heart warms sympathetically, though I was older than you. All I beg is that you will remember that I first met you at the house of Mrs. Adams's father,¹ and that you will hold me in your friendship as long as you love your wife. By the same token I met at Paris and gave a dinner to a Mr. Appleton, really because I remembered to have met him at Osgood's Hotel with your family. He was then a slim fellow, and is now a sleek—round man with a wig, settled at Calais, but a true Boston man. Excuse this terrible letter. Yours, my dear sir, most affectionately.

P. S. Just as I am on the point of sealing my letter your favour of 13th inst. is handed to me. I believe or rather foresee the same advantages on the side of Great Britain against a marine coalition that France had against the land coalition. She will beat them if they come to blows. And as to calculating the resources of a great nation I am done with it as much as Sir F. D'Ivernois *ought to be* with his algebra against French resources. I agree one can not see far into the future, and not at all with certainty of detail; but my prophecy is that Great Britain will beat the armadas of the coalition, and (always supposing war to really take place in union with France against Great Britain) that Russia will probably strike the long prepared blow against Turkey. The French keeping Egypt. I see no other object that R[ussia] can have to act as she has acted. Luckily for prophecies the post *must* be consulted, else I had brushed up my muse and given you "dash for dash" with Baize. Since, you have entered the Fairyland of Oberon your figures increase. Dear sir, affectly, yours, etc., etc.²

¹ Joshua Johnson,

² Adams to Murray, January 24, 1801, in Adams MSS,

CC.

Rec. Feb. 2.

Ans. Feb. 3.

24 JANUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 17th inclosed a great treat to me for which I am truly sensible. On such terms I forgive a shut envelope. It was at breakfast, and I had to resist a smart tiff while reading till my wife knew they were from you. As she has often greatly enjoy'd your letters to me, my wafer still-stand was soon effected, and peace restored. That is a precious anecdote of the imperial petulant Paul. The challenge I read in Luzac's paper. It was a perfect mystery to me and needed in all respects the explanation which you have explored, to be at all intelligible. My dear sir, he is the right sort of head for such a nation, whom I consider as absolutely barbarians, except in and just round the best of their cities, where the warmth of cultivation, or imitation rather, has improved the mental atmosphere. It is said that you may make something like a burning glass of a lens of even good neat ice! Indeed on the point of relative civilization I doubt if, Holland excepted, there be any nation in Europe as civilized as our country. An academician would demand a list of authors and *learned* men; these we have not; but I think we have a more diffused result of these, as we have no manufactures but abound in easy plenty, and in these—we have not as many blazing lamps—but we have more general light, a mild but clear morning dawn opposed to beautiful fireworks or splendid illuminations. Yet it is certain that these Russians are as their ancestors were powerful in attack, and may bring their barbarism into a compromise with the Turkish politeness. As yet they appear however to me to be fit for nothing but soldiers.

The Danes and the Swedes are on the flutter since the news came that on the 15th inst. an embargo was laid in England on all Swedish, Danish, and Russian vessels. Those of P[russia] are not mentioned—a whale I believe does not wallow after shrimps. It however would corroborate a hope that P[russia] is not fully embarked in their pursuit of this delusive aurora borealis, and that she may thus hold open a door for mediation. As to Hanover, I doubt if France would let her so greatly aggrandise herself. It would seem to me to be the interest of France that the King of England have Hanover, as he is thus brought more in contact and could be touched more tenderly than if England be perfectly insulated. Besides if P[russia] have that and the other portions of his territory, by becoming more commercial, without being susceptible of being a strong maritime state, she will be more in contact with England and more easily influenced by her.

There is great reason to hope for the re-election of the President. The Mr. Robinson mentioned in the Leyden paper of *yesterday*, as being an elector in my county, is my brother-in-law, an excellent

fellow and true, to whom I wrote repeatedly long since on this point, knowing his principles and sense of your father's long and great services and administration. His name is *Robertson*. I think he is elected. I know he is popular in his county and in Caroline. I have not heard in any other way than by L[uzac]'s gazette. L[uzac] seizes every occasion which he has of doing justice to the President and honour to his administration.

D'Araujo goes to England and to Lisbonne; I dined in a very select party which was made for him at Mr. Sémonville's. He is a very clever man.

Nothing from Lunéville. Today the armistice may end, and next week we must have the illuminations of peace or the renewal of war in Germany—of Peace surely! The Würtemberg plenipotentiary went to Paris last week.

I am getting into a way of buying optical machinery—*microscope solaire*, etc., etc. Dear sir, I am always most truly yours, etc., etc.

Your letter will go in a day or two.

P. S. 27 January. It went night before last to Mr. Bourne, and will go I believe in a day or two.

The inclosed was too late for the post! I have unpleasant news by three New York papers to 6 December in hearing of a *loss in your family* that will affect you, my dear sir. I remember to have seen his picture in England, and your brother after in Philadelphia. I mean your brother Charles. The paper says he is no more! You will bear up against the loss like a man, though you will feel like a [. . .]. I know of no consolation in such cases that can be derived from our reason as well as from the same sort of our affections. Augment your affection for the living for which the heart is prepared by the sympathy in the sorrows we know they feel at home.

Every letter and newspaper declares the certainty of the President's re-election, *i. e.* calculations certainly from good data. A French paper which I saw last night at Mr. de Sémonville's says the Convention is ratify'd by the President. The papers of the 6 December mention a large frigate in sight which is *hoped* to be the *Portsmouth*. I see nothing but pleasure at the prospect of her return with the envoys and the convention.

I inclose some cuttings.

Prussia seems reserved on the newly armed neutrality. From all I can judge I think France and Russia will *force* her to go all lengths—as so France will oblige Naples and Portugal!

On the arrival of a Russian officer at Paris the other day, and an interview with Bonaparte at his country seat, Malmaison, you see an *arrêté* which was immediately dispatched to the seaports to forbid the capture of Russian vessels, and on the contrary to protect them! Dear sir, affectionately yours always.¹

¹ Adams to Murray, January 27, February 3, 1801, in Adams MSS.

CCI.

Rec. Feb. 10.

Ans. Feb. 10.

3 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of the 27 has this moment come. My youth, or younger days rather, becomes a little less frivolous in my eyes than I often gloomily consider it, when it can afford an instance so flattering to me as indeed is your recollection of our first meeting, with circumstances so detailed as to make me proud a little of my precious self at a period at which I look back, not with shame but sorrow, as almost waste time. Not but what London did me good; but it was a sort of fever life. For I had no steady friend to repress my eccentricities and balance me. Learned cogitations, Xtian and Mahometan Paradise! Yes, I remember that day at Mr. Vaughan's which your friendly pen has recalled from the vasty deep, and the old Witherspoon, Bingham the gay, who had just written a pamphlet against Lord Sheffield's book¹—and who by the same token I remember said there was not a *truism* in it, (the first time I had even heard the word)—but above all that man of active charity and most laborious pen and of volumes unread, Mr. Granville Sharpe,² and the mild and amiable Doctor Price,³ you and I at Mr. Vaughan's,⁴ Dunster Court, Mincing Lane! What a queer chain is memory! Poor Mr. Sharpe! He started something that led him to send me I think twelve or fifteen vols: from his own indefatigable pen! Religion, law, everything that Hebrew roots or feudal blossoms could turn into fruit. But my recollection still is that it was at tea at Mr. Johnson's I first saw you, and that a Mr. Weems,⁵ afterwards touched by the Bishop of London for a clergyman, an amiable young man, went with me. Dear me, one exists but in the past and future, but we must *think* of the present though we prize what is past only, and because the now will soon be the past. So I inform you that Admiral Bruix who came eight days since, comes for two objects: 1. to plan co-operation, and 2ly to obtain the means. He would play a first fiddle with de Winter, but I understand would borrow Dutch rosin for his bow—money in fact for the navy of France. It seems that they count upon fifty-five of the line in three months—independent of the north. Fifteen they will have here, seven are now quite ready, twenty-one of France, and fourteen of Spain, those at Brest—of which fourteen only are good for service. This will not succeed. Constantinople may—that is the object which must account for much of Paul's apparent fickleness, his zig zags have been towards that point, his disappointments are on that. We may live to see great changes too

¹ "Letter from an American, on the restraining Proclamation; and strictures on Lord Sheffield's 'Commerce of the American States'" (1784).

² (1735-1813.)

³ Richard Price (1723-1791).

⁴ Benjamin Vaughan (1751-1835).

⁵ Mason Locke Weems (1760?-1825).

on our side of the water if this war continue and Great Britain be shut out positively from the continent—viz. in South America, where she can find some indemnities, by pushing her merchandizes there! She can sell as much there as in the United States, and both markets are *growing*, which is not the case with her European markets. Besides, my dear sir, they can not exclude her merchandize, and would not if they could, from the continent. Her navigation will suffer more than her workshops. From all I can collect their plan for the Spring is to get their fifty-five ships and transports ready on different points, and have 40,000 men at one and 20 at another, and then offer peace on terms of liberty of the sea, etc., etc. These will be I presume rejected, and then indeed we may see an attempt to land in England.

You have seen the armistice in Italy, and that at Lunéville they have agreed to include the surrender of Mantua with the four places already ceded by Belgarde to Brune.

Here, I understand many declare that the United States ought to join the armed neutrality. To me they are silent on this point, perhaps because I have very openly declared my opinion against the whole thing as the basis on which this ruinous war would continue for years. But I should not be surprized if France after ratification, should urge it strongly. I have not heard that she would. Whether she do, or not, the present prospect ought, and I so take the liberty of writing, to warn us to be strong and respectable at sea, and not to be lulled into disarming because we have concluded a convention. It is true the motives to respect us have greatly increased both with France and Great Britain, and our junction on either side would be decisive upon at least one side of the globe, either way! I have no *fears* then, but we ought as such a moment to increase the powers of peace—these are naval forces. Affectionately, my dear sir, etc., etc., etc.

CCII.

Rec. Febr 15.

Ans. Febr 17.

9 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I ought to have told you that as I saw the paragraph of a New York paper which communicated the melancholy event I mentioned; I ought to have said that this sort of news is often *false*—as we saw in the accounts of General Washington's death which preceded it a year or more. I wrote in haste, as I received the papers while writing to you, and the post hour was almost come; and I always think that family news can never be too soon known, however distressing; and that a stroke of that sort had better be communicated by and associated with the recollection of the friend who makes it, than left to chance and a newspaper reading. I hope you will pardon the abruptness on account of these motives, for I feared you might fall upon it in some stray paper as I did! This day I have

seen the light 41 years! My birthday. I am older by several years than you. I lost my father when a gay man of twenty-five in the Temple, receiving the intelligence from a cold hearted lawyer in my little town, beginning the letter with a Dutch mourning messenger's nonchalance that he died on such a day! I had a severe day! alone in my little chambers, went into the country in Essex next day to Mr. Harrison's, my good friend, and went to bed, from which I never rose for six weeks. From that time I have kept my heart and mind exceedingly on the poise, and cultivated in all—except Love! that tranquillity of mind of which I once spoke to you in a trek and in which I remember you did not agree with me, fortifying myself by Epictetus (by Miss Carter!), and finding much good in Volusinus *de Tranquillitate animi*. A Scotch author (Wilson), who during my voyage to America, having left my wife, (then Miss Hugens) behind! was a great recourse to my almost distracted mind. To such systems as are I think ours, too much of this doctrine can not be apply'd. To a cold Batave, I would not preach it! Do what we will we shall have little cause to fear stagnation!

As to your position at Berlin, surely the government needs your lights from thence, and especially from the last October, forward as the most important events hang on the north, and you are in the focus of northern intelligence, and we are deeply interested in every step of this coalition. I confess, I fear that a wild headed plan will be formed, after the continent shall have been once fixed in the exclusion plan, to threaten and try to constrain us to join the armed neutrality, and that our trade, if we do not, may be interrupted. I am pretty sure they can neither force nor fool us into this, nor even do without our navigation and the articles we can bring to them. Yet I wish not to see their plan try'd.

A cartel I see by today's Paris papers has just come to Havre—left New York 5 ulto. Great stir about two articles in the Convention (Confidential.) I suppose the *restitution of frigates* and the *asylum of privateer* articles. The first is a bagatelle unworthy a thought in a great national arrangement in any time, even after a war; the last is conciliable with our other engagements, viz. the British treaty. I take it that a saving expression, as that in the British treaty in respect to preceding treaties, is nugatory; at least that its absence does not weaken preceding obligations; that a prior obligation has its force. In Lord Malmesbury's Lisle project he offers to *renew* the two treaties of Utrecht; the 36 art. of the Convention, one of which gives the *same exclusive* right to France and all the intermediary treaties—in most of which the last of 1783 especially renews those of Utrecht. France herself also had those engagements on her hands when she made our treaty in 1778. The whole question is, does a saving expression alter anything. France can

not plead ignorance. This very difficulty was stated to her all the Spring and Summer. Without these we had made no convention, and without both got no vessels from that greedy maw which has disgorged twelve of fifteen under the fourth article.■

I have not a line, but like you I am used to that amiable nonchalance in our Premier which leaves our foreign ministers to trust as much as possible to Providence for at least *forsight* of the points which may engage them under high responsibility. Had it not been for this neglect, I should now have my dear furniture and be richer. I still disbelieve the news of Mr. J[efferson]'s election, notwithstanding the newspapers, government here never received any information at all on the subject; so Mr. V[an der] G[oes] assures me.

The preliminaries have been signed at Lunéville, but will not be known before ratify'd at Vienna. Rhine and Adige for frontiers. The king of Hungary alone make peace. Italy Cisalpine, the Empire to settle by the definitive treaty.

Buys, minister at Stockholm, goes to Petersburg to settle the rapprochement between Russia and this republic. I am always, my dear sir, with affectionate attachment faithfully yours, etc., etc.¹

CCIII.

14 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your letter with your two letters came safely and put me under new favours in the opportunity of perusing them. The preliminaries it is confidently said are signed, and their publicity waits but the ratification of Vienna. They were expected the 11th at Mr. Van der Goes's, where a supper was given to Admiral Bruix, and where a band of music waited till after twelve (in a neighbouring chamber) without an opportunity of welcoming in the olive bearing stranger. The courier came not, and the men of wind and catgut departed with a ducat each. It is said the Rhine and the Adige bound the parties.

I suspect it is time for us; my dear sir, to have our eyes and ears well open on the subject of this silly coalition against Great Britain to discover in time if they do not intend to push us hard, and to prescribe a certain abridgment of our commerce as a menace if we will not join. I have found this all along, and from a hint given to me, or rather words escaped, I begin to fear still more. They are jealous of us also. Lazyness and folly are always so of the industrious and thriving rivals in business. Afterwards I found that some pains were taken to convince me that the intelligence that we should be pushed hard to join *did not come from Paris*.

All the papers say that South Carolina gave every vote to Jefferson and Burr!! Pleasant federalism! wise plans! General P[inckney],

¹ Adams to Murray, February 10, 1801, in Adams MSS.

not a vote in his state! If Burr's friends have thrown away only one vote, Burr will be president. As I greatly prefer Jefferson to him, I fear this. Still, till we have the result of the House of Representatives on the 11th past, I can not believe that the President has lost the election. The German papers say I informed government here of Jefferson's election! I never did any such thing, nor anything like it.

I have been bilious for some days. Extreme cold affects me as extreme heat, and we are bitter cold here. Berlin I rejoice to see is gay. Dear sir, always affectly. yours.¹

CCIV.

17 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Instead of preliminaries I send you the veritable thing itself—the definitive treaty of peace.

I hear that Sardinia will be *restored*; not a word of Prussia in it, though the secret articles may satisfy the expectations of the treaty of Basle, 1795, between Prussia and France.

I heard a French officer say this evening at the ball given by Mr. de Sémonville, that he understood that an army of 60,000 men were to descend the Danube. If they are to go, fewer would do. As yet I can not believe that any territorial concessions to Austria could induce her to accede to this invasion of Turkey, through her permission.

Mr. Sémonville was in the full dress of the old court—a rich embroidered suit of velvet coat and breeches, and satin waistcoat. This is a small but indicative circumstance. Indeed in his family reigns the ancient urbanity and polish of France. Tell me, my dear sir, what are the exact steps of an *exchange of ratifications*, as it is possible I may be ordered to Paris on such a business, though I hope not. We are frozen up—no vessels going out. This evening a boat was sent from Schevening to the Dutch agents for prisoners at London, and carry'd to MM. Van Dyke and Gevers the agents, an officially certify'd copy of the inclosed. I am always most truly, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

CCV.

Rec. Febr. 27.

Ans. Mar. 3.

20 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I had scarcely read the treaty which I had the pleasure to send to you by last post. But indeed it is a curious affair, and extremely gratuitous in the basis on the side of the Emperor! In the name of diplomacy and logic why refer to the *will* of the Empire as expressed at Rastadt—an *unfinished* negotiation. Why cede the property of princes on the left of the Rhine without their consent?

¹ Adams to Murray, February 17, 1801, in Adams MSS.

Tuscany, when he has no right to cede it! And promise indemnities from the poor old Germany, which if cut up, carabonaded, and secularized as you please, can not furnish morsels enough to give *enough*, much less satisfy, the hunger of famished sufferers! Alas! the weak are always to be sliced up. And as to my poor Holland, "*Got pless it.*" It has been fighting like a cock—spent its geldt like an English lord, and has got itself classed, in its old age of republicanism and John de Witticism, with dear little Cisalpine, a personage who never struggled three days for *Independence*—much less 70 or 80! merely to be acknowledged independent! though she has offered liberty, legality, and brodershap to her public acts, and says this is the sixth year of liberty! She ought to have had an indemnity for the loss of her Flanders cession much more than Spain in the person of the precious Duke of Parma, agreeably to the message of Bonaparte to the legislature which you will read. "From those who have little, shall be taken," etc., etc. (Mrs. Adams will have the goodness to tell you this is from the Bible!) Notwithstanding, we rejoiced here like pigs, and we shall go into an enormous and disproportioned expense, still as *allies*, in the marine way, and fit out fifteen of the line instead of two which would be about the just quota. So it is to a hunting with the lion and to keep great company! What will you do? Will you really join this flying camp against Great Britain voluntarily, or wait till we send you some of our Bataves who have bled and conquered under Augereau at Würzburg (for indemnities in vain!) to force the eagle to join the cock against the bull. Without joke it will turn out a cock and a bull story I believe; for this treaty of peace I should suppose must indispose Prussia extremely, and without her, the shutting out of the British goods and trade will not do. Hanover it is true would be a sop, but it ought to be doubted if Prussia have not a growing interest in the friendship of Great Britain.

Letters by the cartel to people at Paris say that on the 5 January the *Constellation* was at New York waiting to bring the ratification to Havre. I have not received a word from any one in America a long time, except from my excellent friend Dexter of 18 November. He writes despondingly (though he is not of a gloomy temper) should the federal party lose the President's election.

My Paris letters say that Dallas, Gallatin, Gates, etc., etc., made a tour throughout the United States to prepare Mr. Jefferson's success. If South Carolina voted as is said—*all* for Jefferson and Burr—it is a new proof of the want of activity which characterises the federal men and include all good and sober men, to a faulty degree. They trust to their worth, and are too much of gentlemen to take those means which though legitimate are offensive to men of stately manners. With the government we have, particularly south of New

England, if the gentlemen so act they will leave the affairs in hands which they will be ashamed to submit to. When they do exert themselves I have seen that they always succeed.

I have twice written under the address which you sent me at Paris. Dear sir, I am always sincerely yours, etc., etc.¹

CCVI.

24 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your letter with its enclosed pieces came safely this morning, but too late for me to enjoy before the post hour and at the same time acknowledge their receipt. No vessel goes very soon. Pray, in future give me a discretionary power over them, to send them by some good hand to Mr. King's care if any offer.

My dear sir, as to the President's illness I very lately saw it mentioned in a paper of 7 January of New York as removed, and that he was recovered; but as he was recovered I did not mention it in my last. For the same paper gave the first news of the evil and its removal. So I hope there is no ground for a continuance of your uneasiness; besides he is a very healthy man.

On all sides it would seem that Jefferson and Burr have 73 votes—but the *states* vote in the House of Representatives—a majority of *states* is necessary to the election. Hence I see a probability of *another* election. Maryland for example has eight members, New Jersey, six, Delaware, one. It might happen that sickness and difference on the two candidates might detain some at their lodgings, and *divide* others, so as to bring the votes down to eight states for one and seven for the other. Yet the President must in this case be elected by *nine* STATES. All this would not surprise me, if it arrive.

Prussia we have heard for some days has remonstrated warmly at St. James's on the embargo. Hanover I suppose will be her string by which she will try to pull the British minister back, and day before yesterday we heard of the resignation of Mr. Pitt²—now near eighteen years Premier. He has held a very splendid career! And though he has not been always successful, yet escaping ruin has been a sort of success for his government and nation. His successor and college friend, Mr. Addington,³ I remember—a grave and powerful mind, not as brilliant and lofty as Pitt's, but a very able man. Dear sir, I am always affectionately yours.⁴

CCVII.

28 FEBRUARY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I am sick with bile, fevers, etc., etc., and have been for some time, and of course can thank you only for the perusal which

¹ Adams to Murray, February 24, 1801, in Adams MSS.

² He announced to the King his resignation February 3, 1801.

³ Henry Addington (1757-1844).

⁴ Adams to Murray, February 28, 1801, in Adams MSS.

you so kindly permitted me to enjoy of your late dispatch. In ten days your letters will go from Amsterdam.

In France vessels, I hear, frequently arrive, *i. e.* several have lately. I get nothing. My letters of 22 from thence say that by letters from America it seems that the federal party in Congress will push Burr for the Presidency, if he have equality of votes; and as they vote by *states*, I do suspect that Burr will be President, or that there will be *no* election. The news is also that they are disarming. I can not believe this, and it would be too unguarded to lay by their wooden walls during this enterprising and disjointed period!

We have nothing new here. Great preparations in the marine for the spring campaign. They will have fifteen of the line! a prodigious force considering their relative general force with their numerous allies and coadjutors. Dear sir, I am always affectionately, etc.

CCVIII.

Rec. Mar. 13.

Ans. Mar. 14.

7 MARCH, 1801.

DEAR SIR: The top still spins, and we must also have a *change* as well as the rest of the world. Three days since the Directory sent a message to the Chambers advising an anticipated revision of the constitution, which by its terms can not be revised till after five years shall have elapsed from its acceptance, or rather the fiat of that gentle lamblike diplomat, Cha. La Croix, in 1798 in the Spring. The Directory advise a calling of the primary assemblies upon the *revision* question, and they offer in the mean time, if the legislature see fit, to employ themselves in preparing changes in the constitution. Their object is I believe to simplify, and sweat down the volume it now fills into a sheet; to open the door to all parties, seven-tenths of the respectable people being now excluded by the *test* oath; to make the line between legislature and executive strong and distinct, and the latter independent; to admit a little of the federative principle in taxation; to diminish many places which the confusion of the times set up.

This error I think is an appeal to the primary assemblies, as a preparatory step, for these are not the people of this country. They are I believe those who are *called*, and the test keeps hundreds of thousands away. In fact they have been a most barefaced imposture. Should this appeal prove against the revision, then, if they proceed, every step will be forced, and the revision which by the bye it is predetermined shall take place, will be, agreeably to the trial admitted as a fair one, in opposition to the national will. France merely *advises*, but I hear denies any controul. Of five Directors two are it is understood against this measure. These two are Mr. Van

Swinden,¹ the late professor, of Amsterdam, and Harsolte² a noble of Guilderland. Basien, Hoeth³ and Ermerins are for it.

Some step of this sort has been urged by the eternal opposition of the legislature to the Directory—the first having too much of the High Mightiness, the last being but commis. In fact they turn over the President's defence of our Constitutions night and day to find the balance well proved, as essential. That work, to my knowledge has had a great influence, particularly for about five months, when I returned in October I was consulted by many on some parts of our National Constitution and found they had been studying your father's book on its principles. If they are *permitted*, they will borrow freely from our system.

The message was referred, after a warm debate against the right to discuss the message as unconstitutional, to twelve members of all parties. Your friend Van Leyden is in opposition.

We shall I believe see Geislaars⁴ party of eighty-seven come in. The Orangists I fear will not join—a few excepted.

Letters from Paris say that a negotiation is going on, but I believe not publicly, between Great Britain and France. God give it a pacific end! . . .

You forget your bale of books. They are with mine in the Hotel des États Unis in the Burgwaal. They could be sent to Boston for you. I have thought of this among a thousand other small matters as the spring advances and after the past third of this month, and especially because I see by the London papers (which are in lieu of *state correspondence*!) that our poor Convention is execrated, and it was believed the Senate would not consent, "because it was disgraceful and injurious"!! Now I must keep my mind prepared for either side, and look forward (secretly) to recalls, rubs, etc., etc., or some act that would render it proper for me to go home by choice. I have not heard as yet, but through the papers; as yet I can not believe that the Convention will go unratify'd. I am always truly, dear sir.

Tripoli is at war with us. So the consul of the United States there has written in circulars to the French ports. This however comes by a private letter to me from Paris.⁵

CCIX.

Rec. Mar. 16.

Ans. Mar. 17.

10 FEBRUARY [MARCH], 1801.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for *your* little poem, for it has the air of originality, though there are turns in it which indicate an ancient

¹ J. H. van Swinden.

⁴ Cornelis de Gijsselaer?

² A. F. R. E. Baron van Haersolte.

⁵ Adams to Murray, March 10, 1801, in Adams MSS.

³ A. W. Hoeth.

model. I am also unacquainted with Catullus. I rather believe that all that is expressive of real distress and the pathetic breathings after a consolation at once so humble and so sublime as

"A well spent life unstain'd with crime

And not a trace of broken faith behind"

can hardly be in the original.

The "Regard my woes, my blameless life befriend"!

No ancient ever reached that I am acquainted with. I know not how one gets a bad reputation, for though I have little taste for mere rhyming—at least in others—yet I consider a real flowing of nature in the poetical dress, particularly the tender and the sorrowing, as precious. That dress is to such feelings what beauty is to tears; when united they are doubly sweet and commanding.

As to figurative language, I have taken great pains to correct it in a degree—it is a failing—but it is as complexinal as any of my manners and morals. Besides the difficulty to avoid it's excess, in which is the error, lies also in our language, I believe in particular, and generally essentially must be found in writing plainly in any.

For instance.

I *mentioned* in my last that Haersolte also was *opposed* to any change in the constitution; but I believe that Mr. Van Swinden alone *forms* the minority. The Commission of twelve to whom the message of the 4th was referred, will *report* on Monday and unless some *silent* but *strong* influence be *exerted*, this *report* will be *against* the proposed revision.

All the words interlined are figurative. Yet this would not be called a figurative style. Scarcely do we speak but in figures in daily talk. So, as it seems to be an evil (if it be one) *born* in the *bone* with us and ours, I must jog on.

But, my dear sir, something more distressing to me personal I fear is at hand. Mr. King informs me that *letters from Boston of 21 January say that the Senate had recommended ratification on condition that the 2d and 3d articles be expunged*. Like a man of sound mind and intelligence as he is, and a friend to our neutral situation he deeply laments this. The 2d article, postponing the consideration of indemnities and treaties, it is possible B[onaparte] might have little objection to expunge—as to the *thing*; but as it has been published, I doubt. But as to the 3d article, the restoration of public ships on each side, I do not believe that he will consent to expunge that! The real glory was in *taking* them. By *restoring* we show that though we value their friendship we have little cause to dread their maritime enmity; and as no formal war had existed and it was mutual, we had less ground on principle, to oppose their proposition. I, for my country and for us three, who took certainly great responsibility on ourselves on the *2d article*! I do deeply lament it, while my

conscience is even more erect and proud than ever, let what may come of it—effigies, recalls, impeachments, or not. However this is very bold, while all these trials have not yet arrived. I hope in Providence, that that “ray” which beyond calculation, illumines your philosophy and maxims may dispel the gloom which hangs over us, and that the evils which ought to be guarded against by the United States as possible consequences of this rejection, may yet never come! In the meantime I have not one line!

The papers say Mr. Jay is Chief Justice, and my friend Dexter, Secretary of the Treasury. I am always affectionately, my dear sir, yours.¹

CCX.

DEAR SIR: You will have at Berlin as the minister of this Republic, Mr. Hultman,² formerly in the Convention, and now Secretary of the Directory, and who was, among others sent by Charles La Croix to pass eight months in the House in the Wood. But Hultman is not openly to be received; he will work on the Orange indemnity, afterwards he is to be public minister. They ought to make Bielfeld their minister here. I like him greatly more than I did at first, and he is esteemed here. He has also had the rough of the times as a secretary of legation.

Our bankers have received letters of 4 February from the United States. These say the Convention was REJECTED, 16 to 14. You know that to agree demands two-thirds. I can not on this authority believe it. Mr. John Marshall, out of the State Department and is Chief Justice; Jay refused.

Our committee report today on the revision. It will be favourable—I fear the O[rangists] will not join, though they ought if they ever mean to do so. I am yet exceedingly unwell, but always affect’ly yours, etc., etc.

Burr will certainly be pushed for President; at Boston the feds. are for him because he has not expressed himself on certain points as Mr. Jefferson has done, and will be favourable to commerce and navigation, and because (the true one) it will divide the party.³

CCXI.

Rec. Apr. 2.

Ans. Apr. 4.

23 MARCH, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I am indebted to you the two last posts for your letter with your fable, and of today with your critique in my praises. Your fable is too good because true, to be used at present in the United States with the utility it ought to produce; besides I love

¹ Adams to Murray, March 14, 1801, in Adams MSS.

² Carel Gerard Hultman.

³ Adams to Murray, March 17, 1801, in Adams MSS.

the poor ram who died nobly. The moral and the glory do not go well together. I had rather that he should have been defeated for want of skill and preparation, than die in defence of a just cause. The utility would then have been in what wisdom united to courage might supply—time; growth, skill, *postponement* of the question. It is true his fate discourages rashness, but his example does not go further.

I still like the line better than the “*me miserum adspicite et si vitam puriter egi*”! *Puriter* is figurative; “*blameless*” is absolutely neat, simple, and is precisely a *moral* idea, and NO OTHER! It thus gives that idea of innocence of which the ancients had not I believe a profound idea. Perfect innocence is in modern morals a sublime and meritorious *virtue*. This arises from the Christian doctrines, and though poets and philosophers may have discarded revelation, still their taste and moral ideas have been moulded in those common, popular opinions which have sprung in a great measure from the popular religion. You and I have *vitam puriter acti*, but we are not *innocent*, or *blameless*. Life has not with us past enough in “the, *noiseless* tenour” for that! “*nulla culpa pallescere*” is, not to reach a merit in which we can not reproach ourselves in a consciousness of omission as well as of commission. But my idea *was*, that the *appeal was to the gods*, who had witnessed his blameless life, and now his unhappiness! So much for the interesting word *blameless*, as more affecting and pathetic than purity. I did not probably express my admiration of the line with sufficient precision as connected with the appeal to the gods, a thing I certainly meant.

Regard my woes! my blameless life befriend!

Who ever utters that to the gods has no reason to add *if I have not past a blameless life, continue my woes!* The truth is averred in the appeal to omniscience. So it is equally pathetic with the *Sir*. “Be persuaded Sir!” as Sedgwick used to say to the house.

Ah! as to our restored ships and gallant crews! My dear sir, your just remarks have opened the feelings which tortured me on that article. I know it all. *It did grieve me to the heart by a STROKE of the pen to resign them!*

I differ from you however as to the word *war* being immaterial. Words are things in this case. We are not at war. Our demands were surely bottomed on an *interruption*, not war. Our demands were on the justice of France not as for *indemnities* as between nations making peace. We did not get justice, but they offered it on conditions which the United States might have agreed to, viz. replacement *in totidem verbis* and without any modification of any importance of *treaties* and *C[ommercial] Convention*, and which I rejoice we did not accept. They then promised to do justice in future and to give a pledge by restoring uncondemned ships and

cargoes. Had we been at war they could have had no right to demand a restoration of the public ships, but as it was not war, and as we would not restore their former treaty of commerce and alliance, etc., etc., we had the less ground to resist a proposition for a *mutual* restoration of public ships.

Had we said it was not war *till* a certain period, we could have asked for compensation (as a matter of right) up to that time. (We demanded it under treaties and the law of nations for *all*—of course no war.) In such case we had been bound to do as well as ask justice. In such case it would not have been extraordinary to give back mutually all things taken *before* war! But we had no war. Well, France, it may be said, was bound to give back *all*, on that principle. Yes and so were we! But there was one item which we would not give back; *treaties, alliance, commercial convention!*

I believe it is unusual for *equal* nations to keep *public* property after harmony is restored on a mere *interruption*. In this case there was perfect equality; no threat, no fear, but the accession to a principle, painful in the extreme to admit, but necessarily flowing from the peculiar, tangled, strange state of the case! The repugnance which I felt against the article was entirely from sentiment. It was *right* on the whole principle of the negotiation to restore the public ships, and the peculiar state of things made it expedient. I fully felt what our gallant navy would feel—men who do not all enter into a long train of reasoning, though many of our officers I am sure will seize the true principle and see the propriety of the step.

28 March. I was too late for the last post. Letters to Amsterdam of 7 and I think 20th February say that the Convention is ratify'd and that, Maryland and Vermont being divided in their votes on a President, Mr. Jefferson had 8, and Mr. Burr 6—of course *at the time* no choice. These are private mercantile letters. I am always, my dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.¹

CCXII.

Rec. Apr. 5.

Ans. Apr. 7.

THE HAGUE, 30 March, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I received yours of 24 this moment. The letter which you trust to my care for your father shall go very soon from Rotterdam, and with your bale of books to Boston. The letter of 24 ulto. came safely with that inclosed to your brother, and though I neglected to acknowledge its reception, your brother's letter went three weeks since from Amsterdam, inclosed to Mr. Marshall.

Your remarks, my dear sir, on the Convention are what I expected. That act compared with our *rights*, which we failed to obtain, is cer-

¹ Adams to Murray, March 24, 1801, in Adams MSS.

tainly not a thing to *boast* of—but it is honourable to us as we make no sacrifice by it. What other nation has treated us well? It is true we were not in the power of France, and if united have little to fear from her or any power; but policy dictated an arrangement of some sort. Could we expect a better if we had a fleet even of forty sail of the line, with the temper of our government not to form an alliance even during a war?

As to domestic symptoms, at the hard time of the negociation comes news that the six of the line were put by to season!!!! and Mr. Rutledge's letter to his constituents. Now it is true, I believe, that the French did not over-rate the compulsory force of six of the line, yet any one could judge from this postponement, of the *disposition* of the nation, and that pacific expectations were *popular* things to hold out to the people! They ought to have *voted* twenty of the line, *i. e.* placed the whole to that extent in the President's policy; and instead of dissolving twelve regiments, *voted* forty, in the President's power, at least till the negociations were ended. Not that I suppose forty regiments and twenty of the line would frighten France, but it would have shown the hand of the infant giant, with his *disposition* to go on. The idea too that we would *not ally with Great Britain* (*vid.* the the emphatic and gratuitous and uncalled for pomp of spunk in the answer of the House of Representatives December, '98, I think about foreign *protection*!!) weakened us in the ratio of France's fears that we would ally with her! These effusions of popularity, uncalled for, will always hurt us. Great Britain with her popular mixed government has a hard time to get along with them, but we have a ten fold difficulty. Yet our people expect just as much success as energy of government wielding a united force could promise, and when they are disappointed, as they feel courage to encounter danger, they are astonished, not recalling that unconcentered councils and courage waste themselves in air. But I will not indulge any farther a splenetic thought, lest you might think that I felt your remarks with too much sensibility. They only renew'd those painful feelings which I certainly felt on the restoration article, though I still believe it was even right as well as expedient. Yet this was a point so interwoven with the noble combats of our navy that I could not feel as a mere politician, though the case demanded that command of sensibility.

Letters of 20 February at *Amsterdam* (for of course your humble servant has none!) say that the Convention is ratify'd, except the 2d article; that Mr. Jefferson is President; and Burr vice President; that Maryland and Vermont were long *divided*—Jefferson 8 votes, Burr 6, but at last Mr. Jefferson got his majority and constitutional plurality. I deeply regret the election and wish there had been *none*.

But, my dear sir, I fear that we have another iron in the fire—that France is to have the Floridas and Louisiana!!! I am endeavouring to ascertain the truth, but think, now, that there is great reason to believe it. The treaty of Lunéville, by giving Tuscany to the Duke of Parma was enough to excite a recollection of Carnot's pamphlet, and of Chs. La Croix's conversation here three years since, and lately the French papers have said this I hear. I have not seen them on this subject.

I do not like your plan, though I am sure I shall your Silesian letters. The timidity of a periodical introduction is not for you! Besides, there is a charm in a *whole* in a work; magazines fritter away this! They ought to have come out in a handsome volume, to do justice to them and credit to our American literature. And permit me to say that where you are you might have prints worked off from views which perhaps you could find at Berlin or Dresden. The object is to excite a taste for elegant inquiries and useful knowledge. Prints are useful to compleat this design—not for learned men and the universities, but for us as we are. I have not seen Mr. Gentz essay. I had heard of it, and if you have a copy in your translation printed I will be very thankful for it by some private hand.¹ I never saw a parallel yet of any sort that was not as diverging as a cart wheel, upon our revolution.

You will much oblige me if you can inform me of the state of our trade in the Baltic, viz. can our vessels trade with freedom to Russian ports, Swedish and Danish, and take away naval stores for *neutral ports*? I saw a piece in a newspaper from Russia of a prohibitory nature, but do not know if it was authentic.

If you receive a number of the *Folio*² pray inclose it to satisfy my impatience to enjoy your tour in that interesting country. I could add some which gave me great pleasure from you while on your tour, and I shall doubly enjoy the Silesian letters as you did me the favour to write to me from that country. I am affectionately yours always, dear sir, etc., etc.³

CCXIII.

4 APRIL, 1801.

DEAR SIR: On the 30, on the appearance of a British fleet off the Meuse, they laid a general embargo. As this pressed almost exclusively on our trade and the wind fair, I addressed a note the next day, after receiving a crowd of complaints. This was the first intimation I had of it, for the government sent *no notice* to us. The merchants of Rotterdam and Amsterdam petitioned and the embargo was raised,

¹ Adams had translated Friedrich Gentz's "Origin and Principles of the American Revolution, compared with the French Revolution." The translation was printed in 1800.

² Dennie's Portfolio.

³ Adams to Murray, April 4, 1801, in Adams MSS.

Mr. Van der Goes informed me day before yesterday, from the American vessels—I presume from all, though the British fleet operates like one on the Danes and Swedes; and I suppose by this time upon the Prussian, as it is said Prussia has occupy'd Hanover and Bremen, Duchy and the sovereign city also, as Denmark has Hamburg. Though such strokes of the power of the strong against the feeble are not unprecedented, yet they strike one as monstrous.

Your bale of books has gone by Capt. Atkins of and for Boston to the care of Mr. W. Smith¹ of Boston, in one of Mr. Smith's vessels. I had but a moment's time by a Captain to send the letter to the President inclosed with a few lines to him by the same conveyance. This fine sunny weather has cured me. Sun is mind to me. I wrote you a long prosing letter by last post. I believe our new constitution has come six days since from Paris. The O[rangists] will not unite I fear. Affectionately always, dear sir, etc., etc.²

CCXIV.

18 APRIL, 1801.

I learn from Paris, through a foreign minister there to whom I wrote, that as yet there is no ground for the report of the *cession* of which we have spoken.

I learn also here that there is great *inquietude* at Paris on the death of Paul;³ that they and the English will negotiate seriously; that the principal first obstacles will be the secret articles of Lunéville for the German indemnities; that B[onaparte]'s first answer was exactly as that of the British after Marengo, that he was disposed to negotiate but must consult his allies. Alexander's expressions respecting England were pacific on the 25 ulto. He avoids *titles* in his letter to this government and in his proclamation, and, it is said, that Malta will be no obstacle to an adjustment.

Your letters went last night to go from the Texel. I thank you for the permission to read yours to government.

I have Capt. Atkins's receipt for your bale of books. Our ships left Helvoet the 15th for the United States.

An attempt will probably be made on Gibraltar instead of Portugal by 15,000. In haste I am affect'ly yours, dear sir.

I have not a line from government on any subject, nor do I know of the election, nor of the Convention.⁴

CCXV.

25 APRIL, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I received a letter from my late secretary at Baltimore, dated 28 February, day before yesterday. He informs that it was

¹ William Smith, merchant, a nephew of Mrs. John Adams.

² Adams to Murray, April 7, 11, 1801, in Adams MSS.

³ Paul I (1754-1801) was murdered March 11, 1801, and was succeeded by his son Alexander I (1777-1825).

⁴ Adams to Murray, April 25, 1801, in Adams MSS.

reported that the President, your father, had recalled you from Berlin.¹ This is unpleasant news to tell you of, but I have lost so much by want of timely and precise news respecting myself, that I discharge what I consider as a painful duty to give the earliest hint of it. I had hoped he would not have moved you, under a persuasion and hope that Mr. Jefferson would, but to another equal station of diplomacy—if you were moved at all!

Letters from Bordeaux say that the intercourse with France is opened, vessels often arrive. Some from Philadelphia of 8 March say that Mr. Bayard² of Delaware was named Minister to France by the late President, and declined, and that Mr. Jefferson has appointed Mr. Short,³ who is at Paris. Short is an estimable man, and of political notions at least *up to ours*. Madison spoken of for State, General Smith for the Navy. Inclosed is a list of good consular appointments by your father for France. As to myself, as our old Irish parson at Cambridge used to advise his fellow Xtians to do, figuratively, "I eat in my boots, sleep in my boots and live in my boots," ready for the word of departure, for probably the hour is at hand. Dear sir, I am, in and out of my boots, always affectionately yours, etc., etc.

CCXVI.

Rec. May 7.

Ans. May 9.

2 MAY, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

Should you be removed from Berlin I should expect that Mr. Jefferson would offer you Copenhagen, I hope so at least, as a thing natural, though I have not heard, or Petersburg, whether I think there was some idea two years since of having a minister. I can not think that he will let you return. I have always supposed it highly probable that Mr. Smith and I would be recalled, but that you and Mr. King and Colonel Humphreys would remain or be employ'd. Though your politics were known, yet you three were not in the bustlings of '96 at home, and whatever be Mr. Jefferson's personal manners and feelings, I am sure there are men near him who are thorough stitch; though if Madison be secretary of state there will be more justice and liberality of opinions on party men. He is the best of them all. Have you seen the speech? Had it been less academic and less a *creed* I had liked it more.

My fear as to Russia is that she will rush into the arms of Great Britain in time to feed the pride of the latter too much for a negotiation which will demand some pliancy on her part, unless at the same time Abercrombie be taken or be driven from Egypt. That would

¹ "Writings of John Quincy Adams," II, 498.

² James Asheton Bayard (1767-1815).

³ William Short (1759-1849).

make the evacuation of that country the price of the restoration of colonies—a thing I wish to see exactly at that price.

The pacific party in the Cabinet of Copenhagen, Count Schimmenman, etc., etc., ever since the 2d ulto gained an influence over the other and warmer side, the Prince, Duke D'Augustenburg¹ and Bernstorff. The death of Paul I really believe will fix and increase that influence, and as Russia has opened something like a negotiation with the British admirals for a suspension of hostilities, till the result of the dispatches to Count Woranzof² at London could be known, I am inclined to hope that the north will be entirely pacify'd in this summer.

Mr. Van Polanen returns as minister to our government. He sets off in twelve days.

Your letter shall go as you request to Mr. Bourne. As to the bale and its expenses I can not say. They made it pay export duties, rating the books at about an hundred guilders on which I presume the duties would be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., transportation to Rotterdam a trifle. So you see it is nothing—some four or five guilders. I have not heard of the expenses from our Consul whom I desired to pay them, but they do not merit your attention and are too minute to draw forth *remittances* under bills of exchange, produce, insurance from Berlin, etc., etc., etc. Send me a little print of some building or walk at Berlin in a letter; if you will do me that favour it will set your conscience at rest and more than pay me.

Accept my thanks for *your* translation (so I consider it) of Mr. Gentz's pamphlet. I received it last night, and am much pleased with the opinions of the introduction upon the work. . . . I am truly my dear Sir yrs always.

CCXVII.

5 MAY, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I this moment hear from Mr. King. He says Madison is Secretary of State, Chancellor Livingston of New York, Minister at Paris,³ Levi Lincoln, Attorney General⁴ (Mr. Lee⁵ is a Judge), General Dearborn, Secretary at War.⁶ The Chancellor I presume is on his way with the Convention to obtain the changes. The limitation (*entre nous*) I suspect will be difficult, as the equality on privateer privileges they considered as a sort of consideration for the loss of the other treaties, valuable only as it was a fixed system. I wish truly that he may succeed. Mr. J. R. Murray is here and speaks often of you and Mrs. Adams very gratefully. He is a well informed

¹ Christian August of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg, Prince of Augustenburg (1768-1810).

² Count Simon Woronzow.

³ Robert R. Livingston (1746-1813). His appointment was dated October 2, 1801.

⁴ Levi Lincoln (1749-1820). He served until August, 1805.

⁵ Charles Lee (1758-1815). Jefferson offered him the chief justiceship, but he declined.

⁶ Henry Dearborn (1751-1829). He was Secretary of War until 1809.

ingenious man, and has seen and observed a great deal in his Russian and Hungarian tours. Will you do me the favour to throw into your next a dozen seed of a turnip much loved and praised in Prussia or rather at Berlin—it is long rather than globular. . . . I am always, my dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

CCXVIII.

Rec. May 21.

Ans. May 23.

16 MAY, 1801.

DEAR SIR:

As to your duties I can easily suppose that a reading thinking man of genius will be likely to work up his imagination upon a such a point till the weight oppresses. In *natural common* things one ought to feel and act with the same sentiments which a worthy ploughman entertains without reasoning or system. Nature will take care of the rest. The very perspective which you have formed of these duties and cares is a proof that they will be discharged. Mr. Gentz's essay has given me great pleasure. He has methodised his materials in a very fine manner and reasoned out his propositions luminously. Mrs. M[urray] got hold of it first, and I believe it is the first piece of that nature that she ever read entire. The shortness promised little fatigue, and the relation between great events and doctrines generally enveloped in voluminous details were so clearly and neatly brought into view and handled, that even a lady of good sense will read the work with pleasure and have a clear opinion after of the subject. I did not observe the idea of which you complain on your own part of the work. That the sense is instantly seen at the bottom is a proof that the medium is clear and not muddy.

I wish you would induce this respectable author to treat upon the rapprochement between Roman and French policy in relation to free cities, *independent* allies, provinces and the steps of their conquests. Beaufort's second volume of the Roman Republic¹ is full of very well arranged matter on this point (published in 1764), a French work which I read two winters since with the blue devils always on my shoulder.

Last night I received a letter signed J. Dawson,² dated Havre, telling me that he had just arrived in the *Maryland* sloop of war and that the President (he left Hampton Roads the 1 April) had given the Convention ratify'd to his care to be given to Mr. Ellsworth or to me, with our instructions and appointment, to *either* or both; and then with great *sang froid* begs me to come to Paris where he will deliver these papers. I have answered that before I quit my post here it is necessary I should have something official, and that a pri-

¹ L. de Beaufort, "La République Romaine" (1765).

² John Dawson (1762-1814).

vate letter from a person whom I do not know that I am acquainted with is not sufficient authority for me to go upon a public mission to Paris; that he ought to have sent by express some letter from the Secretary of State. He tells me that he wrote from the British channel to Mr. Ellsworth, to Mr. King's care, inviting him to come immediately to Paris!! to receive his instructions and appointment with me. I advise him to send Mr. E's letter to him, else Mr. E. will scarcely suppose the invitation serious. It is astonishing!! At the same time, or half an hour after, I received a letter from our late appointed consul at Paris of the 11th saying, "An express from Havre has just arrived in sixteen hours and informs that a sloop of war of the United States has just arrived with a minister to France."

So I must wait till this negligent Mr. D[awson] send me something like an official order. Why this Convention should be kept till 1 April is strange. I know the importance of finishing the business but considering the state of absolute ignorance in which I am, I can not act so ridiculous a part as to run to Paris on the letter of a private man whom I do not know, that I know of, and who is but the mere bearer of the papers.

Whatever be my repugnance to undertake to negotiate further on this disagreeable mission I shall feel it my duty to hasten to Paris the moment I am ordered, but not before. Vessels (5) arrive every week at the Texel and in the Meuse from the United States and I have not one word from government though two months and a half have elapsed since the ratification. As to Mr. E[llsworth], I doubt much if he will join me—much less go on Mr. Dawson's invitation. I am always, dear sir, truly yours, etc., etc.

V[an] P[olanen] has gone, but other opportunities occur weekly almost.

P. S. I have not met with *La Fin de l'an 8*, but will get it.

Colonel H[umphreys] writes me from Madrid that I may depend on it that the poor Portuguese will fight to a man on their frontier, that it is possible they may be *conquered*, but will not *Treat* on such ominous terms. Fair speed that effort!

CCXIX.

Rec. June 30.

Ans. July 1.

[PARIS,] 10 June, 1801.

DEAR SIR: Your two favours reached me here, the last after 23d May, three days since.

As yet the exchange meets with no palpable obstruction except in the *delays* which seem to grow naturally out of the way of doing business here, though, as I am not through the wood, I do not halloo. Yes the dissolution of the armed neutrality will be of use to us, though there are men who study newspapers in the United States

who eternally babble with a triumphant chuckle that we are out of European politics, while we are perpetually affected by them! My news from Baltimore is that the change in our foreign corps will be gradual but thorough stitch.¹ I care not how soon! for I confess I do not like to act with men with whose opinions I am not heart in hand, though I know I shall be but a planter of potatoes whenever I return, being good for nothing on earth and with not 1000 dollars income. Dust to dust ashes to ashes! so we go. However I have always try'd to keep my mind clean from the influence of *temporary* and *better modes of life* than what my little private affairs at home led me into, and to be ready to shake hands with Fortune when she shook her wings. This is not Horace's poetical boast, but what I *trust* to with confidence.

As Dawson is charged with the *movements* and *return* of the *frigate!* and the papers, he plagues me a little for information. He was presented before my arrival by Mr. T[alleyrand] to the *Premiér Consul*, not at a public audience I believe, and since has been much about among the public men. The papers announced him as minister, and his French servant has on two occasions announced him as *ministre des États Unis*. I let him know of the latter error. It was without his knowledge he assures me, and I believe it. He sees Tom Paine, Barlow, Barney,² etc., etc. I met Barney there yesterday morning. He brought a letter I learn from a great personage³ to Tom! I lament this; it will do us harm here and throughout Europe. The papers announce it. If his *maitre d'hôtel* had received orders to send Tom a hogshead of your New England and a few guineas, it had not made a noise and had been more *philanthropic*.

You tell me of Gentz. I can assure you that the Observations which went with Les *défenseurs de la patrie* about the first week of February last, against the metaphysical politicians, were not written by Roederer nor Boulay, as I suspected, but were dictated by the *Premier C[onsul]* himself. They are HIS. I rejoice that I sent them to government; they got there about the middle of March I suppose. B[onaparte], I hear, suffers no opportunity to pass of abusing the metaphysical school. How I rejoice at this!

Boulay with whom I dined yesterday at the Consul Cambacérès, told me that he is upon a *Tableau de la République*, form of government, and *present state*, etc., etc.⁴ We heartily agreed in abusing the metaphysicians. He spoke of the *Defence of our Constitutions*⁵ and said it bears the marks of haste as to its manner, but it is the

¹ Among the first acts of Jefferson's administration the legations to Spain and Holland were abolished. "Writings of Madison" (Hunt), VI, 422.

² Joshua Barney (1759-1818).

³ Jefferson to Paine, March 18, 1801, offering a return voyage in a public vessel.

⁴ "Tableau politique des Règnes de Charles II et de Jacques II." It was not published until 1818.

⁵ By John Adams.

true system and the only thing we have that deserves to be follow'd; that he had been greatly indebted to it. I mentioned the Federalist also as excellent. It is however posterior as he remarked. Roger Ducos there. I had a good deal of chat with him, a thin man about 45, *fin*, but I should suppose not strong enough for the Executive. You love wise sayings—take this. A man of public character who knows us well lamented deeply the wild theories and opinions which he said he saw had got into the United States from France, and the extreme nauseous insolence of many of our presses against government. He said, *Monsieur, actuellement nous sommes les vrais Fédéralistes!* I said, *les Féd. seront encore les maîtres*, and their principles will govern our new administration. He rejoiced but seems to doubt!

My dear sir, a man ought to be three months in this vast world before he could give you information. "We are all republicans." A king is here, it is true, but he comes from *our* loins and holds his Etruscan sceptre in *our* gloves—I mean republican gloves; for as to Louisiana and Floridas it is all deny'd here. He is a clever man and well bred. His young queen, about 18, *pas mal* as the incroyables say. They are fêted nobly. Talleyrand gave a *fête champêtre* three nights since at Neuilly. It was indeed very noble and enchanting. The king and his little court was there (it was for them), but the Consul was not. Cambacérès was. Their papers do not do it justice, nor did they that of Morfontaine. In works of taste their performance is beyond their promise and their description; in political below. Nothing so beautiful as their grand fêtes, opera, etc., etc.; nothing so sweet as the public speeches on philanthropy, when the town was a butchery. Thank heaven, they are treading back their steps as to interior, and *better* as to exterior, as fast as the form of government enables them. . . .

I shall procure a print of the fête at Morfontaine. They have taken some poetical license, but it is a pretty print which I shall have the honour of sending to your father.

Write under cover to citizen *Delessert, Banquier, Rue Coqheron, Paris*.

The poor Ram. The blackeagle may sing "*Sic vos non vobis*." We are drawing in our horns too fast. Instead of selling frigates and putting up others, we ought to buy or put down keels for them. Many here speak with astonishment at this.

Pray present me respectfully to Mrs. Adams and think of Holland as your route. Yours, my dear sir, always.

Count Lucchesini speaks often of you. I recommended Bielfeld for the Hague.

CCXX.

Rec. Nov. 25 at Quincy.

PARIS, 15th July, 1801.

DEAR SIR: I send this to Amsterdam for the United States, supposing that this time you must have embarked.¹ Perhaps it may greet you on your arrival at Quincy, your paternal seat, where I should love to be for some days to talk over with you the scenes which we have passed, and the scenes *before* us. This may not be impossible. A concurrence of things, public and private have determined me to ask leave to return, but I shall delay to ask leave till I return to the Hague, as I wish to go in March and not before. I have so resolved for two or three weeks since. I postpone my letter, because should I fail here in the present little negociation, after having manifested such a resolution to government, the failure might by the *benevolent* part of our country be imputed to me partly as a splenetic man adverse to the present administration; besides, as in truth I do not wish to return till March, I would not like to have the permission till February. So I will write next month or September. From all I hear it seems pretty certain besides that the President wishes to get rid of all the old set, and I hear much of changes that look like a party change; and though a very unimportant man, I would stand or fall with the men and principles of the two last administrations. Besides it is probable that he may leave me no choice, and I will try to be beforehand as soon as I ought to do so.

We advance slowly on, but the point is pretty well fixed on which we shall close, and ratifications I expect will be exchanged in five or seven days, on a principle that I think ought to be accepted by the United States.

In my opinion every day will show us that the present government of France is more friendly to your father's system and political opinions than to those of Mr. J[efferson]. To me this is a consolation merely in this respect, that it can proceed from nothing but the triumph of experience and of necessity over visionary speculation; that it will prove their truth by a great example in whose late effects we have witnessed for thirteen years a struggle against nature and them—for theory here is treading back her steps, a severe and awkward thing—an improvement at a higher sacrifice of self love than when she advances by new discoveries; but necessity will be obey'd.

They talk in the cafés of an invasion, but though the preparation is immense, I doubt it.

Cardinal Consalvi,² the pope's ambassador is here. He has signed, or will sign a treaty or concordat to regulate Catholic consciences in France and their relations with his Holiness. I have conversed with him and he seems well satisfy'd. Perhaps he will make better terms

¹ Adams left Berlin June 17.² Hercule Consalvi (1757-1824).

with B[onaparte] than with Spain on many points. B[onaparte] is Catholic. The Abbé Berlieu, late a Vendéan, is much with him in town and country. B[onaparte] will appoint fifty bishops and the Pope will approve. This is a wise and a good stroke of policy, and a just one in B[onaparte], and will aid his government. It is true it will also prepare the way for another state of things on his death, and France, the mass, is not only Catholic but Roman also! Lord, Lord, what have this gallant and graceful people been turned topsy turvy for? A rope dancer, or any dancer after all, is obliged to *walk* instead of vault eternally.

From the Hague I shall you write again. Your letters under cover to our bankers will come safe and they will as usual contain a real consolation for me. Alas how little do the affairs of poor distressed Holland enter into the heads of the people here. God preserve the independence of all nations!

Pray consider my affectionate and most respectful compliments to Mr. Adams and Mrs. Adams, your mother, as a sincere tribute of the feelings of youthful times and of manhood entering upon the green old age! and render them acceptable.

Accept Mrs. M's and my compliments of affectionate esteem, and our regrets for your loss in Europe of and for yourself and Mrs. Adams, and believe me always faithfully, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc., etc.

CCXXI.

PARIS, 8 August, 1801.

MY DEAR SIR: A Mr. Manning of Boston gives me an opportunity of writing to you and of sending a coloured print of the fête at Morfontaine. This I beg you to present with my very respectful compliments to Madame your mother. It is highly poetical, picture and poetry. The grounds are like.

On the 31 ultimo the exchange took place at Roederer's between their minister and myself. You will think perhaps that I have hazarded a little, when you read the ratification for which I exchanged that signed by your father. But I trust that you will, after much reflexion on the value of a final arrangement at present, think I did right, both as a lover of our country, and as one anxious to finish under the auspices of the late administration a great business of which the present is but the channel of communication! Try, I pray you, to make your father digest and like it. Certainly I was in no good humour to assume some responsibility, for five days before, I received my letter of *recall* as minister at the Hague, and three days since I learn to a certainty that this government knew of my recall many weeks since. I kept what I considered my *secret*, God bless me! till after all was finished.¹

¹ Murray's term of office ran until September 1, 1801. No minister or chargé of the United States was in Holland until 1814, when William Eustis was named.

I beg you to make my respectful and affectionate compliments to Mrs. Adams, and believe me always and truly yours, etc., etc.

Tomorrow we set off for Holland from whence we shall embark for Baltimore in the first ship. I mean to insist for my outfit as a matter of right. "To save" is a rule against as well as for them. Penny wise!!

CCXXII.

Rec. May 17.

Ans. June 30. CAMBRIDGE, E. S., MARYLAND, 3 April, 1802.

MY DEAR SIR: Let us not so long be silent. It is not fit. If I have delayed writing till I heard from you, it was I believe from a lurking laziness of pen that sought an excuse. For I have been anxious to write often, but at times when (I confess) some business, and God knows I have enough, prevented me. The loss of my excellent paternal house by fire in our little town has given me a great deal to do. I am now removing the bricks to a little farm to build with. Then I am and have been all this mild winter planting trees, and getting it in order. I have the happiness of having a good brother at whose house we are. He remembers with great pleasure the honour your father did him in distinguishing him by his attentions in Philadelphia; I beg you so to tell him with my most respectful compliments, that he may know that I am not the only one of my family gratefully sensible of his kindness and strictly attached to him.

We had a long passage from Rotterdam—eleven weeks. Driven in by head winds to Falmouth I had the rare luck and consolation of meeting a brother in disgrace, my friend Smith from Lisbon, who had arrived an hour before in the L[isbon] Packet. I left Rotterdam the 15 September, and arrived at Alexandria the 2 December. I am thus particular because to the best of my recollection the above is the only intelligence with which I had the honour to enrich the cabinet of the United States, not one word!! not one word!! I admire this mode of proceeding because it is hazardous to have secrets in a free government, and the surest way is to obtain no knowledge but such as the people have. This is the way to preserve common sense and is impartial, and to take neighbour's fare. At least it is pleasant for Mr. Ex-Minister, and as I had very little to communicate I was satisfy'd with keeping my little. I hope however that they receive their favourites in a different way, and press their modest taciturnity and fund of knowledge with a freedom a little more cordial, else they might as well send out a tame pigeon to carry and bring letters. This it is to be disgraced, and is among the means by which it is clearly demonstrated that a minister is a useless thing in my poor little Holland. They received me with a polite ceremoniousness and admitted the principle of all my claims (pecuniary), which was equality with my colleagues Messrs. E[llsworth] and D[avie].

I dined with Mr. Madison, who was greatly more cordial than any one else, and had the honour to dine with the President. Gallatin was perfectly candid in the manner of settling my account, but never returned my visit. You see they go with a pretty high hand now they are on the coach box. There is nothing so like as political phenomena and experiments in all ages, as much so as the itch, differing a little according to the bodily habit.

I will now tell you what I do that I may claim information of your doings. I plant trees of fruit and other. My neighbours stare and I believe laugh when they know that forest trees are of the number. I buy plaister of Paris to nourish my thin land, cast bricks, saw timber, and to the utter wonder of my neighbours, mean to build with a flat roof—planks tarred and papered, then an inch of pitch covered by an inch of gravel, the plane a little inclined to let the rain run off. This is to guard against fire. We have no tiles. My fear is that the sun will be too hot on a flat surface as I shall have but a story and a half in my little chateau of three rooms, kitchen and my (lumber) room, as Mrs. Murray calls my book room, below, and half under ground. I begin to go regularly to church. This is the only letter except on business that I have written. I read little except now and then at night D'Alembert's *Éloges des Membres de L'Académie*, etc., etc., and lately *Description Historique and Chronologique des monumens de Sculpture Français*, by Lenoir¹ (at the Petits Augustins at Paris), who with some taste and much intrepidity saved the debris of the churches, tombs, etc., etc., in the times of terror, and is now conservateur of that Museum. I renounce all newspapers and meddle not with politics. The gentlemen of this county are federalists, the people are generally so. There are some hundred democrats, however, and when I went away there were not ten. The people would go right, if left really to the natural impulses which regulate neighbour and neighbour; i. e. they would exercise the only political opinion that they can do consistently with their own good, VOTING right if they were not dinned into opinions and dogmas which they can make neither head nor tail of and which when once wormed in misdirects their passions. The labour and the expense of counteracting these impressions are too great to be long pursued. I had nine years of that sort of apostleship to my half ruin. Others are tired out, and indeed in a soil where weeds find so much nourishment it is a hopeless piece of work. Things I fear must take the course here which they have taken for thousands of years in other countries. Good men are only fit for a government that can protect *them*; they can not long defend *it* nor themselves nor any of their institutions. You see I am not in very high spirits. If you have consolation from your own sources pray give it. I had rather however I respect your reasoning, have it from the past-state

¹ Marie-Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839).

of New England, from whom I look for great examples and steadiness of purpose growing out of the influence of her hereditary institutions and usages and opinions. I will say also her knowledge, though that is a slippery foundation, and has much "o' the wisp" as light in it. I never loved any man's character who pretended to be governed by reason and the whole is only the parts.

I saw my valuable friend Dexter at Washington. He behaved with a firm dignity that rendered less necessary to him the opinion of every person I conversed with, which was that the whole proceeding against him and Mr. Wolcott was a low and infamous thing;¹ but it is warning enough to make every man clothe his feelings with a hide of stoicism as callous as is the foot's sole of one of those slaves who treads the furrow of an imperial Virginia democrat. Virginia is and will be our Austria. So make up your impatient mind to it. You may talk, like Prussia, of being the Spartans of the north, but the turkey cock has too wide spread a progeny for the black or blue eagle to oppose him, now that voices decide. The wilderness is hers and those who emerge from it.

Is France indisposed to the Chancellor? I can assure you of the following without any malice or *humeur*. The Chancellor was presented at the public audience (which is on the 2 and 17 of this month). He took out his speech (a thing unprecedented since Brumaire) and had proceeded a few words, when B[onaparte] with much humour exclaimed, "Mais je ne comprends pas l'Anglais, moi, donnez ça a Talleyrand," the speech was accordingly handed over to Talleyrand. B[onaparte] after this abrupt speech turned and entered into conversation with the other ambassadors, leaving the Chancellor and suite in the middle of the room. These fell back into the circle and when B[onaparte] in going his round came to him, he said through a gentleman who was interpreter, "*Demandez de lui si c'est la premier fois qu'il vient en Europe?*" "Oui." B. "*Eh bien, dites lui qu'il trouvera ce monde bien corrompu.*" Having said this with a loud voice and laughing he went on. On the audience day is generally a dinner. The Chancellor though invited was absent. I have heard of the Chancellor as one of our best bred men, and it is possible that there was something in the written speech (which had been communicated previously to Talleyrand) which was lengthy, to produce ill humour. Any speech at all would too much savour of the glorious days of fraternity to please B[onaparte]. Take another anecdote from the same friend. Volney is among those opposed to the Concordat of last July. In a conversation with B[onaparte], B[onaparte] said he wished to yield to the will of the majority of the people. V. "A la bonne heure—la majorité des gens éclairés, car si vous obéissez en tout à la majorité il faudra **RAPPELLER LE ROI.**" B[onaparte] got into a violent passion. V[olney] was frightened and fell into fits.

¹ Charges of peculation and misapplication of public monies. Wolcott made a spirited reply.

B[onaparte] exclaimed "*Otez moi cet homme la*"! and V.[olney] was sent home in a carriage. Some of B[onaparte]'s projets have been, I learn rejected by the Corps Legislatif and Tribunat, and the opposition seems systematic. I lament it for next to their old government B[onaparte] is the best government for them: indeed in much, his is the old government.

Pray make my compliments of high respect to Mrs. Adams and Mrs. Adams your mother; if your brother is near, remember me with kindness to him. This is a long letter for a man whose hands begin to harden from the use of the pruning knife and hatchet. Last August I gave a poetical sort of engraving of the fête of Morfontaine to a Mr. Manning of Boston (student at Paris) who was to give it to you; it is for my greatly respected friend your mother.

I send this to Mr. Tracey to be sent on to you. Perhaps I may change my mind before post day and send it direct. I have your cypher yet. I pray you to write me in this confidential way and tell me how you and Mrs. Adams do and what you are about. Whether law or literature engage you, or if you are in public life. It is a sea on which I embark no more. I live pleasantly with a brother whom I love, and now and then see a neighbour; but I am in a profound solitude compared to your place of abode, often ten and fifteen days from morning to night alone on my little farm working, and thus keep off recollections which might harrass me by comparisons. I am not without trifles to amuse. I have not opened my books yet (have you got those I sent?) but have a fine telescope of Levebours at Paris, a couple of good concave mirrors, a solar microscope, an electrical machine, and a *chambre noir* for the ladies, and a few paintings, which I picked up cheap at the pleasant Hague. Farewell, my dear sir, and remember me with the kindness with which I esteem you.

CCXXIII.

CAMBRIDGE, E. S., MARYLAND, 10 August, 1802.

MY DEAR SIR: The inclosed letters mark my negligence and carry my repentance. It was not till a few days since that in opening a bundle of my Hague papers that I found them! I now remember that Madame Vierman gave them to me. From the moment of my return from Paris to the day I quitted the Hague, I was engaged in the midst of hammers and packing paper and hay, and you will I hope pardon a want of order and arrangement, even though you suffer, when I assure you of this. Had it not been for this discovery you would not have heard from me so soon. Bricks can not be made without mortar, and when a man vegetates only his silence ought to be attributed to want of life rather than an abuse of it in laziness. From hence little can be had more than the echo of all the good sentiments from other places which are inspired by the present degraded state of national affairs! That echo, as far as this county goes, you may depend on.

As to a dissolution of the Union, it is too full of danger to come on as a matter of adoption. It may be a result of civil dissention, but I doubt if it can be an object deliberately brought about. Not, my dear sir, that I withhold full credit to your fears from the conversation that passes at Boston, but because the thing is unnatural, not familiar to my mind and too full of foreign danger. Besides, in 1794, I remember a prodigious deal of stir upon this point, and have then heard a very detailed estimate of loss and gain from it. That if the southern bounds were the Potomac, and the western, the Allegany, even if they took the national debt upon their shoulders, it would be a good bargain; for, said they, we cut off Indian wars and the crying expences of militia armaments and Virginia affectation. Dear me! we should have Great Britain and France by the hand in the struggle, and be fighting their European jealousies in the United States. I can see but one object of such politicians, which is rather too fine and far fetched for the feelings of Americans, *i. e.*, that by a dissolution we might have a civil war; and after, come together on the old ground of a **STRONG GOVERNMENT**, which I think we want. I know no nation that wants one more for the preservation of its liberties, and I never heard of one which had so few materials to make one! This remark brings me to your father's letter of 1790 in *Gazette of the United States* of 30 July last. He has familiarised some great truths in that letter. These are the result of a long meditation upon the past, which is in fact, though this is never believed, the history of the present! The strange thing is that in America you can not tread in the past, nor can you, from her corruption, or rather that of human nature, realize that *beau idéal*, of which the perfectionists have so much talked, here and in Europe of late. We are vibrating between both; our theories with the last, our manners with the first. How can a money loving people who have no prejudices but for income, get into the track which the past indicates, the past that was guided by some others besides that principle; or into the new doctrines which presuppose men to be angels? Even your father's truths in such a strange case appear chimerical, though true, because impracticable. As the patient can not die of the complaint, nature must be left to herself. What the cure will be God knows.

I thank you for thinking of me during your conflagration, for your address¹—a very few statute reflexions excepted—is one. You did not intend it as a satire, but as a caustic; but indeed it has the effect of one against our suffering brethren of Boston. There is a stupidity which seems corporate, like the superstitious non-chalance of Constantinople on the pest. Do not stop until every roof is covered with tiles, and as you get shingles from the south (close to my neighborhood in Delaware, I believe) you can interest

¹ Adams' "Address to the Members of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society" (1802).

every brickmaker and layer in Boston on the side of safety and the Union, without touching domestic interests or manufactures. I thought that I had been figurative, but as I once told you in poor little Holland, you beat me hollow. This comes of electricity. I attended a course of Charles's¹ at Paris. Franklin's bust in the Salle which to me had a charlatannic air; (for Roberson, the fantasmagoric man,² there, had one also in his Salle) and from the little I saw of it, it seemed as if very little knowledge had been gained beyond the mere fact. In Crébillon (fils) in his "*Ah Quelle conte*" you will find a kite sent up which was burnt in the clouds. I suspected that "the ornament" got his first idea from that, for I believe he read French early.

One of the letters is to your brother. If he be with you, remember me kindly to him; though I know that he lives in Philadelphia, yet I do not like to send the letter by post as I do not know his address, and you can send it should you make my excuses for its delay. My compliments to Mrs. Adams. I am always most truly, my dear sir, yours, etc., etc.

CCXXIV.

CAMBRIDGE, 10 November, 1803.

MY DEAR SIR: The gentleman who has the honour to deliver this is my brother-in-law, Doctor Coats, a man of worth and most excellent good qualities, who goes to Washington upon an old military claim which has all the charms of "76" about it, as he went with Arnold to Quebec, and served in the line and as aid to Thompson for some years after. I beg leave to introduce him and recommend his case to your attention and that of your friends. To Mr. Tracey I have also given him a letter of introduction.

I beg you not thus totally to forget me. A line from you would be cheering to me after so long an interval, and I am but just (for ten days only) once more rising a little into health to which since August twelve months past I have been a total stranger! I called at Evans's in Baltimore to inquire for you the middle of last month, but you had not yet come on. I sincerely rejoice that you accepted a seat in the Senate of the Union, but fear that all wishes for political success are vain—desperate!

I am with the highest esteem and great respect, yours, dear sir,
W. V. MURRAY.

A post comes regularly to "Cambridge, E. S., Maryland" where I live a little. Pray be acquainted with our worthy member Mr. Dennis.³

[Endorsement.] This is the last letter I received from my excellent friend; who died the 11th of December next after its date.

In my *memory* and *hopes* his existence will cease but with my own.

¹ Jacques-Alexandre-César Charles (1746-1823).

² Etienne-Gaspard Robert, usually called Robertson (1763-1837).

³ John Dennis died 1807.

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